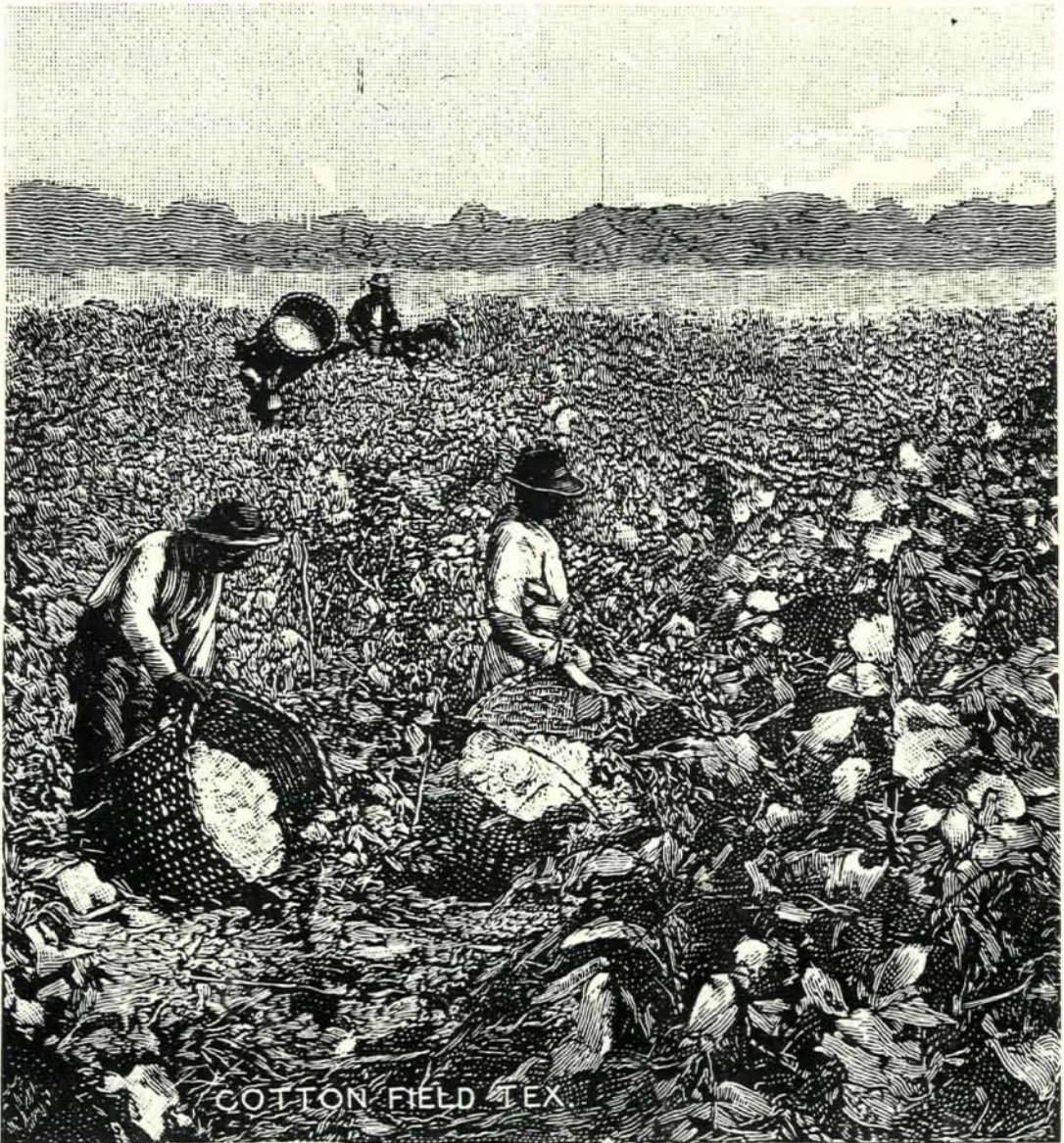


VOLUME 85 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1980

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



Oxford

POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF THE CIVIL WAR

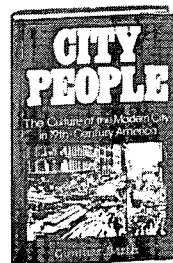
ERIC FONER, City College, CCNY. Stressing the importance of politics and ideology in his examination of 19th-century America, Foner reasserts the centrality of the Civil War to the people of that period. He integrates social, political, and intellectual history and discusses the causes of the sectional conflict, the anti-slavery movement, and land and labor problems during reconstruction. 224 pp., \$15.95

CITY PEOPLE

The Rise of Modern City Culture
in Nineteenth-Century America

GUNTHER BARTH, University of California, Berkeley. With pictures, anecdotes, and a wealth of evidence drawn from the records of real people, Barth traces the invention and dissemination of big-city culture in the last century. Paralleling urbanization and modernization, he shows how the immigrants and migrants from rural America adapted to city life and how the successful features of urban life spread and transformed towns across America.

304 pp., illus., \$19.95

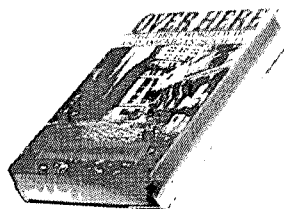


OVER HERE

The First World War and American Society

DAVID M. KENNEDY, Stanford University. Examining the impact of World War I on American society, Kennedy shows how our reaction to the war reflects key aspects of the national character. Discussing such topics as progressivism, Woodrow Wilson's presidential leadership, and post-war disillusionment in politics and imaginative literature, he also reveals the special implications of the war for intellectuals, blacks, women, and workers.

416 pp., illus., \$19.95



PAVED WITH GOOD INTENTIONS

The American Experience and Iran

BARRY RUBIN, Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. Why do the Iranians, who once considered the U.S. as their staunchest ally, now hold our diplomats hostage and lay at the White House doorstep all the sins of their own former monarch? In this first post-revolutionary history of U.S.-Iranian relations from WWII to the present, Barry Rubin provides some provocative answers.

320 pp., photos & maps, \$17.50



At your bookstore, or send your check to:

Oxford University Press

Box 900-80-033 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016



The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

Elected Officers

President: DAVID H. PINKNEY, *University of Washington*
President-elect: BERNARD BAILYN, *Harvard University*
Vice-Presidents: OTIS A. PEASE, *University of Washington, Professional Division*
EUGENE F. RICE, *Columbia University, Research Division*
DAVID D. VAN TASSEL, *Case Western Reserve University, Teaching Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: MACK THOMPSON
AHR Editor: OTTO PFLANZE, *Indiana University*
Controller: JAMES H. LEATHERWOOD

Elected Council Members

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, *University of Chicago*
Immediate past President

ROBERT D. CROSS
University of Virginia

ROBERT V. REMINI
*University of Illinois,
Chicago Circle*

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH
Northwestern University

BARBARA MILLER LANE
Bryn Mawr College

STUART B. SCHWARTZ
*University of Minnesota,
Twin Cities*

MARY E. YOUNG
University of Rochester

Cover illustration: A late-nineteenth-century representation of cotton picking. Photograph supplied by Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman and taken from Alex Everett Frye, *Frye's Complete Geography* (Boston, 1895), p. 51.

The American Historical Review appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located in Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes over \$30,000, \$50.00 annually; \$20,000-\$29,999, \$42.00; \$15,000-\$19,999, \$35.00; \$10,000-\$14,999, \$25.00; below \$10,000 and joint memberships \$15.00; associate (non-historian) \$25.00; life \$1,000. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 85: Class I, *American Historical Review* only. United States, Canada, and Mexico \$39.00, foreign \$43.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

Information concerning the submission of manuscripts and other matters of interest to authors and reviewers is contained on page 2(a), immediately preceding the advertisements.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1980

All rights reserved

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices

VOLUME 85 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1980

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: OTTO PFLANZE (On Leave)

Acting Editor: PAUL R. LUCAS

Associate Editor: JAMES M. DIEHL

Assistant Editors: ANNE LEE BAIN

NELSON D. LANKFORD

Editorial Assistants: CATHERINE ALBRECHT, MARK L. GROVER,
ANN R. HIGGINBOTHAM, MICHELLE MANNERING, ROSEMARY ORTHMANN,

JOHN D. RUSK, RICHARD C. SUTTON

Advertising Manager: IRA EUGENE CARREL

Board of Editors

DAURIL ALDEN
University of Washington

EUGENE GENOVESE
University of Rochester

SIDNEY MONAS
*University of Texas,
Austin*

PHILIP D. CURTIN
Johns Hopkins University

C. WARREN HOLLISTER
*University of California,
Santa Barbara*

STANLEY G. PAYNE
*University of Wisconsin,
Madison*

ELIZABETH READ FOSTER
Bryn Mawr College

NATHAN HUGGINS
Harvard University

JOAN HOFF WILSON
Arizona State University

MARIUS B. JANSEN
Princeton University

Contributors:

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER, Middlebush Professor of History at the University of Missouri, Columbia, is the author of books and articles relating to nineteenth-century U.S. sectionalism, with an emphasis on political parties and legislative behavior. His essay on "The Civil War as Institutional Fulfillment" is forthcoming in the *Journal of Southern History* (February 1981).

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN is professor of economics and history at the University of Rochester. He received his Ph.D. in economics from The Johns Hopkins University in 1962. Co-author of *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974) and co-editor of *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History* (1971) and *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (1975), his current research is concerned with free and unfree labor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with economic and demographic aspects of secular changes in human stature and mortality.

CARVILLE EARLE, associate professor of geography at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, is the author of *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783* (1975) and various articles on the historical geography of the United States. Earle received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, where he studied with Marvin Mikesell and William Pattison. Currently, he is working on the geography of labor during the Gilded Age as codirector of the Project on the Geography of American Labor and Industrialization (GALI).

RONALD HOFFMAN, associate professor of history at the University of Maryland, College Park, is the author of *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (1973) and various articles and essays in eighteenth-century social, political, and economic history. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1969. Currently, he is editing the papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and is directing a series of annual symposia for the United States Capitol Historical Society.

EARLE and HOFFMAN began their collaboration in a study of eighteenth-century economic development that appeared as "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South" in *Perspectives in American History*, 10 (1976). Some of the issues raised there, particularly the relationship between agriculture and labor economics, seemed germane to antebellum industrialization. Further research into the transition from pre-industrial to indus-

trial economies in the nineteenth century resulted in the study printed here.

FORREST MCDONALD is a professor of history at the University of Alabama and a distinguished senior fellow of the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture. He is the author of fourteen books, including *We the People* (1958) and *E Pluribus Unum* (1965, 1979). His latest book is *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography* (1979). In addition to his joint research with Grady McWhiney and to his work in constitutional, legal, and economic history, he is engaged in a study of political rhetoric in the English-speaking world from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

GRADY MCWHINEY, a professor of history at the University of Alabama and a distinguished senior fellow of the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture, is the author of *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (1969), *Southerners and Other Americans* (1973), and *Attack and Die: Confederate Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (with Perry D. Jamieson; forthcoming), and various articles. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University, where he studied with David Herbert Donald. Currently, he is completing a study of social life in the Old South.

MCDONALD and MCWHINEY began their collaboration with "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation" in the *Journal of Southern History*, 41 (1975). They have continued their reinterpretation of Southern history jointly and separately, and they are at present working together on the Celtic influence on the South.

EDWARD PESSEN, Distinguished Professor of History at Baruch College and The Graduate School and University Center, The City University of New York, studied at Columbia University under Richard B. Morris. Pessen's books include *Most Uncommon Jacksonians* (1967); *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (1973); and *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (rev. ed., 1978). In recent years he has published articles on the new histories, the changing American social structure, opportunity in America, and the distribution of power in American history. As a Guggenheim Fellow in 1977-78, he began a study of social mobility over the course of American history. He is preparing for publication a book-length manuscript on this theme and related studies on the social origins of Tin Pan Alley's leading songwriters and the social backgrounds of the American presidents.

Contents

VOLUME 85 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1980

Comparative History in Theory and Practice, II

- The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the
Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800-60,
BY CARVILLE EARLE AND RONALD HOFFMAN 1055
- The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An
Interpretation, BY FORREST MCDONALD AND GRADY MCWHINEY 1095
- How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North
and South? BY EDWARD PESSEN 1119

AHR Forum

- Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective:
A Discussion, BY THOMAS B. ALEXANDER, STANLEY L. ENGERMAN,
FORREST MCDONALD AND GRADY MCWHINEY, AND EDWARD PESSEN 1150

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

- HUGH THOMAS. *A History of the World*.
By Harold T. Parker 1167
- ROBERT H. CANARY and HENRY KOZICKI, eds. *The Writing of
History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*.
By Haskell Fain 1167
- PETER MATHIAS and M. M. POSTAN, eds. *The Cambridge Eco-
nomic History of Europe*. Vol. 7, *The Industrial Economies: Capital,
Labour, and Enterprise*. Part 2, *The United States, Japan, and
Russia*. By William L. Blackwell 1168
- ROBERT L. HEILBRONER. *Marxism: For and Against*.
By William H. Shaw 1170
- LOUISE A. TILLY and JOAN W. SCOTT. *Women, Work, and Fam-
ily*. By Peter Laslett 1170
- PETER N. STEARNS. *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society*.
By William L. O'Neill 1171

- VERN L. BULLOUGH. *Homosexuality: A History*.
By Michael Goodich 1171
- MICHEL DESPLAND. *La religion en occident: Évolution des idées et
du vécu*. Preface by CLAUDE GEFFRÉ. By George Shriver 1172
- E. P. MEIJERING. *Calvin wider die Neugierde: Ein Beitrag zum
Vergleich zwischen reformatorischem und patristischem Denken*.
By J. Wayne Baker 1173
- O. H. K. SPATE. *The Spanish Lake*. By André Gschaedler 1173

ANCIENT

- ELIZABETH M. CRAIK. *The Dorian Aegean*.
By Raphael Sealey 1174
- FRIEDRICH PRINZ. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*.
By James P. Holoka 1174

- DAVID M. SCHAPS. *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece*. By Sarah B. Pomeroy 1175
- CHRISTIAN HABICHT. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* By John F. Oates 1176
- KARL-WILHELM WEEBER. *Geschichte der Etrusker*. By R. M. Ogilvie 1176
- J. M. BLAZQUEZ. *Economía de la Hispania Romana*. By D. Brendan Nagle 1177
- ROBERT C. KNAPP. *Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206–100 B.C.* By E. Badian 1178
- DAVID STOCKTON. *The Gracchi*. By Stewart Irvin Oost 1178
- J. P. V. D. BALSDON. *Romans and Aliens*. By Henry C. Boren 1179
- ANTHONY BIRLEY. *The People of Roman Britain*. By A. L. F. Rivet 1180

MEDIEVAL

- FRANK BARLOW. *The English Church, 1066–1154*. By Roy Martin Haines 1180
- WILLIAM E. KAPELLE. *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135*. By M. R. Powicke 1181
- BARBARA ENGLISH. *The Lords of Holderness, 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society*. By Michael Altschul 1181
- JOHN M. GILBERT. *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland*. By Joel Rosenthal 1182
- MICHEL ROUCHE. *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781: Naissance d'une région*. By K. F. Drew 1183
- WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*. By Thomas Renna 1183
- CHRISTINE RENARDY. *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140–1350: Recherches sur sa composition et ses activités*. By John W. Baldwin 1184
- ROGER SABLONIER. *Adel im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Situation des ostschweizerischen Adels um 1300*. By Theodore Evergates 1185
- ERNST SCHUBERT. *König und Reich: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte*. By Kenneth Pennington 1185
- ULRICH REULING. *Die Kur in Deutschland und Frankreich: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des Rechtsförmlichen Wahlaktes bei der Königserhebung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*. By Teta E. Moehs 1186
- IVAN BOZHILOV. *Anonimât na Khase: Balgariia i Vizantiia na dolni Dunav v kraia na X vek* ["L'Anonyme de Hase": Bulgaria and Byzantium on the Lower Danube at the End of the Tenth Century]. By John V. A. Fine, Jr. 1187
- CLIVE FOSS. *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. By George T. Dennis 1187
- JOHN BELLAMY. *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction*. By Thomas G. Barnes 1190
- STANFORD E. LEHMBERG. *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536–1547*. By Wallace T. MacCaffrey 1191
- ROSEMARY O'DAY. *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558–1642*. By John H. Pruett 1192
- B. G. BLACKWOOD. *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640–60*. By Walter J. King 1192
- H. C. TOMLINSON. *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the Later Stuarts*. By Linda Levy Peck 1193
- EVELINE CRUICKSHANKS. *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45*. By Henry L. Snyder 1193
- FRANKLIN WICKWIRE and MARY WICKWIRE. *Cornwallis: The Imperial Years*. By Raymond Callahan 1194
- CLIVE EMSLEY. *British Society and the French Wars, 1793–1815*. By James L. McKelvey 1195
- MAXINE BERG. *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815–1848*. By John W. Osborne 1195
- NORMAN GASH. *Aristocracy and People: Britain, 1815–1865*. By R. G. Cowherd 1196
- MICHAEL DUREY. *The Return of the Plague: British Society and the Cholera, 1831–2*. By F. B. Smith 1196
- JOHN M. EYLER. *Victorian Social Medicine: The Ideas and Methods of William Farr*. By M. Jeanne Peterson 1197
- A. J. YOUNGSON. *The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine*. By John M. Eyler 1197
- TONY MASON. *Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915*. By Wray Vamplew 1198
- F. D. DOW. *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651–1660*. By Arthur H. Williamson 1199
- ALAN B. CAMPBELL. *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions, 1775–1874*. By John H. M. Laslett 1199
- NORMAN MURRAY. *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790–1850: A Social History*. By Gerry C. Gunnin 1200
- DONALD HARMAN AKENSON. *Between Two Revolutions: Islandmagee, County Antrim, 1798–1920*. By Paul Bew 1201
- SAMUEL CLARK. *Social Origins of the Irish Land War*. By Lawrence J. McCaffrey 1201
- N. M. SUTHERLAND. *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. By Ruth Kleinman 1202
- LUCIANO GUERCI. *Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni: Sparta, Atene e i "philosophes" nella Francia del Settecento*; DANIELE MENOZZI. *Lecture politiche di Gesù: Dall'Antien Régime alla Rivoluzione*. By David Young 1203
- HAROLD T. PARKER. *The Bureau of Commerce in 1781 and Its Policies With Respect to French Industry*. By Robert D. Harris 1204
- DAVID P. JORDAN. *The King's Trial: The French Revolution vs. Louis XVI*. By James Friguglietti 1204
- FRANÇOIS GENDRON. *La Jeunesse Dorée: Épisodes de la Révolution française*. Preface by ALBERT SOBOUL. By Isser Woloch 1205
- JEAN FAURY. *Cléricalisme et anticléricalisme dans le Tarn (1848–1900)*. By Benjamin F. Martin 1206
- ALAIN CORBIN. *Les filles de nocé: Misère sexuelle et prostitution (19^e et 20^e siècles)*. By James F. Traer 1206
- PAUL MAZGAJ. *The Action Française and Revolutionary Syndicalism*. By Robert Soucy 1207

MODERN EUROPE

- ROBERT WOHL. *The Generation of 1914*. By Oliver W. Holmes 1188
- CHARLES CRUICKSHANK. *Deception in World War II*. By Albert Norman 1189
- D. M. PALLISER. *Tudor York*. By Alan D. Dyer 1189

- WILLIAM D. IRVINE. *French Conservatism in Crisis: The Republican Federation of France in the 1930s*. By C. Stewart Doty 1208
- JEFFERY A. GUNSBURG. *Divided and Conquered: The French High Command and the Defeat of the West, 1940*. By Robert J. Young 1209
- HELEN NADER. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550*. By Robert I. Burns 1210
- FRANCISCO CHACÓN JIMENEZ. *Murcia en la centuria del quinientos*. By Charles J. Jago 1210
- V. VÁZQUEZ DE PRADA, ed. *Historia Económica y Social de España*. Vol. 3, *Los Siglos XVI y XVII*. By J. B. Owens 1211
- MIGUEL ARTOLA et al. *Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943*. Vol. 1, *El estado y los ferrocarriles*; RAFAEL ANES and PEDRO TEDDE. *Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943*. Vol. 2., *Los ferrocarriles y la economía*. By Gabriel Tortella 1212
- CAROLYN P. BOYD. *Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain*. By José M. Sánchez 1214
- LOUIS STEIN. *Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955*. By Raymond L. Proctor 1214
- L. DE JONG. *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War]. Vol. 9, *London*. By Pierre-Henri Laurent 1215
- LEO TANDRUP. *Mod triumf eller tragedie: En politisk-diplomatisk studie over forløbet af den dansk-svenske magtkamp fra Kalmárkrigen til Kejserkrigen*. Vol. 1, *Scenen og de agerende. Tiden fra 1612 til 1621*; Vol. 2, *Tiden fra 1621 til 1625* [Toward Triumph or Tragedy: A Political-Diplomatic Study of the Course of the Danish-Swedish Power Struggle from the War of Kalmár to the Imperial War. Vol. 1, *Scenes and Actors, 1612-21*; Vol. 2, *1621-25*]. By Playford V. Thorson 1215
- MICHAEL ROBERTS. *The Swedish Imperial Experience, 1560-1718*. By Walther Kirchner 1216
- GERHARD SCHORMANN. *Hexenprozesse in Nordwestdeutschland*. By H. C. Erik Midelfort 1217
- PAUL GOTTFRIED. *Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria*. By Theodore S. Hamerow 1217
- CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914*. By James J. Sheehan 1218
- PETER JOERISS. *Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland, 1871-1918*. By Douglas R. Skopp 1219
- TONI PIERENKEMPER. *Die westfälischen Schwerindustriellen, 1852-1913: Soziale Struktur und unternehmerischer Erfolg*. By Walter Struve 1219
- OTTO BORST. *Schule des Schwabenlands: Geschichte der Universität Stuttgart*. By R. Steven Turner 1220
- KENNETH R. CALKINS. *Hugo Haase: Democrat and Revolutionary*. By Donald L. Niewyk 1220
- REINHARD SCHIFFERS. *Der Hauptausschuss des Deutschen Reichstags, 1915-1918: Formen und Bereiche der Kooperation zwischen Parlament und Regierung*. By D. K. Buse 1221
- HERMANN J. RUIEPER. *The Cuno Government and Reparations, 1922-1923: Politics and Economics*. By David Felix 1222
- HERBERT HÖMIG. *Das preussische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik*. By Ronald J. Ross 1222
- KLAUS-JÜRGEN MÜLLER. *Armee, Politik und Gesellschaft in Deutschland, 1933-1945: Studien zum Verhältnis von Armee und NS-System*. By Peter Hoffmann 1223
- FRIEDRICH GRUNDMANN. *Agarpolitik im "Dritten Reich": Anspruch und Wirklichkeit des Reichserbhofgesetzes*. By J. E. Farquharson 1224
- BENJAMIN B. FERENCZ. *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation*. By Edward L. Homze 1225
- HANS W. GATZKE. *Germany and the United States: A "Special Relationship?"* By Gerhard L. Weinberg 1225
- ALAN SKED. *The Survival of the Habsburg Empire: Radetzky, the Imperial Army and the Class War, 1848*. By William A. Jenks 1226
- LAJOS KEREKES. *Von St. Germain bis Genf: Österreich und seine Nachbarn, 1918-1922*. Translated from Hungarian by JOHANNA TILL. By Bruce E. Pauley 1227
- CHARLES TRINKAUS. *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness*. By Marcia L. Colish 1227
- ENRICO STUMPO. *Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento*. By John A. Marino 1228
- XENIO TOSCANI. *Il clero lombardo dall'Antico Regime alla Restaurazione*. By Hanns Gross 1229
- ILARIA PORCIANI. *L' "Archivio storico italiano": Organizzazione della ricerca ed egemonia moderata nel Risorgimento*. By Emiliana P. Noether 1230
- GIANFAUSTO ROSOLI, ed. *Un secolo di emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976*. By Francesco Cordasco 1230
- BRENDA L. MARDER. *Stewards of the Land: The American Farm School and Modern Greece*. By George B. Leon 1231
- CONSTANTIN N. VELICHI. *La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale (1850-1878)*. By Vlad Georgescu 1232
- ELKA BORNEMANN. *Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918*. By Glenn E. Torrey 1232
- DOMOKOS KOSÁRY. *Napoleon et la Hongrie*. By Béla K. Király 1233
- THOMAS L. SAKMYSTER. *Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939*. By Bennett Kovrig 1234
- ALVIN MARCUS FOUNTAIN II. *Roman Dmowski: Party, Tactics, Ideology, 1895-1907*. By Edward D. Wynot, Jr. 1234
- JANUSZ PAJEWSKI. *Odbudowa państwa polskiego, 1914-1918* [Restoration of the Polish State, 1914-18]. By Leo John Haczyński 1235
- CLAES PETERSON. *Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms: Swedish Antecedents and the Process of Reception*. Translated by MICHAEL F. METCALF. By M. S. Anderson 1236
- J. MICHAEL HITTLE. *The Service City: State and Townsman in Russia, 1600-1800*. By Robert E. Jones 1236
- A. S. ORLOV. *Volneniia na Urale v seredine XVIII veka: K voprosu o formirovanii proletariata v Rossii* [Disturbances in the Urals in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century: On the Question of the Formation of a Proletariat in Russia]. By Paul Avrich 1237
- ROBERT EUGENE JOHNSON. *Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*. By Daniel Field 1238
- V. S. DIAKIN. *Samoderzhavie, burzhuaziia, i dvorianstvo v 1907-1911 gg.* [The Autocracy, the Bourgeoisie, and the Gentry, 1907-11]. By Robert S. Edelman 1238
- GEORGE F. KENNAN. *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890*. By Gordon A. Craig 1239
- A. S. SMOL'NIKOV. *Bol'shevizatsiia XII armii severnogo fronta v 1917 g.* [The Bolshevization of the Northern Front's Twelfth Army in 1917]. By John Bushnell 1240

- ALLAN K. WILDMAN. *The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Old Army and the Soldiers' Revolt (March-April 1917)*. By John Keep 1241
- FRANCIS CONTE. *Un révolutionnaire-diplomate: Christian Rakowski. L'Union soviétique et l'Europe (1922-1941)*. Preface by ANNIE KRIEDEL. By Teddy J. Uldricks 1241
- NICHOLAS LAMPERT. *The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State*. By William J. Conyngham 1242

NEAR EAST

- HASAN KAWUN KAKAR. *Government and Society in Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan*. By Ludwig W. Adamec 1243
- G. S. GEORGHALLIDES. *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926, with a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule*. By Allan Cunningham 1243

AFRICA

- SA'AD ABUBAKAR. *The Lāmbé of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809-1901*. By J. S. Hogendorn 1244
- HENRIKA KUKLICK. *The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1939*; BJÖRN M. EDMSAN. *Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics, c. 1900-1945: From Mensah Sarbah to J. B. Danquah*. By Rhoda Howard 1245

ASIA AND THE EAST

- JEROME CH'EN. *China and the West: Society and Culture, 1815-1937*. By Yi C. Wang 1246
- JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *Yenan and the Great Powers: The Origins of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy, 1944-1946*. By Nicholas R. Clifford 1247
- CARL BOYD. *The Extraordinary Envoy: General Hiroshi Ōshima and Diplomacy in the Third Reich, 1934-1939*. By William Livingston Spalding, Jr. 1248
- J. T. F. JORDENS. *Dayānanda Sarasvatī: His Life and Ideas*. By Kenneth R. Stunkel 1248
- K. N. CHADHURI and CLIVE J. DEWEY, eds. *Economy and Society, Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*. By Anand A. Yang 1249
- D. E. U. BAKER. *Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: The Central Provinces and Berar, 1919-1939*. By Eugene F. Irshick 1250
- MOHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN. *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*. By Frank F. Conlon 1250
- OLIVER B. POLLAK. *Empires in Collision: Anglo-Burmese Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. By Michael Adas 1251

UNITED STATES

- JEROME O. STEFFEN. *Comparative Frontiers: A Proposal for Studying the American West*. By Ray Allen Billington 1252
- FREDERICK TURNER. *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness*. By Francis Jennings 1252
- G. EDWARD WHITE. *Tort Law in America: An Intellectual History*. By David Fellman 1253

- EDWARD W. CHESTER. *The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts: The Military and Economic Considerations*. By Michael J. Hogan 1253
- W. DAVID BAIRD. *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People*. By William T. Hagan 1254
- RUSSEL LAWRENCE BARSH and JAMES YOUNGBLOOD HENDERSON. *The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty*. By Robert H. Keller 1255
- BENJAMIN W. LABAREE. *Colonial Massachusetts: A History*. By Edward M. Cook, Jr. 1255
- RAYMOND C. BAILEY. *Popular Influence upon Public Policy: Petitioning in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. By Rhys Isaac 1256
- FREDERICK V. MILLS, SR. *Bishops by Ballot: An Eighteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Revolution*. By Gerald J. Goodwin 1257
- CHARLES ROYSTER. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*. By Don Higginbotham 1257
- J. WORTH ESTES. *Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America, 1760-1820*. By Richard L. Blanco 1258
- CHARLES W. AKERS. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman*. By Vera Laska 1259
- WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR. *The Baron of Beacon Hill: A Biography of John Hancock*. By Stephen E. Patterson 1260
- ROBERT DAWIDOFF. *The Education of John Randolph*. By Harry Ammon 1260
- RICHARD M. CLOKEY. *William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West*. By W. Turrentine Jackson 1261
- ELBERT B. SMITH. *Francis Preston Blair*. By Robert V. Remini 1262
- CHARLES H. BROWN. *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters*. By Thomas Schoonover 1262
- ALBERT CASTEL. *The Presidency of Andrew Johnson*. By William R. Brock 1263
- RALPH J. ROSKE. *His Own Counsel: The Life and Times of Lyman Trumbull*. By James G. Smart 1264
- LAWRENCE N. POWELL. *New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. By John Hebron Moore 1264
- LEON F. LITWACK. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. By Harold D. Woodman 1265
- ROBERT F. ENGS. *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890*. By Joseph H. Cartwright 1266
- JAMES OLIVER HORTON and LOIS E. HORTON. *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North*; ELIZABETH HAFKIN PLECK. *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston 1865-1900*. By Gavin Wright 1267
- WILLIAM TOLL. *The Resurgence of Race: Black Social Theory from Reconstruction to the Pan-African Conferences*. By Thomas F. Gossett 1268
- RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*. By Carlos E. Cortés 1268
- WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH. *The Blind Boss & His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. By Roger W. Lotchin 1269
- CARL F. KAESTLE and MARIS A. VINOVSIS. *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts*. By Thomas Bender 1269
- PAOLO E. COLETTA. *Bowman Hendry McCalla: A Fighting Sailor*. By Robert Erwin Johnson 1270

- ALLON GAL. *Brandeis of Boston*. By Robert S. Maxwell 1271
- PHILIP S. FONER. *Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I*. By Irene D. Neu 1271
- JAMES P. JOHNSON. *The Politics of Soft Coal: The Bituminous Industry from World War I through the New Deal*. By Louis Galambos 1272
- JAMES B. LANE. *"City of the Century": A History of Gary, Indiana*. By Donald F. Carmony 1272
- JAMES M. SMALLWOOD. *An Oklahoma Adventure: Of Banks and Bankers*. By Gerald D. Nash 1273
- JOHN SAMUEL EZELL. *Innovations in Energy: The Story of Kerr-McGee*. By Arthur M. Johnson 1273
- DAVID E. KYVIG. *Repealing National Prohibition*. By Jack S. Blocker, Jr. 1274
- MICHAEL L. BERGER. *The Devil Wagon in God's Country: The Automobile and Social Change in Rural America, 1893-1929*. By Warren J. Belasco 1275
- C. JOSEPH PUSATERI. *Enterprise in Radio: WWL and the Business of Broadcasting in America*. By David Culbert 1275
- JEFFREY L. MEIKLE. *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939*. By Howard P. Segal 1276
- C. HOWARD HOPKINS. *John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography*. By Winthrop S. Hudson 1276

- A. GLENN MOWER, JR. *The United States, The United Nations, and Human Rights: The Eleanor Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter Eras*. By Thomas M. Campbell 1277

- GEORGE C. HERRING. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*. By Gary R. Hess 1277

- PHILIP ABBOTT. *Furious Fancies: American Political Thought in the Post-Liberal Era*. By Robert Booth Fowler 1278

CANADA

- A. B. MCKILLOP. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. By S. E. D. Shortt 1279

- HARVEY J. GRAFF. *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City*. By William Issel 1280

LATIN AMERICA

- HILDEGARD KRÜGER. *Der Cabildo von Asunción: Stadtverwaltung und städtische Oberschicht in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (1690-1730)*. By Jerry W. Cooney 1280

- ENRIQUE OTTE. *Las Perlas del Caribe: Nueva Cadiz de Cubagua*. By Ruth Pike 1281

- DAVID NICHOLLS. *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti*. By Thomas O. Ott 1282

Collected Essays	1283	Communications	1295
Documents and Bibliographies	1287	Recent Deaths	1298
Other Books Received	1289	Index of Advertisers	47(a)

The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800–60

CARVILLE EARLE
and
RONALD HOFFMAN

THE ADVENT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION and the emergence of the industrial city during the last three centuries have fundamentally transformed human society; no other combination of developments has equaled their importance. In the Anglo-American world, where the transition to industrialization first occurred, scholars have emphasized that the high cost of labor played a critical role in the sequence of economic expansion. Indeed, so uncontested has been the traditional account of the decisiveness of labor costs in the process of industrialization that its basic premises have gone almost unexplored. The classic interpretation represented most fully in H. J. Habakkuk's *American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century* (1962) ascribes the introduction of manufacturing technologies in the United States to a shortage of labor created in a nation that contained a modest population and abundant land.¹ Habakkuk contended that between 1810 and 1840 would-be entrepreneurs adopted new technologies to increase the productivity of labor. His thesis rests on the assumption that American labor was very limited and, hence, high-priced. Yet a close comparison of the relationship of labor costs to seasonal agricultural employment during the first half of the nineteenth century in three distinctive economies—the grain belt of the Mid-Atlantic states and the Old Northwest, the cotton South, and the English countryside—suggests that this argument needs to be reversed. The results of

The authors wish to thank both the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation for their assistance in facilitating the research for and preparation of this essay. A number of other scholars—including Peter J. Albert, Ira Berlin, Shannon Brown, Stanley Engerman, David Grimsted, Donald McCloskey, Sally D. Mason, Franklin Mendels, Peter Temin, Ronald Weissman, and Gavin Wright—have offered useful suggestions for which the authors are indebted.

¹ For a recent summation of the decisive and continuing influence of H. J. Habakkuk's *American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century: The Search for Labour-Saving Inventions* (Cambridge, 1962), see Paul Uselding, "Studies of Technology in Economic History," *Research in Economic History: Supplement 1* (1977): 159–219, esp. 207–08: "In many respects Habakkuk's work is like John Hicks' celebrated *Value and Capital* in that it has a kaleidoscopic quality. Certain changes in perspective reveal an endless variety of possibilities for viewing technological events, their causes and consequences. Economists are fond of saying 'It's all in Adam Smith,' and one is tempted to remark that for economic historians concerned with technological events, 'It's all in Habakkuk.'"

such a comparative analysis indicate that industrialization and the growth of the industrial city depended more upon cheap labor, which allowed for industrial investment, than upon expensive labor, which necessitated it—a pattern exemplified in the notably rapid industrialization that took place in Philadelphia during the 1820s.

In all of the regional economies examined, the nature of staple production was the principal controlling mechanism that regulated the cost and availability of labor and, therefore, the levels of industrialization and urbanization. More precisely, in both the United States and England during the period 1800–60, the production of regional agricultural staples, by determining the amount rural laborers earned, governed the processes of economic development, urbanization, and industrialization. The three regions possessed remarkably different seasonal demands for agricultural labor, and, in each, the cost of unskilled urban labor was a function of rural labor's earnings: where rural laborers did poorly, urban labor was cheap; where they did well, urban labor was expensive. The Old Northwest, for example, featured a wheat, corn, and livestock economy with a production schedule that required heavy labor inputs for only four months of the year with the greatest demand arising at harvest time. Consequently, most rural wage earners could anticipate full work for only one-third to one-half of a year at best. Because their annual earnings were correspondingly low, these workers could be induced into urban employment easily and inexpensively. In England and the cotton South, however, crop seasons ranged from eight to twelve months. In these economies, the yearly earnings of rural workers were higher, and, therefore, the costs of attracting rural labor to city jobs also increased substantially. Although the nearly full-year employment created by England's diversified and intensive agricultural economy did not hinder migration to the cities, it did raise the expense of hiring urban workers to a level that prevented extensive investments in machine technology. In the cotton South, aspiring urban entrepreneurs confronted labor costs that were truly prohibitive. The escalating price of cotton in the 1850s easily enabled nonslaveholders to earn high annual incomes in a variety of rural occupations—as small planters, plain farmers, overseers, or even tenants—and thus materially diminished any possible attractions of city life.

In summary, the grain economy of the Mid-Atlantic states and the Old Northwest and the cotton economy of the South represented the extremes. In the Old Northwest of the 1850s (as in the Philadelphia region of the 1820s) labor was cheap, a condition that encouraged both urbanization and the diffusion of machine technology. Conversely, the high cost of labor (whether free or slave) in the cotton South stymied any movement toward industrialization and urbanization. Finally, labor costs in England during the early decades of the nineteenth century represented an intermediate situation in which the price of both skilled and unskilled labor retarded the diffusion of machine technology but allowed substantial urbanization to occur. What follows is a comparative analysis of the availability and cost of labor in the grain belt of the North, the cotton South, and the English countryside. The analysis includes a review of the litera-

ture on scarce and expensive American labor as a cause of technological change, presentation of an alternative model of development based on low-priced labor, resembling in structure Sir Arthur Lewis's theory of development with an unlimited supply of labor but—unlike Lewis's—incorporating the mechanism of agricultural seasonality and its market imperfections, and, to test this model, an examination of labor costs as determinants in the processes of capital accumulation, urbanization, and industrialization.

NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMISTS HAVE CLAIMED that both labor and capital benefited from American economic development, at least in the northern United States. Labor received increasingly higher wages and larger shares of its products' value added. In other words, wages accounted for a greater percentage of the total value of production exclusive of the costs of materials. The theoretical underpinning for this belief is the contention that both skilled and unskilled labor were scarce and, therefore, commanded premium wages and earnings. In rural areas, the scarcity of labor allegedly encouraged the payment of high wages equal to labor's marginal product, defined here as the value of increased output acquired by the application of additional labor. High farm wages, in turn, meant that, in order to attract rural labor, urban employers had to pay a transfer wage that exceeded the value of urban labor's marginal product. To do this, urban capitalists were compelled to elevate labor's marginal product to the level of wages, and they made this adjustment by adding machine technology. Over the long term, capital investment in mechanization increased output per worker, and labor's share of product value added remained steady. This argument, generally referred to as the "Habakkuk thesis" after its principal proponent, contains a number of logical and evidentiary problems. Although economic historians have raised some questions about it, they have avoided challenging the central proposition of labor scarcity.²

Peter Temin, the most forthright critic of the Habakkuk thesis, has focused on capital and its availability for technological investments in the 1850s and has argued by implication that American labor must have been nearly as cheap as British labor. Temin observed that American and British capital were equally scarce—a fact suggested by the similar level of interest rates. Accordingly, British and American firms, having access to similar technologies, would have industrialized at equal rates if labor costs, like capital costs, were identical. But most American industries used demonstrably more machinery than equivalent British industries.³ Although a logical deduction from Temin's evidence would be that American labor was cheaper than British labor, this possibility has met with considerable resistance on the part of economists. Regarding low-priced American labor as an impossible proposition, they have tried instead to sustain

² The most complete and still the most provocative statement is Habakkuk, *American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century*.

³ Temin, "Labor Scarcity and the Problem of American Industrial Efficiency in the 1850s," *Journal of Economic History* [hereafter, *JEH*], 26 (1966): 277-98.

Habakkuk's thesis by constructing elegant if implausible models rationalizing the abundance of American capital (hence, its cheapness vis-à-vis labor), proposing dual scarcities of capital and labor, or positing a three-factor model wherein the abundance of American raw materials permitted waste in processing and, hence, the use of inefficient machines and expensive labor.⁴ Temin's critics have one thing in common: they deny out of hand the possibility of an inexpensive labor supply.

Habakkuk's views on technological innovation during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, when American manufacturers began investing capital in the new machine technologies, have also been disputed. As with Temin's critique for the 1850s, the accumulating evidence for this earlier period reveals more similarities in than differences between English and American wages, thus weakening the explanatory power of labor costs. Don Adams's careful compilation of American and English wages for 1790–1830 contradicts Habakkuk's thesis on almost every essential. Specifically, Adams demonstrated that American agricultural wages were comparable to those of England and that the wage differential between skilled and unskilled labor, though similar in both countries, was generally wider in the United States. And Nathan Rosenberg's research on the cotton textile industry in the mid-1820s reveals a parallel pattern. His evidence also shows that wage differentials between the skilled workers (mule spinners and hand-loom weavers) and the unskilled were, if anything, wider in the United States than in England.⁵ Had American capitalists applied Habakkukian logic, they should have used their relatively cheaper unskilled labor more intensively and thus slowed the pace of machine diffusion. Since they did not pursue such a course, their behavior remains unexplained.

The objections raised by Temin, Adams, and Rosenberg have approached a low-cost labor interpretation of the antebellum United States, but each has stopped short of explaining its causes. Equally important, their work has not accounted for industrialization—that is, the United States's preoccupation with machine technology in the years after 1800. The thrust of their criticism has been largely negative: it has obliterated substantial differences in American and English wage rates and seriously undermined Habakkuk's thesis that American labor was expensive, but it has left us without an interpretation of comparative industrialization. Indeed, from the data adduced on comparative wage rates, we might conclude that American labor was as abundant as English labor and, therefore, that we should expect similar factor combinations of labor and capi-

⁴ D. L. Brito and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Skilled Labor and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Managerial Behavior," *Explorations in Economic History* [hereafter, *EEH*], 2d ser., 10 (1972): 235–51; and Paul A. David, "Labor Scarcity and the Problem of Technological Practice and Progress in Nineteenth-Century America," in Paul A. David, ed., *Technical Choice Innovation and Economic Growth: Essays on American and British Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), 19–91. Also see Robert Fogel, "The Specification Problem in Economic History," *JEH*, 27 (1967): 283–308.

⁵ Adams, "Wage Rates in the Early National Period: Philadelphia, 1785–1830," *JEH*, 28 (1968): 404–26, and "Some Evidence on English and American Wage Rates, 1790–1830," *ibid.*, 30 (1970): 499–502; and Rosenberg, "Anglo-American Wage Differences in the 1820s," *ibid.*, 27 (1967): 221–29. For a dissenting view, suggesting narrower skilled-unskilled margins on Pennsylvania iron plantations, see Jeffrey F. Zabler, "Further Evidence on American Wage Differentials, 1800–1830," *EEH*, 2d ser., 10 (1972): 109–17.

tal. If these were the controlling economic realities, then the capital intensity of American industry would remain impervious to rational analysis. Wage rates, however, particularly for agricultural wages that form the foundation of Habakkuk's thesis, are very misleading. A careful examination of American agriculture and its English counterpart shows that the doctrine of American labor scarcity is untenable.

ANTEBELLUM AGRICULTURE WAS SEASONAL. Unlike manufacturing, which customarily operated most of the year, the agricultural season and the demand for labor varied remarkably from one crop region to another. Regional staples determined whether laborers were hired for a few days, a few months, or the entire year. The length of the crop season was critical in establishing the employment possibilities and the earnings of the rural laborer. Thus, it is misleading to use daily or monthly wage rates as proxies for rural earnings when comparing farming systems so radically different from each other as those under discussion, for the convention of calculating farm labor earnings by multiplying monthly wage rates by twelve (or daily wage rates by 311 working days) seriously distorts fundamental differences in contrasting systems. Agricultural labor's earnings are more accurately determined by multiplying the number of days or months a typical laborer worked by the daily or monthly wage rate.⁶ In the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states, grain farming was the principal business. Yearly contracts for labor were rare, except when farms were opened, sod was busted, and timber was cleared. From the mid-eighteenth century down to 1860, farm labor was seasonal. In wheat areas, farm boys were hired for ten days to two weeks during harvest. Sometimes the urgency to locate labor produced a sense of panic as farmers confronted the potential disaster of having much of their crop over-ripened and dispersed before it could be harvested. Once ripened, wheat required harvesting within a maximum of ten days to two weeks. Notices such as the following, which appeared on the front page of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, were typical: "Laborers wanted. We learned that farmers just now are greatly in need of laborers to gather their crops. Here is a chance for every idle man in the city. Take almost any road west, south, or north and in a single day, every man who wants work can find it." Similarly, in mixed grain areas, labor customarily worked ten weeks to four months, usually in the period from plowing and corn planting in the spring through corn tillage and on to the July harvest of small grains. Four months constituted the usual term for farm laborers in the grain belt, and during the rest of the year they were underemployed or unemployed.⁷

Similar circumstances prevailed wherever wheat and corn had become major commercial staples. Just before the Civil War, a small farmer explained to Fred-

⁶ For this point, see Carville V. Earle, "A Staple Interpretation of Slavery and Free Labor," *Geographical Review*, 68 (1978): 52-65.

⁷ See Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1968); David E. Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys: Farm Labor in the Midwest, 1815-1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1975); and Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age in Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York, 1960). Also see other sources cited in Earle, "A Staple Interpretation of Slavery and Free Labor," 52-65.

erick Law Olmsted how this labor system operated. The "poor white people" and "rural mechanics," he related, "hardly ever worked on farms except in harvest, when they usually received a dollar a day, sometimes more. In harvest-time, most of the rural mechanics closed their shops and hired out to the farmers at a dollar a day. . . . At other than harvest-time, the poor white people, who had no trade, would sometimes work for the farmers by the job; not often at any regular agricultural labor, but at getting rails or shingles, or clearing land."⁸ Hence, if labor's earnings were principally confined to several months, then annual earnings obviously amounted to substantially less than the amount that could be earned in other farming systems employing year-round labor.

By contrast, English agriculture in the early nineteenth century was labor intensive with farm laborers employed most of the year in the tasks of marling, manuring, plowing and tilling the arable soil, and tending livestock. The English agricultural historian Eric L. Jones has admirably described the increasing demand for labor on English farms as the agricultural work year was extended:

The seasonal work-rhythm in agriculture was most evident on the larger arable farms. The crop-year means brisk activity sowing the cereals in autumn and spring, frantic haste and urgency at harvest, and comparative somnolence in between. Threshing was virtually the only winter task of any importance. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the starkness of this rhythm was tempered by the new rotations which gained ground. Of these, the Norfolk four-course was the arch-typal but by no means the sole pattern. Its tight sequence of wheat, turnips, barley, clover, then wheat again, its arable flock and its yarded bullocks suggest the directions in which most of the new systems created jobs. Sowing, hoeing and singling the root crops, hurdling the sheep, feeding the fattening bullocks through the winter went some way towards the evolution of a farming system in which work was available, in a series of short bursts, most of the year through.⁹

⁸ Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), 82–83.

⁹ Jones, *Seasons and Prices: The Role of the Weather in English Agricultural History* (London, 1964), 60–61. In studying the agricultural history of England from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, certain fundamental factors must be kept in mind. First, between 1750 and 1840 the population of England and Wales more than doubled, while the increase in the home production of cereals, though dramatic, was slightly less than two-fold. Second, because substantial imports from outside the United Kingdom were not possible, the nation remained largely dependent on its indigenous agricultural economy for sustenance. Third, and most important for our argument, the era of parliamentary enclosure, which began in 1750, did not produce a decline in rural population. On this point there is some consensus, and few scholars would seriously quibble with Eric L. Jones, who has claimed that England's agricultural labor supply grew from 1.7 million in 1801 to 2.1 million in 1851. Similarly, geographer J. A. Yelling recently concluded, "What is certain is that the general effect of parliamentary enclosure on village population totals was far from catastrophic; and that although certain aspects of the process favored economy of labour, the broad package of land-use changes that occurred in most parishes continued to support a high level of employment. It would be fair to add that this occurred at a time of rapid upsurge in rural populations when employment was expanding in common-field parishes also, and in neither case is it easy to see precisely how the extra jobs were found." Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450–1850* (Hamden, Conn., 1977), 226. Yelling's observation is well taken—no one can yet say in any definitive fashion how England's rural population maintained itself. Several excellent studies, however, do suggest how the agricultural work year and its concomitant labor requirements expanded markedly between 1750 and 1840. Two factors are stressed as fundamental in creating the economic foundation that emerged in the English countryside: the physical process involved in enclosure and the introduction of new crops. In two important essays, J. D. Chambers has demonstrated how the enclosure effort dramatically increased the amount of land under cultivation, a development that, he emphasized, required substantial additional work to bring the virgin soil into production. Chambers has also suggested how a pattern of high, year-round employment was instituted by the introduction and spread of turnip cultivation and green fodder crops and the heightened concentration on livestock, all of which "called for labour throughout the year in field, barn and stockyard." Chambers, "Enclosure and Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution," *Economic History Review* [hereafter, *EHR*], 2d ser., 5 (1953): 319–43, and "The Vale of Trent, 1670–1800," *ibid.*, Supplement 3 (1957): 2–63. In a prize-winning essay examining England's farm economy in this period, C. Peter Timmer has advanced convincing quantitative support for Chambers's general arguments. Specifically, Timmer contended

In some areas of England, laborers worked on lengthy contracts of six months or a year; in others, particularly in the south of England, rural workers stitched together employment from day work, piece work, and harvest work; but, in virtually all of England, the average farm laborer found employment for most, if not all, of the year.¹⁰ Thus, in the 1820s, English farm workers probably earned about \$170 and board for the year, while American laborers in grain-farming districts counted on about \$40, out of which they had to deduct room and board for the off eight months.¹¹ Presumably, many found some additional

that England's augmented agricultural production resulted from the diversification created by growing turnips and grasses and by the accompanying attention paid to husbandry. But he observed that—and this is absolutely critical—the new agricultural form did not include a corresponding expansion in worker output: “Even if a 50 per cent increase in yield was achieved on the new farm,” he wrote, “the increase in output *per worker* was nearly nil. The English agricultural revolution increased land, not labor, productivity.” In essence, the growth in commodity production resulted from an increase in the amount of arable land and the number of agricultural laborers. To substantiate his interpretation, Timmer provided a comparison of the labor requirements on English farms that did and did not practice the new agriculture. The significance of his conclusion is clear: “The new farm needed two-fifths more labor on a year-round basis, *but it did not put any added pressure on labor supplies in the critical harvest period.*” Timmer, “The Turnip, the New Husbandry, and the English Agricultural Revolution,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 83 (1969): 375–95, esp. 392, 394.

¹⁰ From the perspective of the agricultural laborer, of course, the basic importance of the changing economy of the English countryside involved two related considerations: how secure were the prospects for employment and what level of annual income could be expected? These are indeed complex issues. The years 1790–1840 were, as E. J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé described in *Captain Swing* (London, 1969), a time of transition and tension in rural England as the old system of annual labor contracts was replaced by a new one under which labor was hired daily, weekly, or monthly. Examples of both practices abound in the literature of and on the period. In Scotland, Wales, and the north of England both contemporaries, such as James Caird in *English Agriculture in 1850–51* (London, 1852), and modern scholars, such as Christabel S. Orwin and Edith W. Whetham in their *History of British Agriculture, 1846–1914* (London, 1964), have recorded the continuation of annual and semi-annual contracts specifying much of the payment in kind—a situation that may or may not have worked to the laborer's benefit. By contrast, England's richer agricultural regions introduced a bewildering array of new hiring methods. Some workers functioned under the older arrangements. Others, by preference or coercion, labored under a wage-rate system that varied by season and task. Still others worked exclusively on a piece-rate basis. The employment patterns differed not only between regions but within regions and even within counties as well. One investigation completed in 1838 reveals, for example, that in each of Bedfordshire's twenty-six parishes a different wage-rate system existed; G. R. Porter, “Agricultural Queries, with Returns from the County of Bedford,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* [hereafter, *JSSL*], 1 (May 1838): 89–96. But, again, the important issue to be addressed is what this variegated labor market meant in terms of the incomes of agricultural laborers and the availability of reliable employment. Several conclusions seem clear. First, rural workers adjusted reasonably well and were not impoverished—at least not until the mid-1840s, when the flight from the countryside began. Second, they found virtually year-round work—R. A. C. Parker's study of the wheat, barley, turnip, and livestock farms contains clear evidence that labor was hired for forty-eight weeks of the year; Parker, *Coke of Norfolk: A Financial and Agricultural Study* (Oxford, 1975). Third, and this point is essential to determining annual family income, the hiring of labor was not restricted to the male heads of households; women and children were also employed. The results of this practice, particularly in the major agricultural centers of England (the southern and eastern counties), were substantial, and one investigation of the moderately rich counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in the 1830s underscores its importance. Single men or families where the wife did not work had annual incomes of \$120 to \$130. By contrast, families with one or more children above the age of ten who worked—and in this sample there were a sizable number, 273 of 539, or 50.6 percent—earned from \$140 to \$200. See James Phillips Kay, “Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in Norfolk and Suffolk,” *JSSL*, 1 (1838): 179–83. As a writer from Dorsetshire observed somewhat later (and in a far more depressed agricultural period), any discussion of the income of a farm laborer must at minimum take into account, “Whether his children living with him do not earn nearly or entirely their own maintenance”; “Wages in Dorsetshire,” *JSSL*, 22 (1859): 521–22. With virtually all available evidence pointing to a lack of extensive emigration or “flight” from the countryside, to year-round employment and satisfactory annual incomes, it is apparent that from 1800 to 1840 the rural English agricultural laboring family had a viable economic position. Also see A. L. Bowley, “The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom during the Last Hundred Years—Part I: Agricultural Wages,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 61 (1898): 702–22.

¹¹ On British labor and wages, see Adams, “Some Evidence on English and American Wage Rates,” 505–06; H. C. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages* (New York, 1965), 91; and Eric L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1974). On the high incidence of yearly contracts, see Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*.

work; but, clearly, labor in the American grain belt was cheap, and it did not take a very high urban salary to induce these unskilled workers from rural to permanent urban employment. Here was a vast source of inexpensive labor convenient for exploitation by American entrepreneurs.

Urban wages were thus tightly enmeshed with the regional agricultural economy. The key mechanism determining urban wages, as elucidated by development economists, is the transfer wage. Simply put, the transfer wage indicates the wages for unskilled urban labor (or what amounts to the same thing—its cost) for a particular farming region and represents the annual wage that will induce unskilled rural labor to seek urban jobs. That wage may be found by solving the following formula for unskilled urban wages: $W_u - W_r = C_u - C_r$, where W_u is the annual urban wage or earnings, W_r is the amount of rural earnings, and C_u and C_r are the living costs in city and country. When urban earnings were greater than the sum of the living costs in the city and the rural earnings, less, of course, the living costs of the countryside (when, that is, $W_u - W_r > C_u - C_r$), migration from rural to urban jobs became more attractive. Just how great this inequality had to be is problematic, because the nonpecuniary income attached to rural life increased substantially the value of rural wages alone—that is, W_r was usually higher than the cash value of rural earnings by 30 to 40 percent.¹² For purposes of clarity, the transfer wage without nonpecuniary income as part of the calculation will be denoted as W_u and with nonpecuniary income as W_u' .

The transfer wage is a product of labor markets and their imperfections. Although antebellum rural labor markets were competitive with the conditions of supply and demand largely responsible for setting the cost of labor, they were frequently imperfect with either more buyers or more sellers, as Stanley Lebergott has observed.¹³ Imperfections were especially common in seasonal farming districts like the American grain belt. In effect, the labor market was a hybrid, perfectly competitive during the crop season and oligopsonistic or even monopsonistic during the off-season. In the farm season, farmers (buyers) and laborers (sellers) were numerous, demand was inelastic, and daily wages were high. Conversely, the off-season market was glutted with underemployed laborers and few buyers. This hybrid labor market fixed the supply curve of urban labor at the transfer wage. On the demand side, the handful of urban entrepreneurs remaining in the labor market exerted considerable influence on wage determination. These firms paid wages that were not only low but also less than marginal product, thereby causing exploitation in the form of a capitalist's surplus.¹⁴ The capi-

¹² The model is similar to the formula for the slavery-free labor inequality devised by Evsey Domar; see Domar, "The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis," *JEH*, 30 (1970): 18–32. On nonpecuniary income, see W. Arthur Lewis, "Reflections on Unlimited Labour," in Luis Eugenio DiMarco, ed., *International Economics and Development: Essays in Honor of Raul Prebisch* (New York, 1972), 75–96; Gerald M. Meier, *Leading Issues in Economic Development* (3d ed., New York, 1976), 158; and especially A. J. Fonseca, *Wage Issues in a Developing Economy: The Indian Experience* (Bombay, 1975), 1–30. Note that the transfer wage operates within both perfect and imperfect labor markets, and its operation affects the incomes of all who seek urban work, native or immigrant.

¹³ Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record since 1800* (New York, 1964), 164–90. Also see the informative observations on labor markets in Richard A. Lester, *The Economics of Labor* (New York, 1946), 93–127.

¹⁴ For a graphical representation of this situation, see Graph 1, page 1076, below; and David, "Learning by

talist's surplus equaled the sum of money saved by the employer through the payment of a wage less than that which would be required in a perfectly competitive market—that is, a market where the demand for labor that existed during the crop season prevailed throughout the entire work year.

We recognize that rural labor in the United States rarely worked in a twelve-month employment cycle. The norm was nine to ten months in the South and four to six months in many of the Mid-Atlantic and Midwestern states. Our purpose in using a year-round, perfectly competitive rural labor market as a benchmark is to illustrate the critical interrelationship of rural earnings and urban wage rate determination. More precisely, unskilled urban wages were determined by the earnings of rural labor, which were in turn established by the seasonality of employment and the market imperfections that existed during the off-season. If the crop year were extended, the level of annual income necessary to employ unskilled urban labor rose and, conversely, if the crop year were shortened, the annual wages offered urban laborers declined. The disparity, therefore, between what the rural laborer could have earned if employed for twelve months and his rural earnings for four, six, or ten months—what we have defined as exploitation resulting from seasonality—was critical in establishing the upper bound of the urban wage rate, which, in most cases, was paid on the basis of twelve months of employment. In the long run, it should be noted that exploitation diminished. It did so precisely because, as new firms entered the market to take advantage of low-cost labor, they eventually created a competitive year-round labor market with numerous firms competing for idled rural labor. Or, expressed differently, the level of exploitation dwindled as urban labor markets themselves became perfectly competitive.¹⁵

Within the hybrid labor market established by seasonal agriculture, the transfer wage was the main, though not the exclusive, strategy used by urban firms to attract laborers. It was the preferred strategy for firms that wanted a permanent, year-round labor force, which they could acquire by offering annual urban wages at a level only slightly above that of seasonal rural earnings. Alternatively, firms in seasonal industries favored a second strategy. Operating pri-

Doing and Tariff Protection: A Reconsideration of the Case of the Ante-Bellum United States Cotton Textile Industry," in David, *Technical Choice Innovation and Economic Growth*, 147. David, however, has attributed market imperfections to year-round monopsony of a single firm in an isolated labor market. The seasonal imperfections suggested here are more general in their operation.

¹⁵ Our notion of exploitation as a function of seasonality, since it departs from standard usage in economics, requires brief explanation. We employ the term to focus on the labor market that permitted entrepreneurs to pay low wages because of the unequal demands for labor in the rural and urban sectors. The cost of labor in the urban sector was determined by the work requirements of agriculture. More specifically, the annual incomes earned by rural labor—a product of seasonality—were the prime determinant of urban wages and, therefore, yearly urban earnings. Some neoclassical economists will undoubtedly object to our method of calculating exploitation on the basis of year-round work. Their argument is that, since seasonality was a normal condition during the nineteenth century, labor markets were, therefore, perfectly competitive. Moreover, by denying the impact of seasonality, they contend that neither market imperfections nor exploitation commonly occur in developing staple economies. In contrast, we are obviously convinced that this neoclassical interpretation does not coincide with the reality of labor market functioning during the nineteenth century, when the key determinant was rural incomes rather than "marginalist" economics. Unskilled urban workers were paid not according to their productivity but in accordance with what they could have earned in their chief alternative employment—namely, rural labor. When seasonality truncated these earnings, the result was the structuring of a labor market that served both to exploit labor and to create a capitalist's surplus that was used as a subsidy for industrialization.

marily during the imperfect labor market that prevailed through fall and winter, they could push wages down toward subsistence. A third strategy was noneconomic in nature. For reasons of paternalism or equity, some firms paid wages that were greater than subsistence or transfer wages. Each strategy, nevertheless, involved some degree of exploitation as the following hypothetical examples make clear. Consider the case where farm laborers earned \$10 per month during a four-month crop season. Suppose also that the year-round urban firm attracted rural workers by paying them a transfer wage of \$60. Had perfect labor markets existed throughout the year, the firm would have paid labor \$120. The absolute difference of \$60 was the capitalist's surplus, and the relative difference of 50 percent was the degree of exploitation caused by market imperfections. Consider now the subsistence wage strategy of the firm that hired only temporary labor during the fall and winter seasons. Meat packers, woodlot operators, and iron millers, for example, frequently paid little more than the cost of subsistence in the glutted labor market. Suppose the monthly subsistence wage was \$3, then the capitalist's surplus equaled \$7 per month and exploitation amounted to 70 percent. In theory, firms that paid wages in excess of subsistence or the transfer wage did so for noneconomic reasons. They reduced their potential profit while lowering labor's exploitation. Precisely which strategy firms pursued is a matter for empirical determination. The following discussion focuses on the transfer wage as the main strategy used in the reshaping of the antebellum American economy.¹⁶

IN TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING THE EFFECT of the transfer wage, it is important, at the outset, to underscore the distinctly confined impact exerted by immigration on the operation of the antebellum labor market. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the immigration of some four million people to New England and the Middle Atlantic and North Central states certainly contributed toward expanding the cheap labor pool of those sections. But the major mechanism of seasonality strictly limited the range of potential market consequences. Immigrants went mainly to cities, presumably because of better employment opportunities afforded by year-round work as opposed to seasonal rural labor. Most of them made their original destination an urban center or moved to the city shortly after their arrival in a rural area, thereby increasing in some sections the already ongoing rural to urban movement. This pattern had the effect of depressing the cost of urban labor, although clearly it did not reduce it to the level where rural employment became a viable or attractive alternative. Conversely, and significantly, if immigration had not occurred, urban wages would not have risen appreciably: the determinant of seasonality would have continued to establish the level of compensation that rural employers could afford to

¹⁶ Lester, *The Economics of Labor*, 93-127; and Joan Robinson, *The Economics of Imperfect Competition* (London, 1954). For thinking on the effects of seasonality on economic development in the European context, see Franklin F. Mendels, "Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrial Process," *JEH*, 32 (1972): 241-61.



Figure 1: Mid-nineteenth-century representation of the wheat harvest. The laborers in this scene used the scythe, which, though still common in the 1850s, was being replaced by the cradle and the mechanized reaper. Reproduced from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 15 (1857): 307.

extend. The urban entrepreneurs would still have been likely to offer relatively low wages—wages only somewhat higher than total rural income—to induce migration from the countryside. Expressed succinctly, since the cost of rural labor was determined primarily by the forces of seasonality, immigration had minimal effect in lowering the transfer wage by narrowing the differential between the annual earnings of rural and urban labor.¹⁷

The transfer wage during the nineteenth century varied considerably among

¹⁷ A caveat is in order before proceeding to the regional comparisons. Ours is a model of regional wage determination for unskilled men; it should not be confused with a model of migration. A fully specified model of migration obviously must take into account the larger unit of the household, its earnings, and its cost of maintenance. Elsewhere, Carville V. Earle has developed such an economic model of migration that resolves the seeming paradox of migration to the low-wage Midwest rather than to the high-wage South; see Earle, "Interpreting the Size of Cities and City Systems: Agricultural Economy and Urban Labor in the Chicago and Mobile Urban Systems during the 1850s," paper presented at the Social Science History Association Meetings, held in Cambridge, Mass., November 1979.

American regions. The greatest difference existed between the Northern grain belt and the cotton South. For illustrative purposes, the grain-farming regions in northern and central Illinois and the cotton-planting agriculture of Alabama during the 1850s may be compared: Illinois rural earnings reflected the seasonal underemployment of farm labor while Alabama earnings represented year-round rural employment. In Illinois, farmers hired labor for short terms of ten weeks to four months. Hiring peaked in the period from spring plowing and corn planting in April through corn tillage in May and June and the harvest of small grains in July. A typical laborer's season brought wages of \$14 to \$18 per month for four months, or annual earnings of \$56 to \$72. During the remainder of the year, sporadic and unpredictable labor demands lowered wages and increased prospects for unemployment. Rural workers also faced steep living costs. Although they received room and board for the four months they were employed, they "found themselves" paying out about \$48 of their summer earnings in the course of the remaining eight months.¹⁸ Costs of living in the urban areas of the region were higher than rural expenses. Most evidence suggests that it cost a single male \$165 to live in the region's cities. Entering these figures into the formula for ascertaining the transfer wage ($W_u - W_r = C_u - C_r$), the transfer wage based on earnings alone (W_u) was roughly \$173 to \$189 and based on earnings plus nonpecuniary income (W_u') was roughly \$190 to \$211—that is,

$$\begin{array}{ll} W_u = \$165 - \$48 + (\$56/\$72) & W_u' = \$165 - \$48 + 130\%(\$56/\$72) \\ W_u = \$173/\$189 & W_u' = \$190/\$211. \end{array}$$

Rural to urban migration was theoretically possible, then, when the Midwestern urban wage was between \$190 and \$215.¹⁹

In the South, cotton established a more demanding regimen and a higher transfer wage. The crop's long gestation required sustained attention during the growing season, and this made free labor prohibitively expensive. White labor costing over \$100 per year simply could not compete with slaves costing \$50 to \$60.²⁰ But rural life had attractions for young white men capable of driving slaves and overseeing plantations. These year-round jobs promised rapid capital

¹⁸ Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys*, 188; Paul A. David, "The Mechanization of Reaping in the Ante-Bellum Midwest," in Henry Rosovsky, ed., *Industrialization in Two Systems: Essays in Honor of Alexander Gerschenkron by a Group of His Students* (New York, 1966), 3-39; and Earle, "A Staple Interpretation of Slavery and Free Labor," 60.

¹⁹ Figures for living costs are based on those for an adult in Eastern manufacturing cities in 1860 and adjusted for regional differences, since regional costs of living in the Midwest equaled or exceeded those in the Northeast. See *Report of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue for the Year 1868*, 40th Cong., 3d Sess., HR Exec. Doc., no. 16 (Washington, 1869), 122; and Philip R. P. Coelho and James F. Shepherd, "Differences in Regional Prices: The United States, 1851-1880," *JEH*, 34 (1974): 551-91. Nonpecuniary income is not a residual measure; rather, it is based on empirical observation by development economists. The theoretical basis for nonpecuniary income's proportion of rural earnings is less well established; presumably, its level is set by comparative rates of return in rural and urban areas. See Lewis, "Reflections on Unlimited Labour," 75-96; and Meier, *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, 158.

²⁰ On cotton generally, see Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (new ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1958). For the seminal work on slave costs, see Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South," in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History* (Evanston, Ill., 1971), 342-61.

accumulation and economic mobility. Annual pay was substantial for an overseer in the cotton belt of Alabama and Mississippi, where the average wage was about \$400 and the range from \$200 to \$1,000. Assuming a starting pay of \$300, along with fringe benefits covering living costs ($C_r = 0$), the first-year overseer did well.²¹ The bidding level for urban firms seeking labor was exorbitantly high. Southern merchants and manufacturers had to offer a starting pay of \$300 plus an additional sum of perhaps \$150 to cover living costs in the town or city. These costs placed the transfer wage (W_u) at \$450 and, to overcome the non-pecuniary income attached to rural earnings, the transfer wage (W_u') at \$540.²² Unskilled labor was, therefore, less expensively induced out of the countryside in Illinois than in Alabama, or, to put it in different terms, urban labor was twice as expensive in the South as in the North because of the protracted demands of the cotton economy.

The overseers were not atypical; their considerable earnings accurately reflected the equally good fortune of the lesser planters and nonslaveholding whites during the 1850s. These small planters accounted for over 80 percent of the cotton South's heads of households. Like the large planters, these small producers derived their earnings primarily from growing cotton. Throughout the cotton belt, 75 to 80 percent of the nonslaveholders raised cotton, and, in the Black Belt of Alabama and Mississippi, over 90 percent did so.²³ Almost every white family participated in the gamble of cotton, and conditions favored their success. Although slave prices had spiraled beyond the reach of these small producers, the costs of land, family labor, and capital were minimal, especially when cotton prices pushed above \$0.10 per pound. For labor, the small white planter used his own and that of members of his family. As Frederick Law Olmsted observed, "I have, in fact, seen more white native American women at work in the hottest sunshine in a single month, and that near midsummer, in Mississippi and Alabama than in all my life in the free States, not on account of an emergency, as in harvesting either, but in the regular cultivation of cotton and of corn, chiefly of cotton."²⁴ The small planter obtained land by leasing it or buying it as cheaply as \$2 an acre. For capital, he needed only a one-horse plow, which was primitive in the extreme and of little expense, and a horse or mule, which were expensive but could be purchased on a year's credit, with payments beginning after the sale of the first crop. By driving himself and his relations and by "busting his ass," the aspiring planter raised a good crop of cotton, perhaps as much as ten bales and certainly as much as eight bales. At \$0.10 per pound, his gross revenue ranged roughly from \$320 to \$400.²⁵ Incomes of this magnitude

²¹ William Kauffman Scarborough, *The Overseer: Plantation Management in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1966), 3-66.

²² The cost of living in Southern cities is estimated at \$150 by adjusting the cost in Eastern manufacturing cities (\$165) by regional price indices from Coelho and Shepherd, "Differences in Regional Prices," 570.

²³ On the cotton production of nonslaveholders, see Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1978), chaps. 2, 3.

²⁴ Olmsted, *A Journey in the Back Country* (New York, 1860), 298.

²⁵ Olmsted is informative on every point made here, but also see Robert R. Russell, "The Effects of Slavery upon Nonslaveholders in the Ante Bellum South," *Agricultural History*, 15 (1941): 112-26; and Charles S. Davis, *Cotton Kingdom in Alabama* (Montgomery, Ala., 1939), 154-55, 67. On mules, see Robert B. Lamb, *The Mule in*



Figure 2: Mid-nineteenth-century representation of cotton picking. Although slaves are depicted here, the task was the same for the small planter and his family. The rarity of illustrations showing whites in the cotton fields is a commentary on the skewed antebellum perception of the cotton South. Reproduced from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 8 (1854): 456.

show quite clearly why overseers' earnings were high. They also explain the attachment of "poor whites" to the country rather than the city.

The transfer wage serves as the theoretical mechanism for wage determination. What is more, the transfer wage established regional bidding floors for unskilled and semi-skilled labor that were low in the Midwest and high in the South. In Chicago, for instance, unskilled labor working for the McCormick Reaper Company in the late 1850s earned \$0.06 per hour for ten hours a day, six days a week, or \$186.60 for the year's work. Indeed, this figure falls within the lower range of the transfer wage and suggests that nonpecuniary income in rural areas was of very little significance during the late 1850s. Certainly the depression of 1857 and the several lean years thereafter made farm labor unattractive and capital accumulation unlikely. Similarly, the Illinois Central Railroad drove wages down to \$0.80 per day (\$248.80 per year), and the company made every effort to reduce wages further at decade's end.²⁶

Southern Agriculture, University of California Publications in Geography, no. 15 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), 17-29.

²⁶ Robert Ozanne, *Wages in Practice and Theory: McCormick International Harvester, 1860-1960* (Madison, Wisc., 1968), 3-21. The company usually boosted wages in the spring, when in competition with farmers, and

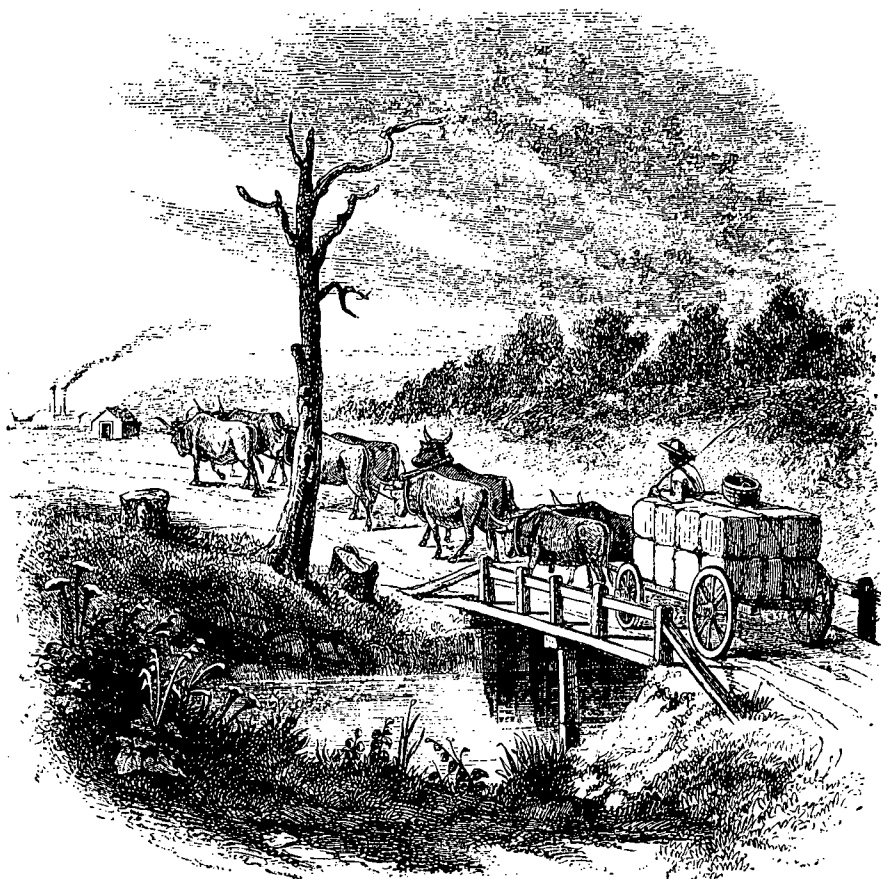


Figure 3: Mid-nineteenth-century representation of cotton hauling from the plantation to the river landing, from which the cotton was shipped by steamboat. Note that the wagon hauled eight bales of cotton, or roughly the output of one worker. Reproduced from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 8 (1854): 460.

The low transfer wage not only in Illinois but throughout the Midwest involved a considerable degree of economic exploitation. Indeed, exploitation was inherent in a markedly seasonal staple economy with imperfect labor markets in the off-season. Compare, for instance, the actual earnings of unskilled urban labor with those earnings that workers would have received under competitive conditions such as those prevailing during the crop season. Monthly wages of \$14 to \$18 from spring planting to summer harvesting would have yielded annual incomes of \$158 to \$216 had employment been year-round. Adding in board at \$6 per month or \$72 per year, workers would have earned \$230 to \$288 in perfectly competitive markets. In practice, entrepreneurs paid somewhat less for year-round labor. The degree of exploitation by our rough measure was 18.9 to 35.2 percent for the McCormick Company and from 0.0 to 13.6 percent for the Illinois Central. The lower level of exploitation on the Illinois Central is attributable, perhaps, to the workers' ability to resist the wage cuts urged by company

dropped wages in the fall after harvest. For other examples of the smallness of unskilled labor's wages, see Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, volume 2: *From Town to City, 1848-1871* (New York, 1940), 500; and David L. Lightner, *Labor on the Illinois Central Railroad, 1852-1900: The Evolution of an Industrial Environment* (New York, 1977), 22-29, 76-89, esp. 88-89.



Figure 4: Mid-nineteenth-century depiction of the logging industry—log-sawing—typical of Upper Michigan. Reproduced from Eminent Literary Men, *One Hundred Years' Progress of the United States* (Hartford, 1879), 92.

officials. McCormick, the Illinois Central, and other year-round firms were not the sole beneficiaries of low-cost labor. Equally important were those off-season industries that sought temporary labor between fall and spring. At these times, labor was even cheaper, and, theoretically, firms could have driven wages down toward subsistence. Such a strategy was feasible because the labor market contained few buyers and a glut of idle farm hands who drifted about the countryside and into the cities where they hoped to find work.

The sheer dimension of the army of rural laborers re-entering the labor market in late summer and fall has not been fully appreciated. Census takers in 1860 recorded over two hundred and forty thousand farm laborers in the Midwest—a number more than double the population of Chicago at the same date. In grain-growing rural areas, somewhere between 8 and 18 percent of the population were farm laborers, and they made up an even larger share of the labor force.²⁷ In wheat-raising Genoa Township in DeKalb County, Illinois, farm laborers and laborers accounted for 35 percent of the adult male labor force.²⁸ As the crop season ended in July and August, laborers remained in the country, hoping for work as teamsters for the crops they had just harvested, but by fall they began drifting into the cities and towns. They came to the cities, as Horace Greeley later remarked, “under a vague, mistaken impression that there must be work at some rate where so much is being done and so many require service, and squander their means and damage their morals in fruitless quest of what is not there to be had. When Spring at length arrives, they sneak back to the rural

²⁷ Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys*, 250–72.

²⁸ U.S. Census Office, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manuscript Census Returns, DeKalb County, Illinois, Population Schedule, National Archives, Washington.

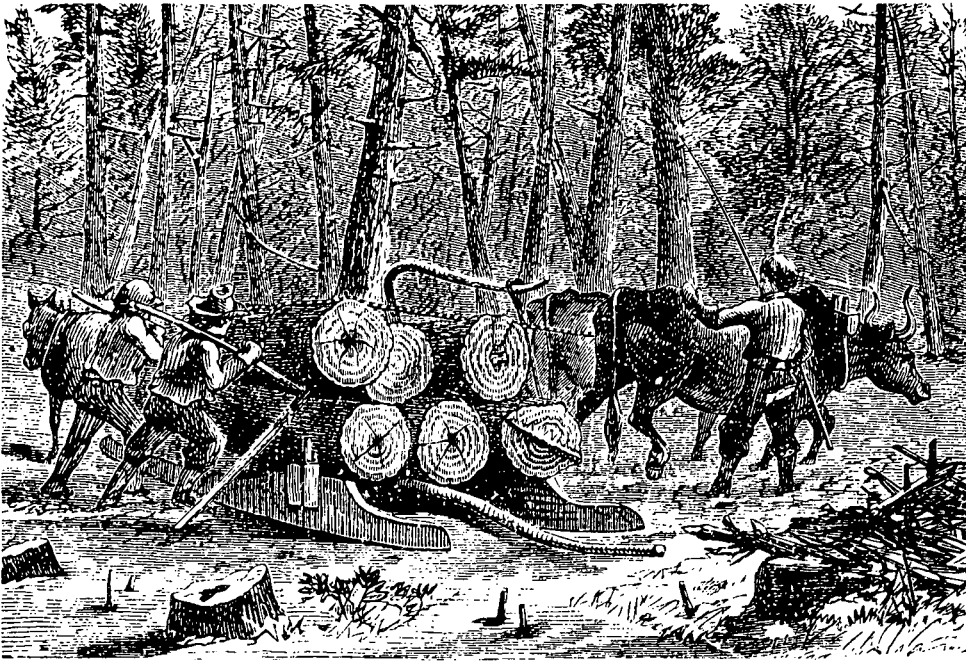


Figure 5: Mid-nineteenth-century representation of the logging industry—hauling logs—typical of Upper Michigan. Reproduced from *Eminent Literary Men, One Hundred Years' Progress of the United States*, 92.

districts, ragged, penniless, debauched, often diseased, and every way deteriorated by the Winter plunge.”²⁹

Demobilization of the rural labor force was thus an immense social problem for the cities of the Midwest. Cincinnati, for instance, reportedly sheltered seventy-five hundred common laborers, or 6.5 percent of its total population, during the winter of 1851. Earlier in the 1840s, their numbers exceeded even the demand from the rapidly growing winter business of hog-slaughtering and pork-packing. Consequently, the city organized the Cincinnati Fire Wood Company specifically to make work for jobless laborers.³⁰ Chicago had its problems, too, and the *Tribune* expressed relief at the arrival of the 1860 harvest season and advised unemployed laborers to strike out into the countryside to the nearest wheat farm. What was a social problem for the cities was often a financial crisis for the laborer whose grim winter prospects a Wisconsin youth nicely summarized: “I have not found a place for the winter yet for it is rather hard to hire out to work by the month through the winter season Though I have not hired out for the winter I have worked about a month . . . and shall work some more either by the month or chopping some cordwood.”³¹

The glutted labor market was a windfall for firms operating mainly during fall and winter, as exemplified by the lumber industry of Michigan during the 1850s. Several thousand of Michigan’s thirty-five thousand farm hands moved

²⁹ Greeley, *What I Know of Farming: A Series of Brief and Plain Expositions of Practical Agriculture as an Art Based upon Science* (New York, 1871), 303.

³⁰ Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys*, 157–58.

³¹ Lucian Enos to his parents, Lafayette County, Wisconsin, October 31, 1843, Wisconsin Territorial Letter Collection, as quoted in Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys*, 150.

TABLE I
Wages of "Mechanics and Laborers," North and South

<i>Cities by Region</i>	<i>Painters</i>	<i>Bricklayers</i>	<i>Stone Masons</i>	<i>Carpenters</i>	<i>Plasterers</i>	<i>Laborers</i>
SOUTHERN STATES						
New Orleans	\$2.00-2.50	\$2.50-3.50	\$2.00-3.00	\$2.25-2.50	\$2.25-2.50	\$1.25-1.50
Richmond	1.75-2.25	2.00-3.00	2.00-2.50	1.50-2.00	1.75-2.25	1.00-1.50
Louisville	1.75-2.00	2.50-3.00	1.75-2.00	1.75-2.50	2.00-2.25	1.00-1.25
Galveston	1.75-2.00	2.75-3.00	2.00-3.00	2.00-3.00	1.75-2.25	1.25-1.50
Charleston	1.75-2.00	2.50-3.50	2.00-2.50	2.50-2.75	2.00-2.50	1.00-1.50
Little Rock	2.50-3.50	2.00-3.00	2.00-2.50	2.00-3.00	2.50-3.00	1.00-1.25
Norfolk	1.75-2.00	2.00-2.50	2.25-2.50	1.50-2.00	1.75	1.00-1.25
Memphis	2.00-2.50	2.00-3.00	2.00-2.50	2.25-2.50	1.75-2.50	1.00-1.50
Nashville	2.25-2.50	2.50-3.00	2.00-2.50	2.25-2.50	2.00-2.50	1.00-1.25
NORTHERN STATES						
Chicago	\$1.50-1.75	\$1.75-2.00	\$1.50-2.00	\$1.25-1.75	\$1.50-2.00	\$0.50-1.00
Pittsburgh	1.50-2.00	1.75-2.00	1.50-1.75	1.25-1.75	1.50-1.75	0.75
Cincinnati	1.50-1.75	2.00-2.50	1.25-1.50	1.00-2.00	1.50-1.75	0.75-1.00
Detroit	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.50	0.88
Columbus, Ohio	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.50-2.00	1.75-2.00	0.75-1.00
Buffalo, N.Y.	1.50-2.00	1.50-2.00	1.50-1.75	1.00-1.50	1.50-1.75	0.50-0.75
Lowell, Mass.	1.00-1.75	1.50-1.75	1.50-2.00	1.25-1.75	1.00-1.50	0.75-1.00
Bangor, Maine	1.50-2.00	1.50-2.00	1.50-2.00	1.50-2.00	1.25-2.00	0.75-1.00
Madison, Wisc.	2.00	2.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	0.50-0.75

SOURCE: *DeBow's Review*, 29 (1860): 381.

into the pineries during the logging season between mid-November and mid-March. The logging firms offered wages that were generally lower than those of competitive markets. Unskilled loggers earned \$10 to \$16 per month instead of \$14 to \$18 per month in wages during the farm season. Adding in the value of winter board raised the woodsman's wages to \$16 to \$22 versus \$20 to \$24 in the crop season. Here, however, exploitation was less than might be expected in a glutted market. Theoretically, if wages had been pushed down to subsistence, roughly equivalent to the \$6 cost of board, exploitation would have amounted to 70 percent; in practice, the rough figures suggest a range from 0 to 25 percent. As the crop season approached, the lumberjacks went back to the farms, but some undoubtedly remained to work as unskilled hands in the saw mills. For those who stayed, wages shot up abruptly to between \$20 and \$26.50. These rates created wages that were virtually identical to those for farm workers at the same time. In sum, winter wages in the Michigan pineries were less than competitive market wages, yet they were also considerably above the subsistence wages that seem to have been offered in Cincinnati in the late 1840s and early 1850s.³²

The Michigan pineries also reveal another general feature of labor costs—namely, the effect on the transfer wage of lengthening the work season. Farm workers who supplemented their work in the crop season with work in pineries, iron furnace collieries, or packing houses raised their rural earnings and thereby pushed the transfer wage upward. In Michigan, the laborer earned \$64 on the farm (\$16 per month for four months) and \$52 in the lumber camps (\$13 per month for four months), while board was covered for all but four months. With these figures in the formula, the transfer wage (W_u) equals \$257: $W_u - \$116 = \$165 - \$24$. Thus the theoretical transfer wage was considerably higher in Michigan than in Illinois. This difference was, in fact, reflected in actual urban wages. The prevailing wage for unskilled urban labor in Detroit, according to *DeBow's Review*, was \$0.875 per day, or \$272 per year in 1860. In Illinois, however, where off-season work opportunities were decidedly limited, daily wages were \$0.60 to \$0.80 per day, or \$186 to \$249 annually.³³ Too much ought not to be made of one case, but at least the evidence is consistent with the theory that implies an increase in the transfer wage as rural earnings are stretched longer over the year. Thus, Illinois seems to have been the lowest labor-cost state in the Midwest, a region where labor was generally inexpensive. (Compare the wages in Chicago with those in other Midwestern cities in Table 1.)

Conversely, the high costs of Southern urban labor reflected the region's higher transfer wage, and observers of the South often commented on "the great deficiency of tradesmen and mechanics" as well as unskilled white workers. The problem of the railroads symbolized the exorbitant cost of Southern free wage

³² For this industry we have drawn extensively from the excellent study by Barbara E. Benson; see her "Logs and Lumber: The Development of the Lumber Industry in Michigan's Lower Peninsula, 1837-1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1976).

³³ "Mechanics and Laborers' Wages North and South," *DeBow's Review*, 29 (1860): 381. Also see Table 1, opposite.

labor. In Louisiana, the state's railroad construction projects paid unskilled workers \$26 to \$30 per month (\$312 to \$360 per year), carpenters \$50 to \$60, and supervisors \$100 or higher. Nonetheless, a dearth of labor frustrated that state's efforts and all of the South's railroad building programs. Despite the comparatively high wages offered, they failed to attract the region's native white labor. In some cases these shortages forced builders to forfeit their contracts, while in most instances the firms involved resorted to the expedient of importing large numbers of white workers from the North or from Europe.³⁴

Other industries also illustrate the South's high transfer wage. Steamboat crewmen along Southern rivers, for example, annually earned an average of \$360 in 1850 and perhaps \$430 in 1860. At the same time, white workers on Louisiana's canals earned \$35 a month including board or \$420 per year. By contrast, Midwestern boatmen on the Illinois and Michigan Canal earned from \$112 to \$144 annually in the mid-1850s.³⁵ Moreover, all of Mississippi's fourteen cotton mills were constructed with cheap, imported Northern labor, and the only really profitable cotton factory was operated at the state's penitentiary.³⁶

Travelers justifiably lamented the high costs of labor in Southern cities—a point clearly revealed in a comparative table of wages in Northern and Southern cities published in *DeBow's Review* in 1860 (see Table 1). With scarcely an exception, Southern wages for unskilled and skilled workers were higher than those of Northern cities. In a cotton port such as Galveston, unskilled laborers earned \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day while the reported wages for Chicago were \$0.50 to \$1.00 with most receiving \$0.80 or less, according to the evidence presented above. Expressed as annual income, the laborers of Galveston earned \$388 to \$455, and those of Chicago, \$155 to \$249. Galveston and Chicago represented the extremes of regional differences in urban wages because cotton and grains decisively influenced the level of the transfer wage in Texas and Illinois. Clearly labor was expensive in Southern cities and cheap in Northern cities.

The composition of the Southern free labor pool also underlines the advantageous position of those Southern whites who chose to remain in planting rather than to migrate to the towns and cities. The skilled urban trades, whether in coastal ports or interior towns, were largely dominated by persons of Northern or foreign birth who moved in large numbers into the South's urban centers during the 1850s.³⁷ Similarly, the pool of unskilled free labor largely comprised foreign-born persons, free Negroes, and Northern laborers looking for work in

³⁴ Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, 566; Merl E. Reed, *New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge, 1966), 18, 48; and U. B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York, 1908), 126, 160, 245–51.

³⁵ G. W. Morse, "Railroad and Water Communication," *DeBow's Review*, 19 (1855): 193–201; Eric F. Haites et al., *Western River Transportation: The Era of Early Internal Development, 1810–1860* (Baltimore, 1975), 170–77; and Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, 325. Wages for steamboat operators are adjusted from 1850 to 1860 levels by following Stanley Lebergott, "Wage Trends, 1800–1900," in William N. Parker, ed., *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Studies in Income and Wealth, no. 24 (Princeton, 1960), 449–99, esp. 465.

³⁶ Walter Carey Hearn, "Towns in Antebellum Mississippi" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1969), 113–30. The backwardness of Southern manufactures is generally accepted, even in recent revisionist work stressing similarities between Southern and Western manufacturing; see Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, "Comparative Regional Development in Antebellum Manufacturing," *JEH*, 35 (1975): 182–208.

³⁷ Ira Berlin and Herbert G. Gutman, "Slaves, Freeworkers, and the Social Order of the Urban South," unpublished paper, Davis Center, Princeton University, 1976.

the winter. Southern cities generally resembled Olmsted's unflattering and characteristically bigoted remarks about Richmond, which housed "a considerable population of foreign origin, generally of the least valuable class; very dirty German Jews, especially, abound, and their characteristic shops . . . are thickly set in the narrowest and meanest streets, which seem to be otherwise inhabited mainly by negroes."³⁸

For would-be Southern entrepreneurs the region's high transfer wage established barriers that were virtually insurmountable. Rural opportunities and year-round employment had so elevated the transfer wage and the bidding floor for unskilled Southern white labor that employers, unwilling to pay out a minimum of \$400 for white workers, increasingly experimented with lower-cost slaves. Yet shifting slaves from the plantation to the factories, canals, and railroads also added costs. A rural slave generally cost his owner \$50 to \$60 per year, while the expense of maintaining an urban slave may have tripled or quadrupled total costs. Slaves were excluded, moreover, from those jobs requiring even minimal reading and reckoning abilities as well as from much factory work, because proslavery ideologues had poisoned entrepreneurial faith in slave competence.³⁹

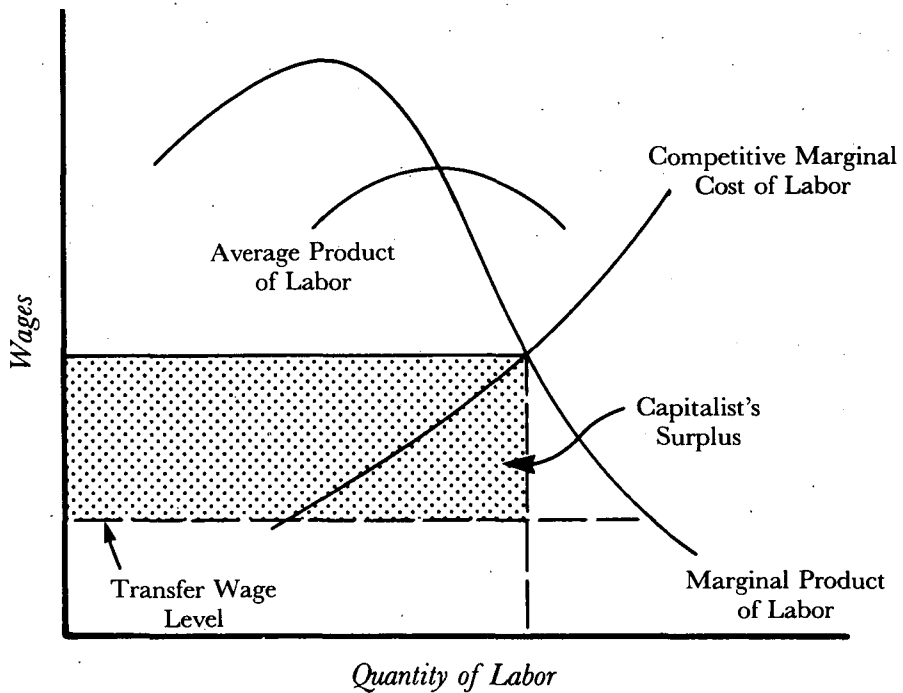
SHARP REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE TRANSFER WAGE proved decisive for the course of economic development. By creating a cheap-labor pool hired during the four-month crop season and an imperfect off-season labor market, grain farming established a favorable setting for merchants and manufacturers. Farmers did not have such latitude in raising wages: they were limited by commodity prices, and their demands were confined to a specific crop season, while their competitors hired for a twelve-month period. This condition, which applied with special force to the wheat belt, sometimes created a context at variance with the normal operation of the law of supply and demand; for labor began to grow scarce at the same time that its price, instead of rising, remained low. In the Old Northwest the emerging labor scarcity of the 1850s was countered by mechanizing the small grain harvest, a process that helped hold down and ultimately stabilize rural wages. Urban employers continued to be the chief beneficiaries of low farm wages. These employers at once offered laborers better wages than they could earn on the farm and gained a labor force considerably below labor's average product.

Consider the situation of Midwestern firms. During the off-season they had access to unlimited supplies of cheap labor—that is, the supply curve was in-

³⁸ Olmsted, *A Journey to the Seaboard Slave States*, 51.

³⁹ For a discussion of attempts to adapt slaves to nonagricultural tasks, see Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970). Starobin has argued that industrial slaves in small towns were provisioned at about the same levels as plantation slaves, and this implies that their maintenance costs would have been as low as \$20 to \$30 per year. Richard Wade, however, noted that slaves in larger cities had high maintenance costs. *Ibid.*, 146–89; and Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (New York, 1972), 134, chaps. 3, 5. Our estimates of slave costs are on the conservative side. Robert Evans, Jr., has shown a Lower South hire rate for 1856–60 of \$197, which with urban labor costs added on amounts to \$362 as the cost of slaves; see his "The Economics of American Negro Slavery," in Universities National Committee Bureau for Economic Research, *Aspects of Labor Economics* (Princeton, 1962), 185–243, esp. 216.

GRAPH 1
Low-Wage Case

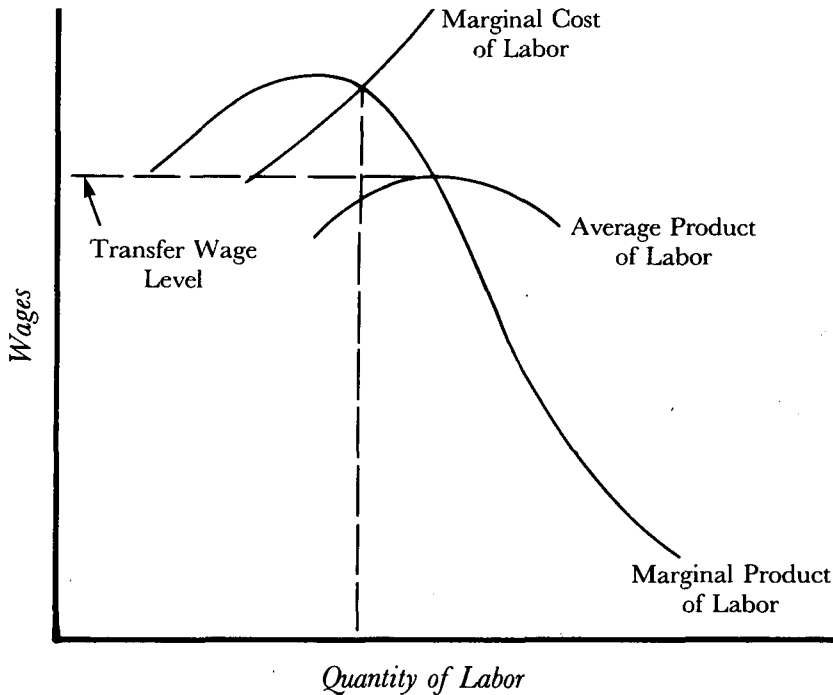


finitely elastic and wages were set at a low level by the transfer wage. These firms exercised a marked influence on wage determination because, given the ability of oligopsonistic buyers of labor to pay wages less than marginal product, the market had become less perfect on the demand side. Labor could thus be hired up to the point where labor's marginal costs equaled its marginal product; however, the annual wages paid to labor, or the transfer wage, fell below this intersection. Such a situation is illustrated in Graph 1, and the shaded area shows the extent of the producer's surplus and exploitation. Sir Arthur Lewis has argued that such a model is applicable to much of the underdeveloped world, but is applying a labor surplus model to the antebellum Midwest justifiable? Yes, provided that the hypothesis positing seasonality as a determinant of both market imperfections and of low transfer wages—or, what is the same thing, of cheap labor—is reliable. The producer's surplus then becomes an important source of internal finance for economic development.⁴⁰

The South was quite different. Urban wages were fixed at higher levels, and the producer's surplus from labor dwindled and perhaps even disappeared. In the case illustrated in Graph 2, wages equal average labor product, and the firm operates inefficiently because marginal product exceeds average product; firms in such situations are reluctant to hire unskilled white labor. One way around this problem—one widely used in the South—was to employ white skilled labor

⁴⁰ Lewis, "Reflections on Unlimited Labour," 75–96; and the excellent summary of Lewis's work in Meier, *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, 157–63.

GRAPH 2
High-Wage Case



in clerical jobs, which elevated the curve of labor's marginal product, thereby placing wages below average product. Under these conditions, industrialization in the South was rare. The halting steps toward manufacturing in the 1850s were aimed not at inducing white labor to the factories but at adapting slave labor to the factory regime.⁴¹

Graphs 1 and 2 indicate the labor situation faced by Midwestern and Southern firms. Midwestern employers had a strong inducement to use cheap labor, thereby earning a producer's surplus. Conversely, Southern firms needed to avoid unskilled labor, except for slaves, and tried instead to raise the marginal productivity of white labor in mercantile and related activities.⁴² The Southern case is nothing more than Habakkuk's argument for the scarcity of American labor. Were Habakkuk correct, the South should have seen the widespread diffusion of machines and industrialization. In fact, that did not happen. The experience of the United States in the antebellum era thus provides very little verification for the thesis of labor scarcity and high wages as the cause of technological change and urban-industrial development. First, the Habakkuk model implies that in the pre-industrial period firms were operating inefficiently

⁴¹ Southern cities were pre-eminently places of commerce, whereas in Northern cities warehousing-storage, transport, and manufacturing rivaled the commercial sector. See Carville V. Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Regional Staples and Urban Systems in Antebellum America," paper presented at the Regional Economic History Research Center, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, September 1978.

⁴² There was, however, considerable debate about the social effects of industrializing slaves; see Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 190-232.

TABLE 2
Wages, Value Added, and Wage Shares in Manufacturing, 1860

<i>Region & State</i>	<i>Wages in \$</i>	<i>Value Added^a in \$</i>	<i>Wage Share^b %</i>
MIDDLE AMERICAN GRAIN BELT	204,982,000	459,075,000	44.7
Delaware	1,704,000	3,428,000	49.7
Illinois	7,638,000	19,818,000	38.5
Indiana	6,318,000	14,185,000	44.5
Iowa	1,922,000	4,779,000	40.2
Kansas	880,000	2,826,000	31.2
Kentucky	6,021,000	14,015,000	43.0
Michigan	1,080,000	2,424,000	44.6
Minnesota	712,000	1,278,000	55.7
Missouri	6,670,000	15,444,000	43.2
New Jersey	16,277,000	31,363,000	51.9
New York	65,447,000	150,226,000	43.6
Ohio	22,303,000	47,307,000	47.1
Pennsylvania	60,369,000	135,119,000	44.7
Tennessee	3,371,000	7,417,000	45.4
Wisconsin	4,269,000	9,446,000	45.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC AND GULF COAST	32,838,000	66,885,000	49.1
Alabama	2,133,000	4,371,000	48.8
Florida	620,000	1,424,000	43.5
Georgia	2,925,000	6,068,000	48.2
Louisiana	3,955,000	8,277,000	47.8
Maryland	7,191,000	14,383,000	50.0
Mississippi	1,618,000	3,093,000	52.3
North Carolina	2,689,000	5,700,000	47.2
South Carolina	1,380,000	2,966,000	46.5
Texas	1,163,000	2,948,000	39.4
Virginia	8,544,000	17,657,000	48.4
NEW ENGLAND	104,169,000	202,478,000	51.5
Connecticut	19,026,000	37,368,000	50.9
Maine	8,304,000	14,877,000	55.8
Massachusetts	56,963,000	109,869,000	51.9
New Hampshire	8,111,000	15,185,000	53.4
Rhode Island	8,760,000	18,911,000	46.3
Vermont	3,005,000	6,269,000	47.9

^a Value Added is net, derived by deducting raw material costs and capital depreciation, uniformly estimated at 8 percent of capital's value, from the value of output.

^b Wage Share equals Wages divided by Value Added multiplied by 100.

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1865).

with high-cost labor, but, assuming that entrepreneurs were rational, then they would have avoided such a position. Second, the source of investment capital is problematic in Habakkuk's model given the presence of high interest rates and the absence of a producer's surplus. Third, his theory of technological change fails to explain the impressive shifts into service-sector employment that had, at least since the mid-eighteenth century, proceeded apace, unaided by new technology and increased productivity.

A much stronger case may be made for inexpensive labor subsidizing American economic development—a case that explains both the shifts to capital-intensive manufacturing and to labor-intensive service industries. Cheap labor meant that Midwestern firms hired labor at half the cost of Southern firms. Low Midwestern wages contributed to a producer's surplus, which in turn provided internal capital for firm expansion. As the scale of operation expanded and the labor market remained imperfect, labor's marginal-product curve effectively rose while labor costs remained relatively elastic. These changes augmented the producer's surplus, and that process continued until labor markets became perfect. Thus, labor's share of value added was low in the early stage of market development and improved with the removal of market imperfections.⁴³

Wage shares in American manufacturing support this hypothesis. In New England, for example, textile mill wage shares deteriorated from 1820 to 1840. Wages constituted about 48 percent of value added in the 1820s but only 40 percent between 1830 and 1860.⁴⁴ The manufacturing census of 1860 shows that wage shares of value added were lowest in the grain belt (44.7 percent) from the Mid-Atlantic states through the Midwest. The chief exception was in Minnesota, where the wage shares reflected an immature, frontier economy. Labor's share was higher, as expected, in the Deep South (49.1 percent), particularly in the Gulf and Atlantic Coast states, despite the use of cheap slave labor in factory production. The highest wage share occurred in New England (51.5 percent). This pattern (see Table 2) is not particularly surprising. Labor's share had doubtlessly fallen earlier in the century, a point suggested by the textile industry, and, by 1860, labor supply was both less elastic and better organized. Accordingly, wage shares in New England increased at the expense of the producer's surplus. Rising wage shares are also suggested by Edward C. Budd's examination of factor shares after 1850.⁴⁵

Such changes in wage shares seem to be intimately connected with economic development in its early stages. Lewis has suggested that wage shares traditionally follow a uniform pattern as economic development takes place, with labor's

⁴³ This argument closely resembles Sir Arthur Lewis's model of economic development with unlimited supplies of cheap labor. We remain open, however, on the issue of whether wages rose because of perfect competition or as a result of labor's struggle for an increased share of the product. American rural labor became less elastic as it found off-season employment, thereby raising rural earnings and, hence, the transfer wage. Rural income on the Dakota frontier, for example, rose in the late nineteenth century, and higher labor costs probably hindered the region's urban growth; John C. Hudson, "Migration to an American Frontier," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66 (1976): 242–65.

⁴⁴ Robert Zevin, "The Growth of Cotton Textile Production after 1815," in Fogel and Engerman, *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History*, 122–47.

⁴⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1865); and Budd, "Factor Shares, 1850–1910," in Parker, *Trends in the American Economy*, 365–98.

share starting small and then growing larger as the process accelerates. Is it coincidence, for example, that the wage share of Illinois in 1860 resembles that of the developing nation of Venezuela in the 1950s?⁴⁶ Lewis's model would suggest not. Rather, his argument posits an evolutionary process wherein labor subsidizes capital investment for a time but then improves its position as labor supply becomes less elastic and, we would add, as seasonal market imperfections are removed. Wage shares as indicators of development, however, must be used cautiously, and, in this regard, middling wage shares are particularly difficult to interpret. They may indicate two different courses of economic development: (1) they may reveal, as Lewis suggests, development through the progressive erosion of the producer's surplus as the labor supply becomes less elastic; or (2) they may indicate a situation of economic stagnation caused by initially high wages and earnings for labor that allow a very negligible producer's surplus and, hence, very little "plowback capital" for development. The second situation arose in the American South, where the long crop season created high rural wages, and has also emerged in underdeveloped countries, where minimum wage legislation or related policies have artificially raised the transfer wage. In both instances, whether in the antebellum South or in contemporary underdeveloped countries, the effect on economic development has been an appreciable retardation of the industrialization process.⁴⁷

In sum, reasonably low-cost labor, as existed in the American Midwest, was indispensable for that region's economic advance, although the position of labor within that process was an unenviable one. In the grain belts of the United States, the exploitation of labor persisted until economic growth established a more competitive market.

LOW-COST LABOR WAS USED in the Midwest in the 1850s as it had been earlier in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. Equally important, cheap Northern labor provided the stimulus not only to industrial growth but also to the process whereby skilled labor was replaced by a combination of machine technology and unskilled labor. The Philadelphia region in the early nineteenth century illustrates this development. This area combined mixed grain farming, impressive urban growth, and an early start in manufacturing and the factory system.⁴⁸ Here, inexpensive labor was the decisive inducement for the mechanization of cotton textile production.

Between 1800 and 1830 Philadelphia's merchants and manufacturers had solid reasons for using low-cost agricultural labor in urban jobs. By the turn of the century, the city's extensive hinterland had matured into perhaps the pre-eminent mixed-farming region in the nation. High yields of wheat and corn

⁴⁶ Lewis, "Reflections on Unlimited Labour," 89-90.

⁴⁷ Bateman and Weiss, "Comparative Regional Development in Antebellum Manufacturing," 182-208. On underdeveloped countries, see various essays in Meier, *Leading Issues in Economic Development*.

⁴⁸ For two especially relevant studies, see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972); and Diane Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850* (New York, 1978).

from southeastern Pennsylvania as well as the upper half of the Delmarva Peninsula were channeled into Philadelphia as they had been for much of the eighteenth century. Rural labor was abundant as early as the 1750s. At the end of that decade, laborers made up 15 percent of the taxpayers in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and small tenants and sharecroppers added 10 to 15 percent to the available harvest force. These proportions remained the same for at least the next two or three decades. In Chester County through the start of the nineteenth century, laborers (noted in the tax lists as inmates) ranged from 15 to 23 percent of taxable persons, and another 10 percent were tenants. The striking similarity between Pennsylvania and the Midwest in the 1850s extends also to the seasonal work schedule. These farm workers toiled mainly in the harvest. Although some laborers may have worked seven or eight months of the year on diversified farms close to Philadelphia, the overwhelming majority worked mainly between April and July. This was a sore point for the property owners of the town of Lancaster, who complained as early as 1767 that "quitrents could never be collected from the poor of the town, who were idle for 'want of employment,' except during harvest time." It was this mass of unskilled rural labor that permitted a York County farmer to mobilize over one hundred harvesters in 1828.⁴⁹

In the Delmarva portion of the hinterland, the labor pattern was similar. Farm account books there clearly reveal the preference of grain farmers for hiring day laborers frequently, one- or two-month laborers occasionally, and longer-term laborers rarely, if at all. On the mixed-grain, Dixon farm between 1821 and 1824, day laborers were preferred. They constituted seven of the eight laborers hired in 1821, eight of the twelve in 1822, fifteen of the eighteen in 1823, and eight of the ten in 1824. Of the ten workers hired on other terms, six were hired for two months or less, two for eight months, and two for a year. Hired help was required for grain harvesting and haying in late June and July and, except for a hand or two, was unnecessary for the rest of the year. Even the one- and two-month hands were taken on for the June and July work peak.⁵⁰ In short the grain economy in the rural zone around Philadelphia had created by the 1780s, and perhaps earlier, a permanent pool of rural day laborers. Their work was confined mainly to the harvest season (to an even greater degree than Midwestern laborers in the 1850s), and their annual earnings were, of necessity, very small.

Cheap labor became even more attractive for Philadelphians between 1815

⁴⁹ Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 12, 96, 234; James T. Lemon and Gary Nash, "The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century America: A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693-1802," *Journal of Social History*, 2 (1968-69): 1-24; and Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1950), 119-20.

⁵⁰ Julia Ann Dixon, Farmer, Private Accounts, Delaware State Archives, Dover, Del. For other useful private accounts, see those of Isaac Gurwell, 1791-1808; Joseph Evans, 1785-1805; and Bennett Downes, 1793-1814, Delaware State Archives, Dover, Del. These combinations of seasonal and annual workers compare favorably with the bonanza farms of the Great Plains after the Civil War. On one of the largest of these farms, which employed up to two hundred and fifty laborers, only 8 percent of the laborers worked for ten to twelve months, while 92 percent worked five months or less. These figures are calculated from data in Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897* (New York, 1945), 159.

and 1830. The region's export staples of wheat, corn, and derivative commodities stagnated following the Napoleonic Wars and the recession of 1819. Rural farm wages and earnings followed the downward course. In 1818, 1826, and 1830—critical years for technological innovation in Philadelphia—farm wages fell from \$11.00 to between \$9.00 and \$9.50 per month. Paralleling the wages of farm hands, the wages of unskilled workers on eastern Pennsylvania iron plantations fell from \$15 to between \$12 and \$13.⁵¹ This synchronous movement of wages suggests that both farm laborers and unskilled workers supplied the same market and thus experienced the same economic pattern of recession and recovery.

The phenomenon of urban-industrial growth during recessions, though paradoxical, is precisely what happened in Philadelphia during the 1820s. Albert Fishlow has noted a similar connection between depression, increased labor inputs, and import substitution in the economic growth of Brazil during the 1930s, and a comparable situation occurred more than a century earlier in the Philadelphia region.⁵² The fall of wages between 1818 and 1826 expanded the demand for unskilled labor at the expense of farm labor. Changes in agriculture and urbanization are certainly compatible with this labor shift. Farm wages fell because of a marked slowdown in the trade of farm products, as evidenced in Philadelphia's grain receipts. Exports tailed off during the 1820s, as did grain, flour, and meal inspections. Wheat, flour, and corn inspections grew at negative or modest annual rates ranging from -0.1 percent to 1.48 percent. As the farm commodity trade declined, so did farm earnings and the level of the transfer wage. Laborers moved to the towns and cities in the region, as Diane Lindstrom has clearly shown. Philadelphia, for example, grew by nearly 38 percent between 1820 and 1830, a decade in which there was little foreign immigration; this growth rate was about double that of its hinterland.⁵³ Laborers were induced to go to the city even though wages were falling rapidly because the compensating feature of city life was the declining cost of living. Wholesale prices had fallen by as much as 80 percent from peaks achieved during the War of 1812, and by the 1820s, prices had fallen to 1790 levels. The recession after the War of 1812 thus meant lower labor costs for urban entrepreneurs and declining living costs for new migrants to the city.⁵⁴

In brief, the recession merely mobilized an already abundant and inexpensive labor force. As farmers retrenched with the slowdown of trade, rural laborers were attracted to cities and towns whence they had often drifted during the off-season. Only this time, many laborers remained permanently, because the city offered steadier employment at slightly higher wages accompanied by declining living costs. Urban work was created by the entrepreneurs of Philadelphia and

⁵¹ Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, 539; and Zabler, "Further Evidence on American Wage Differentials," 109–17.

⁵² Fishlow, "Origins and Consequences of Import Substitution in Brazil," in DiMarco, *International Economics and Development*, 311–65.

⁵³ Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region*, 170–74. On the importance of rural to urban migration for a later date, see John Modell, "The Peopling of a Working-Class Ward: Reading, Pennsylvania, 1850," *Journal of Social History*, 5 (1971): 71–95.

⁵⁴ Adams, "Wage Rates in the Early National Period," 424.

its region who accurately understood how they might use the cheap, unskilled labor force available to them. Some firms, such as the iron furnaces with their enormous demand for wood cutters, provided winter work for these laborers. More ingeniously, other firms borrowed British technology and, by using the machine, tapped the pool of cheap labor and endowed it with extraordinary skills.⁵⁵

The motive behind capital investment in machines was a simple one—to convert cheap unskilled labor into cheap skilled labor. Habakkuk's argument aside, there is little evidence that entrepreneurs envisioned machines as increasing the productivity of unskilled labor. Quite the opposite, they regarded machines, along with division of labor, as allowing them to maintain roughly the same output while drastically cutting labor costs. In this spirit Eli Whitney claimed that interchangeable parts would "substitute correct and effective operations of machinery for that skill of the artist which is acquired only by long practice and experience; a species of skill which is not possessed in this country to any considerable extent." Whitney did not emphasize the machine's ability to increase physical product but rather how the shortage of skilled labor could be overcome by the combination of machines and unskilled labor. Some years later, James Montgomery succinctly stated entrepreneurial motives from the cost side. "The great object with all manufacturers in this country," he claimed, "is to pay their help just such wages as will be a sufficient inducement for them to remain at the work. Hence the greater the quantity of work produced, the higher the profits, because paid at a lower rate of wages."⁵⁶ Philadelphians understood the language of Whitney and Montgomery, and they put it to practice. By using machines and low-priced labor, they could produce the same output, at a slightly lower cost, as by using skilled high-priced workers. In so doing, they undermined the status of skilled laborers, pushing them down toward the level of the unskilled workers.

One of the great advances in the American industrial revolution was the application of machines in the cotton textile industry. Philadelphia and New England were in the front ranks in adopting this technology during the decade and a half after the War of 1812. In both regions, machine-made cloth of coarse but sturdy quality rapidly displaced the domestic plaids, ginghams, and checks produced by the highly skilled mule spinners and hand-loom weavers. Local yarn mills, supplying local weavers and household looms, gave way to integrated mills combining the new technology of throstle spindles, filling frames, roving machines, and power looms.⁵⁷ David J. Jeremy has detailed a number of basic

⁵⁵ For the story of efforts to secure British textile technology, see David J. Jeremy, "British Textile Technology Transmission to the United States: The Philadelphia Region Experience, 1770-1820," *Business History Review*, 47 (1973): 24-52.

⁵⁶ William P. Blake, "Sketch of the Life of Eli Whitney, the Inventor of the Cotton Gin," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, 5 (New Haven, 1894), 122, as quoted in Habakkuk, *American and British Technology*; 22; and Montgomery, *Practical Detail of the Cotton Manufactures of the United States of America and the State of the Cotton Manufactures of That Country Contrasted with That of Great Britain* (Glasgow, 1840), 97-98.

⁵⁷ Zevin, "The Growth of Cotton Textile Production," 122-47; Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Case Study in Industrial Beginnings* (1931; reprint ed., New York, 1966), 3-118; William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1935), 17-27; and Jeremy, "British Textile Technology Transmission," 24-52.

organizational and technological innovations that expanded American textile production from 1814 to 1840.⁵⁸ Larger machines were introduced that increased the ratio of spindles to operators from 64 to 166. Similarly, the speeds at which the machines operated were accelerated by over 100 percent, and virtually all stages of production were mechanized, including, by 1840, the application of automatic fault detection systems. In another important decision, the manufacturers narrowed the range of goods they produced for the middle- and lower-quality mass markets. This step simplified operating procedures, shortened the learning period for the untrained worker, and allowed the use of less complex machinery. Finally, as happened at Waltham, manufacturers initiated the process of vertical integration to concentrate "unskilled teenage females as the nucleus of a labor force," whose physical weaknesses and lack of skill were compensated for by "maximum mechanical work." The same substitution occurred in the Philadelphia region; but there unskilled men and boys were the cheap input, and they were employed disproportionately.⁵⁹ James Montgomery, in calculating the results of these changes, estimated in 1840 that a British mill of 128 looms produced 35,000 yards of cloth in two weeks, while its American equivalent made some 51,300 yards in the same period.⁶⁰

THE DECISIVE VICTORY OF THE MACHINE in American textile manufacturing stands in marked contrast to the sluggish diffusion of that technology in Britain. The difference may be explained by contrasting labor supplies. In comparing the economics of using the hand-loom weaver or the power-loom operator in Philadelphia and Britain, two points become apparent. First, the transfer wage was lower in Philadelphia than in Britain, so American costs for unskilled labor and power looms were lower than the costs of hand-loom weavers, whereas British hand-loom weavers were generally cheaper than the new technology. Second, the output of hand and power looms were very much the same, so productivity did not figure as a motive for machine investment.

In the Philadelphia region, cheap labor and textile machinery proved less costly than skilled textile operators, and, accordingly, manufacturers pursuing the "great object" of low wages adopted the new textile technology. Two principal inducements motivated this transition. First, unskilled urban labor was in-

⁵⁸ Jeremy, "Innovation in American Textile Technology during the Early Nineteenth Century," *Technology and Culture*, 14 (1973): 40-76.

⁵⁹ Women were considerably more numerous in the textile industry in New England (New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts) than in the mills located in the grain belt of the Middle Atlantic states (New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and the Eastern District of Pennsylvania). The 1822 census of manufactures discloses that women constituted 33.3 percent of all employees in New England mills but only 16 percent in those of the Mid-Atlantic states. Excluding children, who constituted about half of the employees in both regions, women comprised 63.5 percent of the work force in New England, while in the Mid-Atlantic region men made up 65.5 percent of the employees. See U.S. State Department, *Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States, and of Their Manufactures* (Washington, 1823). For further detail on New England's industrialization and the role of labor, see Alexander James Field, "Sectoral Shift in Antebellum Massachusetts: A Reconsideration," *EEH*, 15 (1978): 146-71.

⁶⁰ Jeremy, "Innovation in American Textile Technology," 40-76.

expensive because of the low transfer wage occasioned by the sizable mass of farm labor, the duress of the Mid-Atlantic agricultural economy after the War of 1812, and the concomitant decline of rural wages. The second inducement favoring the new technology was the cost of skilled labor. Skilled workers continued to command high wages despite the economic slowdown after 1815, and, as a consequence, the differential between their wages and those of the unskilled widened and reached a maximum in 1822.⁶¹

The low transfer wage in the hinterland of Philadelphia reflected the acute seasonality of the region's rural economy. Rural wages amounted to about \$10 per month while earnings (using an employment estimate generously set at four months) amounted to \$40 per year. Rural subsistence costs in the off-season consumed about \$26 to \$27 of labor's earnings.⁶² Rural life offered little promise, especially in areas wracked by depression, where little land was available and population pressure made land acquisition improbable. In this context, the city offered an attractive alternative. Urban living costs were about \$55 for a single adult male, which implies a transfer wage (W_u) of about \$68 to \$69. The compensation for rural nonpecuniary incomes, however, appears to have been quite large. The intangible income of rural life, judging from the \$110 per year earned by unskilled workers on the Pennsylvania Canal, was about double farm wages.⁶³ A high nonpecuniary income is not unreasonable for a low income, pre-industrial economy; however, its size may be slightly exaggerated by underestimation of off-season employment. Supposing that \$110 indicates the annual wages for which rural labor would have migrated to urban jobs, then we may compare this wage to those prevailing in the textile industry during the 1820s (Table 3).⁶⁴

Consider the firm choosing between the old and new technologies. Its costs for the old technology were the wages paid to skilled hand-loom weavers, whose

⁶¹ Zabler, "Further Evidence on American Wage Differentials," 109–17. That differential, however, remained substantial; see Table 1, page 1072, above.

⁶² Board is estimated at one-third the monthly wage. Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, 257–72, esp. 262; and Nicholas Biddle, "Address by Nicholas Biddle, Esq., 15 January 1822," in *Sketch of the History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia, 1939), 49–50.

⁶³ M. Carey, *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land, Ladies as well as Gentlemen, on the Character, Conduct, Situation, and Prospects of Those Whose Sole Dependence Is on the Labour of Their Hands* (3d ed., Philadelphia, 1833), 8–9. Living costs are based on estimates for a family of two adults and two children. We equated two children as one adult and then divided family living costs by three to get an individual laborer's expenses. Although unskilled urban wages were low, steady employment frequently compensated—a point made by James Ronaldson, an employer located in the manufacturing district of Rockdale in southeastern Pennsylvania, who observed in 1832, "I know that, in consequence of our men losing no time from bad weather, want of jobs, and at fifty cents per day, the old men and youths thrive better than on a farm or at laboring work and job work. Indeed, in this establishment, one family whose father is a mason, and another family whose father is a country carpenter, has been supported by them all last winter: the men were out of employment." Ronaldson to Mathew Carey and Clement C. Biddle, in U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Documents Relative to the Manufactures in the United States Collected and Transmitted to the House of Representatives in Compliance with a Resolution of January 19, 1832*, 3 (Washington, 1833): 212–14. For further details on Ronaldson's mill, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978).

⁶⁴ Our estimates suggest that unskilled men and women received comparable annual earnings in the textile industry, and this may account for the disproportionate employment of men in the Mid-Atlantic region. By contrast, in New England the wages of unskilled men seem to have been considerably higher than those of women, thus giving the latter a competitive advantage. For New England, see Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York, 1979), 65; and Howard Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish," *Labor History*, 8 (1967): 227–53.

TABLE 3
Daily, Weekly, and Annual Wages of Labor in England and the United States,
Old and New Technologies (in Dollars)

<i>Technology & Labor</i>	<i>Daily</i>	<i>England Weekly</i>	<i>Yearly^a</i>	<i>Daily</i>	<i>United States Weekly</i>	<i>Yearly^a</i>
OLD TECHNOLOGY						
Cotton Mule Spinners in Cotton Mills	\$1.02	\$6.12	\$318.24	\$1.24 ^c	\$7.44	\$386.88
Weavers on Hand Looms	0.74	4.44	230.88	0.90	5.40	280.80
NEW TECHNOLOGY						
Boys 10-12 Years Old (Spindles)	\$0.22	\$1.30	\$ 67.60	\$0.25	\$1.50	\$ 78.00
Women in Cotton Mills (Power Looms)	0.33	1.96	101.92	0.42	2.50 ^d	130.00
FARM LABOR						
Board included, expenses deducted	—	—	\$170.00 ^b	—	—	(40 - 26.64) = \$ 13.36

^a Yearly Wage is based on 312 working days.

^b For the yearly farm wages in England, see text, page 1090, below.

^c \$1.24 represents the mean of the range \$1.08 - \$1.40 per day.

^d \$2.50 represents the mean of the range \$2.00 - \$3.00 per week.

SOURCES: Farm labor wages are as estimated in the text, page 1085, above, with board and expenses deducted for periods of unemployment. Otherwise, wages are adapted from Zachariah Allen, *The Science of Mechanics* (Providence, 1829), 347, reprinted in Nathan Rosenberg, "Anglo-American Wage Differences in the 1820's," *Journal of Economic History*, 27 (1967): 221-29, Table 1.

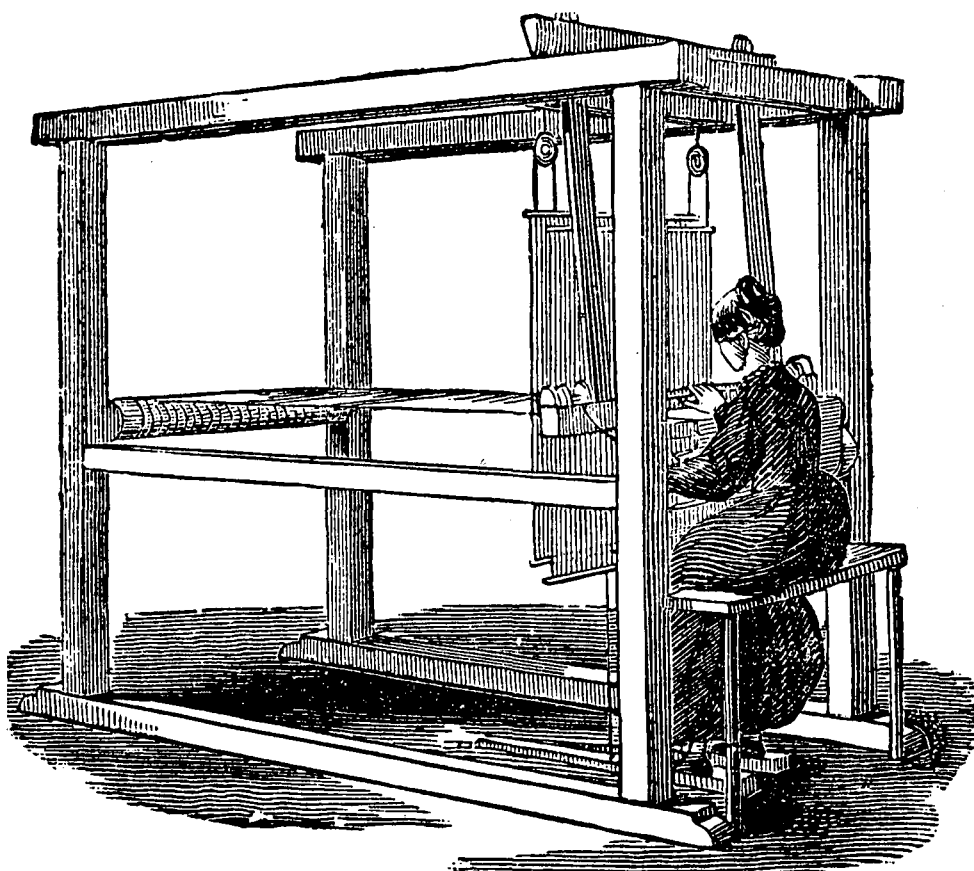


Figure 6: Mid-nineteenth-century representation of hand loom—the old technology of weaving in the cotton industry. Reproduced from Eminent Literary Men, *One Hundred Years' Progress of the United States*, 277.

average earnings were \$280 per year. If a firm wished to replace hand-loom weavers with power looms and unskilled workers and if physical outputs and cloth values were equal and cancelled productivity differences, unskilled labor would have been cheaper, provided machine costs fell under \$170.80, which they usually did. Power looms in the period from 1815 to 1825 varied in price, ranging from the expensive Waltham loom at \$125 to as little as \$70 for other models.⁶⁵ As most operators handled two looms, machine costs were doubled, and total costs for machines and unskilled labor amounted to \$250 to \$360. Loom costs, however, would have depreciated over their useful lives, and, hence, annual costs were considerably below these figures. Paul A. David has shown that looms installed in the 1830s had an average life of thirty-seven years, but this is surely too long for the first power looms installed in the 1810s and 1820s.⁶⁶ The risks of technological obsolescence and rapidly falling machine prices warrant an accelerated depreciation schedule. Five years seems a maximum, given

⁶⁵ Although the argument made here focuses on the introduction of the power loom, a similar case can be made for the rationality of adopting other machines in the new technology in textiles and in other industries as well. George Sweet Gibb, *The Saco-Lowell Shops: Textile Machinery Building in New England, 1813-1949* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 39-50, esp. 42.

⁶⁶ David, "The 'Horndahl Effect' in Lowell, 1834-56: A Short-Run Learning Curve for Integrated Cotton Textile Mills," in David, *Technical Choice Innovation and Economic Growth*, 177.

market and technological uncertainties, and such a short useful life has the effect of making the cost of the new technology more expensive.⁶⁷ Annual machine costs, then, amounted to \$28 to \$50, and, adding in labor (\$110), total costs came to between \$138 and \$160. When the hand-loom operator costs \$280 (the weaver bore the cost of his loom), textile manufacturers stood to save \$120 to \$142 per operator by turning to the power loom and low-priced, unskilled labor.

Habakkuk has argued that machines were adopted not to cut costs but to raise labor productivity. No evidence points to gains in physical productivity, however, until long after the introduction of machines, and these gains may be attributed to technical improvements and organizational efficiencies unanticipated by the innovators. New technologies frequently involve no clear gains in productivity. A case in point, for example, is Oliver Evans's grain mill, which increased output by perhaps as little as 10 percent; more importantly, his mill enabled the use of boys and unskilled men, both employable at low wages.

The physical output of the power-loom operators initially seems to have been about the same as the hand-loom weavers. Although the claim has been made that the power-loom operator of the 1830s turned out seven times the cloth produced by the skilled weaver, this estimate presents the power loom in the most favorable light.⁶⁸ Perhaps the most efficient mills of New England about 1830 had achieved this level of advantage. In these elite mills, an operator tending two power looms fed by seventy spindles produced 33,708 yards of cloth (of relatively low thread count) per year. By contrast, expert Philadelphia hand-loom weavers turned out 18 yards per day and, therefore, 5,598 yards during the conventional working year of 311 days.⁶⁹ This six-fold advantage of New England over Philadelphia was unusual in 1830 and grossly out of line for the period from 1815 to 1825, when the new technology was introduced. A more likely figure is based on American cloth output in 1831, and the assumption that there were fifteen spindles feeding each power loom. Each power-loom operator would have turned out only 5,561 yards of cloth—a figure almost identical to that of hand-loom weavers.⁷⁰ At earlier dates, the spindle-to-loom ratio was closer to the lower estimate of cloth output. In 1827, an integrated mill at Manayunk near Philadelphia was set up with a spindle-to-loom ratio of 21.4. Philadelphia mills in 1819 had a ratio of 8.4. In New England the first sale of textile machinery by the Boston Manufacturing Company to the Poignard Plant & Company had a ratio of 6.3; and Boston Manufacturing's sales and

⁶⁷ Rental rates of \$10 to \$15 for looms that sold at \$125 by the Boston Manufacturing Company imply a useful life of eight to twelve and a half years; thus, the estimate of five years certainly gives an upward bias to machine costs. Gibb, *The Saco-Lowell Shops*, 42-43.

⁶⁸ The seven-fold advantage reputedly occurred on British steam looms, with operators tending two looms each; Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (London, 1835), 239-40.

⁶⁹ The New England estimates are calculated from spindle counts and cloth output figures in David, "Learning by Doing and Tariff Protection," 95-173, and from ranges of spindle-to-loom ratios suggested in Zevin, "The Growth of Cotton Textile Production," 141. For the suggestion of low productivity for power looms in Britain in 1819, see S. J. Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry* (Manchester, 1904), 31. On hand-loom production in Philadelphia, see Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania*, 39.

⁷⁰ David, "Learning by Doing and Tariff Protection," 95-173; and Zevin, "The Growth of Cotton Textile Production," 141.



Figure 7: Power-loom weaving in the nineteenth-century textile factory. Lithograph by J. R. Barfoot, reproduced from Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978), 169, and reproduced courtesy of Alfred A. Knopf, Publishers, and Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery.

grants of rights to use their equipment between 1817 and 1823 indicate fourteen spindles for every loom. These low ratios of spindles to power looms suggest that the early mills were far less productive than the elite mills of New England in the 1830s and imply a cloth output of about 5,600 yards per power-loom operator. There was, therefore, no immediate appreciable gain in physical productivity by shifting to power looms.⁷¹

Although the outputs of hand and power looms were roughly the same, cloth woven on the hand loom commanded a higher price, and price differences may have narrowed the cost advantage of the new technology. Some idea of the price spread is apparent in wholesale prices of high quality checks and coarse sheeting in Philadelphia. In 1819, hand-loom checks brought a margin of \$0.0212 per yard over power-loom sheetings.⁷² This price spread meant that the hand-loom weaver earned the firm about \$118 more than the power-loom operator; these higher revenues, however, did not offset the low costs of the power loom and its labor. On the cost side, the power loom had an advantage of \$120 to \$142,

⁷¹ Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania*, 17–23; Gibb, *The Saco-Lowell Shops*, 40–47; and Jeremy, “British Textile Technology Transmission,” 24–52. For a recent report of similar outputs for English hand and power looms about 1810, see John Stephen Lyons, “The Lancashire Cotton Industry and the Introduction of the Power-Loom, 1815–1850,” *JEH*; 38 (1978): 283–84.

⁷² These price spreads (current prices) give a rough idea of the advantage of hand-loom weavers; but these prices generally represent imported goods, so conclusions on this matter must remain tentative. The Bezanson prices must serve until we have a price series for domestic cloths: Anne Bezanson *et al.*, *Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784–1861—Part II: Series of Relative Monthly Prices* (Philadelphia, 1937), 30, 196.

which exceeded the higher value of cloth produced by the hand-loom weaver from \$2 to \$24 per operator. The power loom's advantage was even greater when hand-loom weavers turned out less than the eighteen yards per day that was standard for expert weavers.

The case of the power loom underscores the characteristic feature of American capitalism—namely, the use of cheap, instead of expensive, inputs, provided any differences in productivity are overcome. As firms introduced the new technology, their productivity remained stable, but they gained cost advantages by substituting low-cost, unskilled labor for expensive, skilled labor. Machines endowed unskilled workers with the ability to make a simple, coarse fabric. Although worker productivity at a later date underwent vast expansion because of technical and organizational efficiencies, to assert that firms introduced machines for the purpose of elevating labor's physical productivity is to read history backwards. On the other side of the Atlantic, English textile manufacturers were relatively slow in adopting the new technology. Skilled laborers continued running the hand looms and the mules despite the availability of power looms, throstle frames, and related machinery. The explanation for the slow pace of British technological diffusion is merely the reverse of that used for the United States.

In England the old technology remained more profitable than the new. During the mid-1820s, English hand-loom weavers earned \$230, or about \$50 less than American weavers.⁷³ These annual wages could not induce a massive influx of English farm labor into the city. English rural labor, unlike its American counterpart, was expensive; estimates put a laborer's earnings at about \$170 annually, board included.⁷⁴ This high income, in turn, reflected nearly year-round employment. Next to American farming, English farming was much more diversified, integrating crops and livestock in greater variety, placing emphasis on labor intensive activities such as raising potatoes and turnips along with grains, and providing daily attention to livestock. Land improvements—notably draining, marling, manuring, and pasture making—also commanded the laborer's attention during the year. Annual labor contracts were not uncommon, and the seasonal unemployment endemic to American grain farming was generally ab-

⁷³ Rosenberg, "Anglo-American Wage Differences in the 1820s," 221-29.

⁷⁴ Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages*, 91; Adams, "Some Evidence on English and American Wage Rates," 505-06; and Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 23-55. As noted earlier, rural earnings varied markedly from place to place and among farm laborers' families. Our estimates are, however, consistent with the comprehensive survey of Norfolk and Suffolk laborers in the 1830s undertaken by James Phillips Kay, who demonstrated that the average yearly earnings for laborers in families amounted to \$173. The range varied from single laborers, who earned \$120 per year, to families with several children over ten years of age, whose family income was \$216. Kay's survey of 539 laborers also underlines employment opportunities during the lengthy farm year characteristic of English agriculture. Kay, "Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in Norfolk and Suffolk," *JSSL*, 1 (1838): 179-83. Equally instructive is the importance of marriage and the family. Among the 539 laborers surveyed by Kay, 93.3 percent were married and 81.4 percent had children; *ibid.* If opportunities were so limited in the English countryside, such widespread household and family formation would be much less prevalent, particularly since children constituted a clear economic burden until they reached the age of ten. Such a pattern contrasts sharply with that of the American Midwest at the same time: Schob's survey of townships in 1860 shows that only 25 percent or less of the laborers were married; Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys*, 268-72. In short, rural laborers in the American grain belt did not form families in the countryside as did their English counterparts.

sent in the English landscape. Year-long employment often included board, and, hence, subsistence costs were low for the English farm laborer.⁷⁵

The English worker contemplating a move to the city certainly faced living costs as high as those in the United States (\$55). The transfer wage (W_u) equalizing city and country earnings then amounted to an urban wage of \$225; including nonpecuniary income, estimated here as 30 percent of rural earnings, the transfer wage (W_u'), the wage required to move the unskilled laborer permanently from farm to city, becomes \$276:

$$\begin{aligned} W_u &= C_u - C_r + W_r & W_u' &= C_u - C_r + 130\%(W_r) \\ W_u &= \$55 - \$0 + \$170 & W_u' &= \$55 - \$0 + 130\%(\$170) \\ W_u &= \$225 & W_u' &= \$276.^{76} \end{aligned}$$

English manufacturers rightly saw little reason to introduce machines and tap the pool of rural labor, which was more expensive than the costs of hand-loom weavers (\$230) and less productive than skilled weavers. Adding in the costs of power looms made the new technology a losing proposition. Although cotton manufacturers used women on power looms and children on throstle spindles, they could not utilize unskilled rural male labor like their counterparts in the

⁷⁵ On continued use of yearly contracts and the rural hostility aroused in 1830 by attempts to put labor on a wage-rate basis, paying by the day or by the month, see Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 23–55. The drive to put English farm labor on a wage-rate basis would have made the English laborer much more like his American counterpart, although the labor intensity of English agriculture would have precluded the long periods of seasonal unemployment that typified American grain-farming regions; J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750–1880* (New York, 1966), esp. 133–34; and Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, 211–33. Subsistence costs may have been higher in the south of England, where six-month or yearly contracts gave way to day work, piece work, and harvest wages and where the laborer usually provided his own room and board. We may estimate an extreme lower bound for rural net income by using the earnings of a single laborer (\$120) finding his own room and board except during the harvest and haymaking season of eleven weeks; subsistence costs then had to cover the remaining forty-one weeks. Jelinger Cookson Symons estimated that it cost 30 shillings per week to maintain a family of five (including two children over fifteen years of age) residing in or near a country town; Symons, *Art and Artisans at Home and Abroad with Sketches of the Progress of Foreign Manufacturers* (Edinburgh, 1839). Subsistence costs for a single laborer would then be about one-fourth that sum, 7.5 shillings per week, or \$73.80 for forty-one weeks. Net rural earnings would thus amount to \$46.20 (\$120–\$73.80). For Symons's work, see the compilation by Paul Uselding, "Wage and Consumption Levels in England and on the Continent in the 1830s," *Journal of European Economic History*, 4 (1975): 501–13. A higher estimate of perhaps 9 shillings per week seems justified for larger cities; see T. R. Gourvish, "The Cost of Living in Glasgow in the Early Nineteenth Century," *EcHR*, 2d ser., 25 (1972): 65–80. The fact that day workers usually received payments in kind equal to an additional 15 percent of their money earnings is consistent with the argument presented here. See Glenn Hueckel, "English Farming Profits during the Napoleonic Wars, 1793–1815," *EEH*, 13 (1976): 331–45.

⁷⁶ If a lower bound is preferred, we may use Kay's data showing a single laborer's earnings of \$120, from which maintenance costs of \$73.80 are deducted, leaving net rural earnings of \$46.20. Adding nonpecuniary income of \$36 pushes this total up to \$82.20. On the matter of urban living costs, Symons's evidence suggests about 7.5 shillings per week or \$93 per year; adding this to net rural earnings gives a lower bound of the transfer wage at \$175, a figure still considerably above the American level. Also, for wages of unskilled men in the textile industry, Symons indicated a weekly wage of \$4.32, which converts to annual earnings of \$216—a figure close to our theoretical estimate of \$225. Uselding, "Wage and Consumption Levels," 501–13. Symons's evidence further sustains our view of the cheapness of English skilled labor. Comparing England and France on the differential wage between skilled workers in various industries and unskilled men in the textile industry, the English exhibited a lower differential for machine makers, iron founders, and blacksmiths. Thus, it would appear that the low wages paid to skilled laborers would be a central issue in English economic history, yet, aside from the brilliant essay by E. J. Hobsbawm, this problem has received slight attention; see Hobsbawm, "Custom, Wages, and Work-Load in Nineteenth-Century Industry," in his *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (New York, 1964), 244–70. On the continuing importance of cheap skilled labor in nineteenth-century industrialization, see C. K. Harley, "Skilled Labour and the Choice of Technique in Edwardian Industry," *EEH*, 9 (1974): 391–414.

American grain belt.⁷⁷ Accordingly, before 1840 the generally beneficent English countryside provided substantial earnings that encouraged rural population growth and discouraged the introduction of the new textile technology. These favorable employment opportunities in rural England were further underscored by the pattern of emigration and immigration. It is important to note that English society sent few emigrants to the low-wage United States. And, for that matter, Irish migrants preferred settlement in high-wage England rather than in the United States.⁷⁸

Labor costs in England and the American grain belt were precisely the reverse of Habakkuk's claim. The Middle Atlantic states contained low-cost, unskilled rural labor and expensive, skilled urban labor; firms there introduced machines to tap the supply of inexpensive labor, to cut costs, and to earn a producer's surplus. In England, skilled labor was comparatively cheap, and firms neglected the new technology unless less expensive child and female labor was available. The subsidy of low-priced labor thus offers a logical and plausible explanation for the introduction of machines; where unskilled labor was moderately expensive, as in England, machine technology advanced but slowly, and,

⁷⁷ The sex composition of the English cotton textile industry in 1835 resembled that of New England but contrasted sharply with the Mid-Atlantic grain belt. Exclusive of children, the work force in England in 1835 consisted of 55.4 percent women; in New England in 1822, 63.5 percent women; and in the Mid-Atlantic states in 1822, just 34.5 percent women; Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959: Trends and Structure* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1967), 182-92; and *Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments*. The English preference for employing women with the new textile technology was thoroughly grounded in wage differences between unskilled men and women. Unskilled English women in textiles earned just 33.3 percent of the wages that their male counterparts earned, whereas women earned 70 percent in France, 57 percent in Switzerland, and 50 percent in Austria and Prussia. Once again, as in the case of cheap skilled English labor, the low wage scale for English women has received surprisingly little attention. For the wage comparisons, see Uselding, "Wage and Consumption Levels," 505; and Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London, 1969).

⁷⁸ Various commentators upon our work have suggested that emigration from England contradicts our argument for generally high rural earnings in that nation. In fact, emigration from the English countryside was decidedly limited during the period under discussion—a central point in Arthur Redford's classic study, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*, ed. W. H. Chaloner (3d ed., Manchester, 1976). Scholars who claim that English migration to the United States was large have been misled by the aggregation of English, Scottish, and Irish data. Indeed, the English contribution to American immigration was negligible between 1820 and 1845. During these years, England contributed just 31,922 persons, or 2.7 percent of the immigrants to the United States. Nor does Irish migration to the United States contradict our view. In the period 1820-33, Irish migrants to this country numbered 38,384. In fact, far more Irish went to England, though in the absence of official lists we must rely on Irish population estimates for our figures. As of 1833, native-born Irish accounted for nearly 60,000 people in the Lancashire cities of Manchester and Liverpool with at least 30,000 more in that county's countryside. Another 60,000 lived in London, and many other Irish immigrants were scattered in the smaller cities and towns of England and Scotland. As the author of an 1836 parliamentary report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain remarked, "They are to be found in greater or less strength in every manufacturing or commercial town from Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock to the central counties of England and the metropolis. There are also many Irish in the Isle of Man, the Island of Guernsey, and at Sheerness. Their roaming and restless habits appear to have carried them to every place where there was any prospect of obtaining profitable employment." House of Commons, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 34 (London, 1836), 433. To these permanent emigrants should be added the seasonal migrant workers who numbered over 57,000 in 1841 according to official, and probably conservative, estimates. In all, before the famine of the mid-1840s, the Irish moved predominantly to high-wage England rather than to the low-wage United States. See William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States Exhibiting the Number, Sex, Age, Occupation, and Country of Birth of Passengers Arriving from Foreign Countries by Sea, 1819 to 1855* (reprint ed., New York, 1969); and *Report on the State of the Irish Poor*, 427-642. Also see Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish Famine Migration to the United States," *Perspectives in American History*, 10 (1976): 357-446; and E. J. T. Collins, "Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century," *EcHR*, 2d ser., 29 (1976): 38-59, esp. 49-50.

where it was extremely expensive, as in the cotton South, machines did not advance at all.

The immediate consequence of the success of the machine in American textile production was that firms reaped a producer's surplus and labor was exploited in the short term. Granted, rural labor improved its income by migrating permanently to urban jobs: annual incomes of unskilled urban workers were better than they would have been in the country because of steady, year-round employment. In fact, wages are not the main issue. More important is the share of value added going to labor, and on that score it appears that, although wages rose, labor's share of value added fell. The explanation is simple. As George Gibb understood so well, textile firms achieved this result by hiring disproportionately large numbers of low-cost laborers at the relative expense of skilled positions.⁷⁹ Unskilled wages did rise, but they began at such a low base that workers achieved little more than subsistence.

Mathew Carey was particularly outraged by the inadequate incomes earned by workers in Philadelphia during the 1820s and 1830s. Carey understood that these low incomes reflected a structural problem in the economy—what we have labeled as imperfect labor markets occasioned by agricultural seasonality.⁸⁰ In the seasonal farm economy of Pennsylvania, the unskilled laborer was part of a vicious cycle. Idle much of the year in the country, he left for the city and there discovered that his wages and earnings were also small because they were determined by what he had made in the countryside. In the short term, Carey's remedy for the urban poor was the compassionate charity of Philadelphians; in the long run, the vicious cycle was smashed by the emergence of perfectly competitive markets. By 1860, labor's share of value added in manufacturing had risen appreciably in New England and in all probability in the Middle Atlantic states. Thus, development based on cheap labor contained a self-correcting mechanism so that, as more firms entered the labor market, wages were determined increasingly by supply and demand rather than by the transfer wage based on seasonal rural earnings. Simultaneously, the asset of cheap labor passed on to Midwestern wheat and corn states, which rapidly re-enacted the course of events that had occurred a half-century earlier in the Mid-Atlantic states, as exemplified by the case of Philadelphia.

ALTHOUGH IT IS CURRENTLY FASHIONABLE to discount the importance of staple theory, our research has confirmed the central role of these commodities in the processes of economic growth, urbanization, and the transition from pre-industrial to industrial economies.⁸¹ From 1800 to 1860 the character of agriculture

⁷⁹ Gibb observed that the decline in wage shares "did not come about as a result of individual pay cuts, but because of a general shift toward employment of new help at lower rates. . . . This shifting downward of wage rates seems to indicate that machine-building techniques were being systematized to permit the replacement of highly skilled mechanics by lower-paid, more specialized, and less skilled men." Gibb, *The Saco-Lowell Shops*, 54–55.

⁸⁰ Carey, *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land*, 3–36; and Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania*, 29–157.

⁸¹ For an extended examination of the colonial economy, see Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South," *Perspectives in American History*, 10 (1976): 7–78.

and the costs of labor in the United States and England provided the foundation for the development of their respective modern industrial systems. In each country the physical nature of the staples established the levels of labor required for their cultivation and, as a corollary, the incomes that could be earned by rural laborers. Where labor requirements were seasonal, as in the grain belt of the United States, annual rural earnings were low. Therefore, the transfer wage was correspondingly low, and the pool of low-priced labor arising from the staple economy could be used in conjunction with the new technology by urban entrepreneurs seeking to reduce the costs of manufactures. By contrast, the cotton economy of the Southern United States created year-round labor requirements and offered high rural earnings, which would-be urban entrepreneurs were unable to match. Southern cotton thereby retarded the processes of urbanization and industrialization that were made possible by Northern grains. Finally, in England, the intensification of the agricultural schedule did not preclude urbanization, but, by raising the transfer wage and the cost of unskilled urban labor, it removed a critical incentive for investments in machine technology.⁸²

Thus, staple theory offers the most satisfactory interpretation of pre-industrial economic development as a precursor of industrial economies, and it also explains the transition to industrialization. By clarifying the functioning of labor markets and the operation of the transfer wage, staple theory not only accounts for urbanization but also affords a new interpretation of technological change and the origins of industrial economy.

⁸² The structure of the American and British labor markets also had profound effects on the politics of labor and the nature of the working class. The social tensions caused by the displacement of the American skilled artisan by the machine and the unskilled worker were mitigated in England by the relatively high costs of unskilled workers and the slower pace of technical change. Despite repeated efforts at creating a unified American working class, such a coalition was doomed by the wide differential in the wages of the skilled and the unskilled, by the divergence of their economic interests, and by the recurrent threat of displacement by the machine. These deep-seated divisions in the American labor movement repeatedly undermined working-class alliances during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For elaboration, see Sari Bennett and Carville Earle, "The Failure of Socialism in the United States: A Geographical Interpretation," GALI Working Paper, no. 4 (Baltimore, 1980).

The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation

FORREST MCDONALD
and
GRADY MCWHINEY

OF ALL OF THE COMMENTS made by contemporary observers of the antebellum South, the most nearly universal was that Southerners loved their leisure—or, as hostile observers said, they were lazy. “The climate and external appearance of the country conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good-natured,” wrote Andrew Burnaby in 1759; “they seldom show any spirit of enterprise, or expose themselves willingly to fatigue. . . . [They] are content if they can live from day to day.” Later in the eighteenth century Charles Woodmason described backcountry Southerners as ignorant and “very Poor—owing to their extreme Indolence.” “They delight in their present low, lazy, sluttish, heathenish, hellish Life, and seem not desirous of changing it. Both Men and Women will do any thing to come at Liquor, Cloaths, furniture, &c. &c. rather than work for it.” In 1810 Charles J. Ingersoll, like many another observer, attributed the “constitutional indolence” of Southerners to the institution of slavery. “Man will not labour,” he claimed, “where he can substitute slaves.” But indolence was not confined to slaveowners. “Among the lower classes of [Southern] society,” Henry C. Knight reported in 1824, “the Canaan richness of the land is productive, among better fruits, of much indolence. . . . Too many, instead of resting on one day in seven, work only on one day in six; and therefore ever remain poor.”¹

Southerners of all social classes would have rejected the naive and culture-bound assumption that people naturally seek to better their condition. In the 1830s Charles F. Hoffman attempted to convince a Southerner of “the superiority which greater industry and acquired knowledge of useful facts gives the northern man.” The Southerner replied, “If the people did not live up to other

We would like to acknowledge the helpful criticism that we received from John Hebron Moore, John D. W. Guice, William N. Parker, and Terry G. Jordan.

¹ Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America* . . . (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), 22, 27; Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, 1953), 52; Ingersoll, as quoted in Warren S. Tryon, ed., *A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States, 1790–1870, as Recorded by American Travelers*, 1 (Chicago, 1952): 20; and Knight, *Letters from the South and West* . . . (Boston, 1824), 93. Also see Kenneth R. Wesson, “Travelers’ Accounts of the Southern Character: Antebellum and Early Postbellum Period,” *Southern Studies*, 17 (1978): 305–18.

people's ideas, they lived as well as they wanted to. They didn't want to make slaves of themselves; they were contented with living as their fathers lived before them." And as Frederick Law Olmsted pointed out in the 1850s, "The Southerner has no pleasure in labor. . . . He enjoys life itself. He is content with being. Here is the grand distinction between him and the Northerner; for the Northerner enjoys progress in itself. He finds his happiness in doing. Rest, in itself, is irksome and offensive to him."²

SUCH IMPRESSIONISTIC OBSERVATIONS may be cited endlessly; they may also be borne out by some rough calculations. According to the census of 1850, there were, in round numbers, 569,000 farms in the South, of which about 30 percent held at least one slave. Not all farms with slaves, however, produced enough agricultural staples to qualify for the census bureau's classification of a "plantation": the requisite production was 2,000 pounds of cotton, 3,000 pounds of tobacco, 20,000 pounds of rice, or any amount of sugar cane or hemp. Of the roughly 170,000 farms with slaves, only 101,000 met that qualification. The census classified plantations by principal crop: 74,000 in cotton, 15,700 in tobacco, 8,300 in hemp, 2,700 in sugar cane, and 550 in rice.³

Let us see how much work was needed to constitute a plantation, census-style. As for cotton, the average yield per acre for the South as a whole was about 530 pounds of seed cotton, or about 180 pounds of ginned lint. The average hand could cultivate about ten acres of cotton, meaning about 1,800 pounds of baled cotton, plus enough corn and other provisions for two persons. Since 2,000 pounds of cotton made a "plantation," a slaveless one-family farm could readily qualify—if the head of the household worked at it. Tobacco required slightly more effort. An average hand under normal conditions could work two acres, with a gross yield of 1,600 pounds, besides corn and other necessary provisions. Since 3,000 pounds of tobacco made a "plantation," a slaveless one-family farm with one teen-aged son could readily qualify—if the household worked at it. Rice and sugar plantations were about five times as labor intensive, but, among them, farms producing these crops accounted for only about 3 percent of all plantations.⁴

These general propositions are borne out by the example of Butler County, Alabama, a cotton-producing area for which individual data happen to have been compiled. Of the 553 farms listed by the 1850 census for Butler County, 196 produced enough cotton to meet the census definition of a plantation; 30 of those plantations had no slaves. The widow Sarah Bailey, for example, had seven female children and one white adult male hired hand, but her farm pro-

² Hoffman, *A Winter in the West* . . . , 2 (New York, 1835): 226; and Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York, 1953), 616.

³ Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1978), 34; U.S. Census Office, *Statistical View: A Compendium of the Seventh Census, 1850* (Washington, 1854), 178; and Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* [hereafter, *Southern Agriculture*], 2 vols. (new ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1958), 1: 529.

⁴ Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 2: 708–09, 776, 912.

duced five 400-pound bales of cotton plus food enough for her family. Dan Dean, a young man in his twenties who farmed one hundred and fifty acres by himself, produced twenty-five bales of cotton. Joshua McCain, a tenant farmer in his forties with a wife, a teen-aged son, and two young daughters, produced forty bales. All three of these farms qualified as plantations.⁵

If plantations required so few laborers and there were only 101,000 of them, one may ask, what were the folks on those other 468,000 farms doing? Certainly they were not working at raising the great Southern agricultural staples, or at least not working hard at it. Robert Perry, another Butler County farmer, may not have been atypical: he owned twenty-three slaves, twelve of whom were adults, yet he produced only four bales of cotton (not enough to qualify as a plantation), along with only 700 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of oats, 100 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 40 pounds of wool. Indeed, fully 35 percent of the county's farm units with two or more adult slaves failed to produce enough to meet the census definition of a plantation.

Now let us see how much work was necessary to grow what those plantations did produce. In 1850, the farms and plantations in the South produced about 862,400,000 pounds of cotton, 185,000,000 pounds of tobacco, 215,300,000 pounds of rice, 236,800,000 pounds of sugar, and 6,700,000 pounds of hemp. The readily available data about the work involved in producing each of these crops suggest that, in round figures, each "hand" could produce 1,800 pounds of ginned cotton, 1,600 pounds of tobacco, 3,600 pounds of rice, 4,000 pounds of sugar, or 6,000 pounds of hemp, in addition to the corn and other provisions necessary for himself and another. Dividing the productivity of an average hand into the South's total production in 1850 yields the total hands necessary to produce each crop: 479,111 hands to produce the cotton, 115,625 to produce the tobacco, 59,806 to produce the rice, 59,200 to produce the sugar, and 1,117 to produce the hemp—a total of 714,859 hands.⁶

To estimate the work load involved in this production, we must define what constituted a hand. Male slaves between fifteen and fifty years of age comprised about a quarter of the slave population, but not all, of course, were field hands. About 5 percent worked in "industry," including those working as craftsmen on plantations. Women and children also worked as field hands on most plantations; they were reckoned as the equivalent of one-half to four-fifths of a hand, depending on the kinds of crops. One Alabama cotton planter in 1846 had thirteen slaves, "for the most part boys and women," whom he figured as "equivalent to about 10 good hands." As a rule of thumb, it seems conservative to follow Lewis C. Gray's assumption: one hand per two slaves. (Cliometricians,

⁵ These data were compiled by Michael Daniel as part of a forthcoming doctoral dissertation at the University of Alabama.

⁶ Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 2: 708–09, 730–31, 776, 822, 912. And production has been calculated from Donald B. Dodd and Wynelle S. Dodd, *Historical Statistics of the South, 1790–1970* (University, Ala., 1973). Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman have estimated that cotton production in 1790 required "the full-time labor of about two thousand hands, a mere one half of one percent of the labor required for cotton in 1850"; Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), 43. They have, therefore, calculated the number of slaves necessary to produce the 1850 cotton crop at four hundred thousand, one-sixth fewer than we have estimated.

incidentally, normally assume a much higher ratio of hands to slaves: Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, for example, figure that almost 70 percent of the whole slave population worked in the fields.⁷) If we assume that two slaves equaled one field hand, the South's 3,200,000 slaves in 1850⁸ means that there were 1,600,000 hands. Let us make the palpably absurd assumption that slaves did *all* of the work involved in *all* of the production of *all* of the South's agricultural staples; in that case, 715,000 hands would have been required. Again, one may ask, what were the other 885,000 field hands doing?

Let us look more closely at the work load involved. We have reasonably reliable estimates of the man-hours (or "hand-hours") required to produce cotton and corn. It happens that those two crops constituted the overwhelming majority, probably nine-tenths, of the entire crop production in the state of Alabama. It took an average of approximately 0.8 hand-hours to produce a pound of cotton and approximately 2.5 hand-hours to produce a bushel of corn. Alabama produced 225,771,600 pounds of cotton and 28,754,048 bushels of corn in 1850. That figures out at 180,617,280 hand-hours to produce the cotton and 71,885,120 hand-hours to produce the corn. Let us again assume that slaves did all of the work. There were 342,844 slaves in the state, or about 171,422 hands. Dividing the hands into the requisite hand-hours, we find that the average hand had to work 1,473 hours per year to produce the cotton and corn crops of Alabama in 1850, assuming no white ever lifted a finger. Converting this figure into ten-hour days, we find that each field hand would have had to work 147 days a year. In Mississippi, the comparable figures are 1,362 hours per year per hand, or 136 ten-hour days a year.⁹

It is revealing, in regard to work load, to compare areas with different population mixes and different kinds of soils. Greene County, Alabama, a rich cotton-growing area with a ratio of slaves to whites of almost two and one-half to one, lay in the heart of the black belt; assuming that only blacks worked there and that only half of the blacks were field hands, we infer that it took 1,045 hours per year per hand to produce the county's output of cotton and corn (104 ten-hour days per year, or two days per week). In Tishomingo County, Mississippi, a relatively poor, upland area with a ratio of seven whites to one slave, it took 2,629 hand-hours to produce the cotton and corn—again assuming that only slaves worked, which in this case seems more than a little extravagant. In Butler County, Alabama, which had medium-quality land and a two-to-one ratio of whites to slaves, the work load for producing the cotton and corn was 1,139 hand-hours if only slaves worked. (The figures do not vary appreciably if calculations are made only for plantations employing slave labor; in that case,

⁷ Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 1: 542, 544, 549, 2: 664–65; Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge, 1977), 233–34; and Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970), 11, 236. Fogel and Engerman have estimated that 1,150,000 of the 2,000,000 slaves on cotton plantations—57.5 percent—were field hands; *Time on the Cross*, 42. Calculating the labor of a female at three-quarters of that of a male results in a ratio of one hand for every two slaves.

⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, 1961), 9.

⁹ Per man-hours labor requirements have been derived from U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Progress of Farm Mechanization*, Miscellaneous Publication, no. 630 (Washington, 1947), 3.

the work load on Butler County plantations was 1,109 hours per hand per year.)¹⁰

Several observations should be made about these estimates. First, despite the numerical precision with which they are expressed, they are only estimates, and necessarily rough ones at that. Second, they express *averages*, which encompass but do not delineate the variations of yields and labor requirements from farm to farm. These turned upon such questions as the quality of soil, the intelligence of planters, and how hard (as opposed to how long) field hands worked. But the greatest difficulty with the estimates is that they do not take into account the labor requirements of the other things there were to do on a farm, besides raise market crops. In addition to the growing of food for home consumption, there were animals to tend, fences to build and mend, ditches to dig, wood to chop, land to clear, and various other chores. To be sure, many of the chores on Southern farms and plantations were inherently less time-consuming than on Northern farms; Southerners engaged very little in the labor-intensive dairy business, for instance, and their beef cattle and hogs did not require shelter or feeding in the winter. Travelers' descriptions of the disreputable state of Southern farms, moreover, suggest that routine chores often went undone. That impression is strengthened by the relatively small proportion of improved acreage in the South: of the South's nearly 557,000,000 total acres, fewer than 10 percent were improved in 1850. Only in Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and Kentucky was more than 20 percent of the land under cultivation. In the other states of the South improved acreage ranged from less than 1 percent in Texas and Florida to nearly 19 percent in South Carolina.¹¹ Southerners were, obviously, far from compulsive in working to clear their land.

Unfortunately, the kinds of documents that would shed light on these matters—plantation records—are intrinsically biased. Southerners who kept detailed records were atypical, and it seems reasonable to assume that those who did so tended to be considerably more work-oriented and profit-oriented than was normal. For instance, there are the conscientiously maintained records of James Mallory, the owner of twenty-two slaves (nine males and thirteen females), half of them between the ages of fifteen and fifty. In 1850 Mallory produced, on his two hundred improved acres in Talladega County, Alabama,

¹⁰ U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: An Appendix* (Washington, 1853), 421, 430, 431, 447, 457, 458, and Manuscript Census Returns, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Butler County, Alabama, Population, Slave, and Agricultural Schedules (microfilm copies, University of Alabama).

¹¹ The figures for butter and cheese consumption reflect the insignificance of dairy production in the South. Per capita consumption of butter in the North in 1850 was, for example, 39 pounds in Vermont, 26 pounds in New York, 22 pounds in New Hampshire, 18 pounds in Michigan, and 17 pounds in Ohio. In Alabama, the per capita consumption of butter in 1850 was 5.2 pounds. And the national per capita consumption of cheese was 4.67 pounds in 1850; in Alabama it was 0.04 pounds. See Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoeecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale, Ill., 1972), 135; Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States*; and Census Office, Manuscript Census Returns, Seventh Census: Butler County, Alabama. The neighbor of a Yankee woman living in the South "owned fifty cows, she supposed, but rarely had any milk and scarcely ever any butter, simply because his people were too lazy to milk or churn, and he wouldn't take the trouble to make them"; Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, 302-03. Regarding improved land, see Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949), 48-49; Thomas C. Donaldson, *The Public Domain: Its History, with Statistics* (Washington, 1884), 28-29; and U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853), Table 55, lxxxii-lxxxiii.

17,600 pounds of cotton, 2,200 bushels of corn, and small quantities of wheat, rye, oats, tobacco, peas, and potatoes. His production of four bales per hand was nearly twice the average for the best cotton lands in southern Alabama and Georgia.¹²

Even plantation records, however, tend to confirm our estimates. It is clear that slaves usually did not work on Sundays, holidays, and days when they were sick. Mallory's slaves had 105 days off, fully or partially, in 1850. Work rules on the Weston plantation in South Carolina specified that, in addition to sick days, slaves would receive more than 60 holidays per year: "No work of any sort or kind is to be permitted to be done by negroes on Good Friday or Christmas day, or on any Sunday. . . . The two days following Christmas day; the first Saturdays after finishing threshing, planting, hoeing, and harvest, are also to be holidays. . . . Only half task is to be done every Saturday, except during planting and harvest. . . . No negro is to be put into a task which . . . [he] cannot finish with tolerable ease."¹³

What is more, plantation records indicate that, in estimating the work load, only a modest allowance needs be made for labor other than that devoted to raising staple crops. For instance, using our formula for determining production we find that half of the slaves on James Mallory's plantation had to work only 207 days in 1849 to produce all the cotton and corn grown on the place. Mallory's detailed journal indicates that he actually kept his slaves busy 260 days during the year—which comes to 53 days, or approximately 25 percent, more than the estimated crop-production work load. If we add 25 percent to the average figure cited earlier, the total work load required of slaves is increased to something in the order of 1,600 to 1,800 hours, or 160 to 180 ten-hour days, per year. By contrast, the most persuasive estimate the authors have seen of the work load on free Northern farms, that made by John F. Olson, places the average Northern agricultural work-year at a minimum of 3,100 hours.¹⁴

¹² James Mallory, Journal, 1843–1877 (original owned by Edgar A. Stewart of Selma, Alabama; microfilm copy, University of Alabama). Average figures for southern Georgia have been calculated from Roland M. Harper, "Development of Agriculture in Lower Georgia from 1850 to 1880," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 6 (1922): 111; Alabama averages have been calculated from Census Office, Manuscript Census Returns, Seventh Census.

¹³ John Spencer Bassett, ed., *The Southern Plantation Overseer as Revealed in His Letters* (Westport, Conn., 1968), 23–38. For typical rules and holidays, also see—in addition to such plantation records as those cited in note 14, below—*DeBow's Review*, 21 (1856): 617–20, and 22 (1857): 38–44, 376–81; Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), 261–90; and Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 1: 557.

¹⁴ Mallory, Journal, 1843–1877; and Olson, "Clock-Time vs. Real-Time: A Comparison of the Lengths of the Northern and the Southern Agricultural Work-Years" (unpublished essay). Professor Olson, of the University of Connecticut, Storrs, kindly provided us with a copy of his essay; his excellent study is quite the most sophisticated we have seen. Olson has calculated the work day of Northern farmers, on a year-round basis, at 10.1 to 11.4 hours, depending on the kind of farm. (Much higher figures for Northern farm workers are given in David E. Schob, *Hired Hands and Plowboys: Farm Labor in the Midwest, 1815–60* [Urbana, Ill., 1975], 254–55.) Olson has calculated the slave work day at 7.9 to 10.5 hours, depending on crops and seasons. He has estimated that plantation slaves worked more days than we have estimated, figuring 279 days for cotton plantations and an average of 281 days for all kinds of plantations combined. But 279 days is only 19 days, or 7.3 percent, more than is recorded in the Mallory Journal; and, if due allowance is made for the fact that Olson's figures are based exclusively on plantation records (twelve sets) with their inherent bias of showing more than average work, his figures square fairly closely with ours. For similar plantation records, see, for example, William F. Shields, Plantation Records, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; John D. Ashmore, Plantation Journal, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,

Our estimates are very different from the estimates other scholars have made. Lewis C. Gray estimated the slaves' work day at 15 to 16 hours during the busy season; Eugene Genovese suggested 12 to 15 hours a day; Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman say 12.7 to 13.6 hours; and the latest cliometricians in the field, Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, place the figure at 12 to 14 hours for males, 10 to 13 for women and children. Ransom and Sutch estimate the number of days slaves worked per year at 268 to 289, and estimate the total hours devoted to agriculture per year at 3,055 to 3,965 for adult male slaves and 1,913 to 3,507 hours for women and children.¹⁵

Such estimates are entirely unrealistic. In the first place, they do not square with the almost universal observations of contemporaries. One observer stated that slaves worked "at so slow a rate, the motion would have given a quick-working Yankee convulsions"; another noted that slaves "never worked enough to tire themselves," but merely went "through the motions of labor without putting strength into them"; while a foreigner thought that, in contrast to busy Northern farms, in the South "all mankind appeared comparatively idle."¹⁶ In the second place, had so many hands been working so hard, Southern agricultural production would necessarily have been several times higher than it was. And, most importantly, the cliometricians' figures reveal that these scholars did not grow up in the rural South. Had they done so, they might have noticed that there are not enough hours in the day or days in the year available for the amount of agricultural labor they insist took place. The length of the day in the South ranges from about ten and a quarter hours at the winter solstice to just under fourteen hours at the summer solstice, and on a year-round basis the average day is about twelve hours. There is also winter, when agricultural activities are somewhat limited, and there is rain.¹⁷ A sample of Mallory's journal entries tells the story: January 28, "Ground too wet to plough"; February 3, "A very

N.C.; William J. Dickey, *Diary*, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.; and John Horry Dent, *Journals*, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. None of these data, incidentally, upsets Fogel and Engerman's contention that slave-plantation labor was more efficient than Northern free agricultural labor; if anything, the fact that slaves worked fewer hours than they reckoned buttresses their case. The economics of scale apply whether laborers are working hard or not. What is more important, the economics of the division of labor apply. The authors of the present essay, having worked on farms, are conscious of the fact that Adam Smith's famous example of the pin factory is applicable to farm work as well as to industrial work.

¹⁵ Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 1: 557; Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 208; and Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*, 233-36.

¹⁶ *American Agriculturalist*, 9 (1950): 93; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States . . .* (New York, 1856), 91; and Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, 3 (Edinburgh, 1829): 117.

¹⁷ The number of hours in the day at southern latitudes can be calculated from any almanac. Gray's notion of the length of a day may have been influenced by where he taught—at the Universities of Wisconsin and Saskatchewan, in northern latitudes where summer days are much longer, as many as sixteen to nineteen hours. When that is taken into account, Gray's data are not as different from our estimates as might at first appear. He indicated that field hands had two and a half hours off for meals and rest during the course of a work day—which would bring a fourteen-hour day down to eleven and a half hours of work and a thirteen-hour day down to ten and a half. Moreover, Gray stated that on smaller and "noncommercial" units—a description that would, in fact, include the vast majority of farms with slaves—"labor was more casual." *Southern Agriculture*, 1: 577. For examples of work that has taken the weather into account, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 567-68; and Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoe cake*, 29-31. Neither discussion, however, pays attention to the length of the day. Olson has been realistic about the length of the work day; "Clock-Time vs. Real-Time." Also see Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The South-West, by a Yankee*, 2 (New York, 1835): 276.

[heavy] rain last night. . . . Ploughing kept back"; February 5, "Cold and ground frozen"; February 14, "Snowing very freely"; March 17, "A tremendous rain fell, washing the land very much and greatly retarding planting operations"; March 21, "Rain, Rain, Rain"; March 22, "All business stopped by a heavy rain"; March 26, "Started the ploughs . . . but was stopped by rain"; April 2, "Planting . . . stopped by rain"; April 10, "Rainy and windy, all planting stopped"; April 11, "Too wet to work"; April 17, "Had a very heavy rain, stopped all planting"; April 26, "Stopped from ploughing by rain"; May 8, "Stopped by a heavy rain from work"; May 30, "It is showery, stopped from harvesting"; July 8, "All business stopped about 10 oclock by a heavy rain"; July 11, "All hands driven from the field by a torrent of rain"; and so on.¹⁸ Finally, it should be borne in mind that our estimates are of the maximum hours that field hands had to work to produce the Southern staples. Since whites—operators of those other 468,000 farms mentioned earlier—obviously did some of the farming and since we have probably understated the percentage of slaves who worked the land, the work load of the slaves was obviously less than that indicated.

Now let us estimate how hard those ordinary white Southerners, the "plain folk," worked. For that purpose, let us relieve the slaves of the burden of raising corn entirely and assume that all of it was raised by the sweat of the brow of the plain folk. Corn production in Alabama in 1850 amounted to 67.4 bushels per white person. Since the average hand required 2.5 hours of work to produce a bushel of corn, the per capita work load would have been 168.5 hours per year; if we assume that only half the whites tilled the fields, the work load soars to 337 hours a year—five or six weeks of work.¹⁹

Just how little work it took to subsist, which is about all most white Southerners cared to do, is revealed by the 1850 census data for Butler County, Alabama. Consider, for example, the efforts of four randomly selected non-slaveholding white families whose landholdings varied from more than 500 acres to none at all: Archibald Dickinson and his wife, who had four children living at home, owned 560 acres, 120 of which were improved, valued at \$3,000; the Samuel Farrow family of eight owned 80 acres, 35 of which were improved, worth \$150; John Cleghorn, his wife, and their three children owned 35 acres, only 1 of which was improved, valued at \$40; and the Jesse Armstrong family of eight were tenants who owned no land. All of these families owned livestock, mainly hogs and beef cattle. Dickinson claimed some 200 swine, 25 beef cattle,

¹⁸ Mallory, *Journal*, 1843–1877. The entries in Mallory's *Journal*, however, while representative, actually understate the number of days partially or totally lost to rain. The U.S. Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration has calculated the average number of days with measurable precipitation for fifteen Southern cities: Atlanta, Baltimore, Charlotte, Columbia, Houston, Jackson, Little Rock, Louisville, Memphis, Mobile, Nashville, New Orleans, Norfolk, Raleigh, and Richmond. The number of days with measurable rainfall in these cities ranges from 102 per year in Little Rock to 128 in Atlanta and Baltimore; the average number of days is 113.5, or about 2 days of rain per week. Seasonal variations, however, are considerable, with a range of 6.5 days in October (or about 1 day in 5) to 11.1 days in July (more than 1 in 3). Except for July, precipitation is most frequent from mid-December through mid-April—the time for off-season chores and for spring plowing and planting—when it rains on the average of every third day. These data have been calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, 1972), 185.

¹⁹ Labor for corn production has been calculated from U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, 421, 431.

and various other animals worth \$700; Farrow's livestock came within \$25 of equaling the value of his farm; Cleghorn's exceeded his farm's value by \$60; and the landless Armstrong possessed animals worth \$200. Dickinson and Farrow grew no cotton at all; Cleghorn and Armstrong made only one bale each, and these along with the animals they slaughtered accounted for nearly all of their income. Dickinson concentrated on corn and livestock; he raised some 1,200 bushels of corn worth about \$750 and slaughtered animals worth another \$100. Farrow also devoted most of his attention to corn and animals, though with more modest results—he produced only 200 bushels of corn worth about \$126 and slaughtered only \$50 worth of animals. Together the twenty-three people of working age in these four families—seven male and two female teenagers, four males in their twenties, three females in their thirties, and four males and three females over forty—produced goods valued at approximately \$1,280: corn worth \$910, slaughtered animals worth \$220, cotton worth \$90, home-made goods worth \$40, and wool worth \$20. The work required to produce these items took about 9,713 hours: 3,630 hours of labor to grow 1,452 bushels of corn; 640 hours to make two bales of cotton; 400 hours to produce home-made goods; 2,778 hours to milk, feed, and care for 15 cows; 2,265 hours to tend, brand, mark, slaughter, or shear 8 horses, 10 oxen, 54 beef cattle, 58 sheep, and 239 hogs. This means that, to achieve the total production of the four families in 1850, each of the twenty-three working-age family members, sharing the labor equally, would have had to work only about 423 hours, or approximately eleven forty-hour weeks, per year.²⁰

CONTEMPORARY OBSERVERS, IN OTHER WORDS, WERE RIGHT when they reported that most antebellum Southerners were contemptuous of work and did as little of it as possible. The reporters were wrong, however, when they declared that, as

²⁰ Information on these and other Butler County families was compiled by Michael Daniel from manuscript census returns. In 1850, the price of cotton averaged 11.7 cents per pound in the New Orleans market; corn averaged 66 cents a bushel in New Orleans and 59 cents a bushel in Virginia. It therefore seems reasonable to use the figure of 63 cents a bushel as perhaps the average inland Alabama price. For sources for the time required to produce corn (2.5 hours per bushel) and cotton (0.8 hours per pound), see note 5, above. The price of common wool, which was 28 cents a pound in Boston in 1849, could not have been more than 20 cents a pound in Alabama, if that much. We have assumed that the time necessary to produce home-manufactured items would correspond to their value; since daily wages in 1850 averaged \$1.00, we have estimated that home-made goods worth, say, \$20.00 would require roughly 20 ten-hour days to produce. Milking and related activities probably took about 30 minutes per cow per day. Perhaps we have allotted too much time to animal husbandry, especially to the care of hogs and beef cattle. The Southern method of tending animals required remarkably little time and effort. Even sheep, as Paul W. Gates has observed, "required less . . . attention than raising dairy cattle." We allotted no extra labor to the raising of sweet potatoes and cowpeas because the amount grown by the families examined here was negligible. They raised some sweet potatoes, but only two families produced as many as usually were grown on half an acre. Cowpeas, simply sown in the corn rows as the corn was "laid by," grew easily in great abundance and crowded out weeds. An antebellum Georgian explained that cowpeas "will yield some six or eight bushels per acre, in addition to the corn, and serve to fatten our stock after we have gathered the corn, and what peas we want." Lewis C. Gray pointed out that in the colonial period, without plows, "one man could produce 100 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of beans and peas, and from 800 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco" and that by 1839 in South Carolina it was customary for a single hand to raise twelve or fifteen acres of cotton and the same amount of corn. None of the Butler County people studied remotely approached that production. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York, 1960), 221, 225; Gray, *Southern Agriculture*, 1: 27, 450, 2: 469, 812-13, 824, 827, 1027, 1039; and Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoeecake*, 174, 177.



Figure 1: Log cabins with sandstone chimneys typical of the antebellum period; Colbert County, Alabama. Photograph taken April 13, 1922 by Roland Harper; now part of the William Stanley Hoole Collection, University of Alabama.

a result, Southerners were poor. Obviously the planters were well off; although Fogel and Engerman have been challenged in many particulars—especially by Herbert Gutman, Gavin Wright, and Ransom and Sutch—cliometricians are agreed that slave plantations were profitable. And, although there has been quibbling about the “exploitation rate,” most scholars now concede that the material well-being of the slaves was at least close to being on a par with that of free Northern farmers. Eugene Genovese has declared that the slaves were better off than peasants in most of the rest of the world. Had these scholars pursued the matter more thoroughly, they would have found that American slaves worked far less and lived far better than did the free peasants of France, whose lot in turn was better than that of the serfs of eastern Europe, who in turn were in an agrarian heaven compared to farm workers in Africa and Asia.²¹

But what of those leisurely Southern white plain folk? Superficially, they did seem to have been impoverished, at least in comparison with their hard-working Yankee brethren, for they tended to live in squalor. Olmsted, in a typical passage that can be found with variations in the accounts of numerous other travelers, wrote of an East Texas house that “was more comfortless than nine-tenths of the stables of the North,” a judgment that his graphic description verifies.

²¹ See Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*; Herbert Gutman, *History and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (New York, 1975); Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*; Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*; and Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 61–64. Ransom and Sutch have been particularly critical of Fogel and Engerman’s calculation of the exploitation rate, placing it much higher; *One Kind of Freedom*, 169, 203–15. On the question of profitability, see Alfred H. Conrad and John H. Meyer, eds., *The Economics of Slavery and Other Studies in Econometric History* (Chicago, 1964); and Hugh Aitken, ed., *Did Slavery Pay?* (Boston, 1971). For an enlightening account of the lot of French peasants, see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, 1976).



Figure 2: Log house with two sandstone chimneys typical of those occupied by postbellum sharecroppers and tenants; near Kennedy, Lamar County, Alabama. Photograph taken October 18, 1911 by Roland Harper; now part of the Hoole Collection, University of Alabama.

"There were several windows, some of which were boarded over, some had wooden shutters, and some were entirely open. There was not a pane of glass. The doors were closed with difficulty. We could see the stars, as we lay in bed, through the openings of the roof; and on all sides, in the walls of the room, one's arm might be thrust out."²² That description sounds for all the world like the direst poverty; and it is an entirely characteristic representation of the appearance of most antebellum Southern homes. But appearances were deceptive. The "farmer" that Olmsted was describing happened to own a thousand acres of land—none of which he tilled—and more hogs and cattle than he could count. His place was teeming with deer and other game, but "he never shot any; 'twas too much trouble. When he wanted 'fresh,' 'twas easier to go out and stick a hog."²³

That is the key to how the plain folk lived: in the literal sense of the phrase, they lived "high off the hog." Virtually all, even those who owned no land, owned animals. No one actually needed to own land, for the open range prevailed throughout the South. Animals were simply branded or clipped and turned loose to graze the land—anybody's land, for fencing laws prohibited the enclosure of any space not actually under cultivation and required farmers to

²² Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, 304–05.

²³ *Ibid.* On the simplicity of Southern architecture, see James C. Bonner, "Plantation Architecture of the Lower South on the Eve of the Civil War," *Journal of Southern History*, 11 (1945): 370–88; Fred B. Kniffen and Henry H. Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," *Geographical Review*, 56 (1966): 40–66; Fred B. Kniffen, *Folk Houses of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1942); Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville, 1975); Eugene M. Wilson, *Alabama Folk Houses* (Montgomery, Ala., 1975); and Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture* (Austin, 1978).

fence their crops against the animals of others, rather than the other way around.²⁴ When the larder got low, the plain folk stuck another hog. For vegetables, almost no tillage was necessary, since green gardens in the Southern soil and climate, once planted, grew wild, reseeding themselves year after year if they were appropriately neglected, as was also the case with "pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables." In 1854 a startled German, who found the South far different from his own culture, wrote to friends back home:

There are such fine fruits and plants here. The forest is a veritable vineyard, for grapes of all kinds grow in the wild forest as well as such things as are planted in the fine gardens of Germany. All such things grow in the woods here. . . . You can also keep as many cows here as you wish, for feed does not cost a penny. Cattle feed itself in the woods in winter and summer, no cattle here is fed in the barn. Grass grows six to eight feet high in the woods and one person has as much right there as the other. Similarly you can keep as many pigs as you wish, and you need not feed them. The same is true of chickens. . . . We do not want to go on, for we can live here like lords.²⁵

Once a year—in the fall, after the livestock had fattened themselves on acorns and other nuts—herds were rounded up and driven to market as a cash crop. A few weeks of work in the spring, a few weeks in the fall, were all that was required to keep the system going.²⁶

The system made the South lavishly self-sufficient—lavishly, that is, by the plain folk's own preferred standards, which required only an abundance of leisure, tobacco, liquor, and food. That they had three of the four is attested by virtually every travel account. As for food, Sam B. Hilliard has estimated that antebellum Southerners consumed approximately 150 pounds of pork and 50 pounds of beef—and this was lean meat—per capita per year. That is one-third again as much animal protein per capita as was consumed by Americans in 1977. It figures out to 248 grams of *animal* protein per man, woman, and child per day—nearly five times the amount of *total* protein intake recommended for adult males by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council in 1978.²⁷

Nor was self-sufficiency all. The value of Southern livestock in 1860 was twice that of the year's cotton crop and approximately as much as the value of all Southern crops combined. At first the comparison may seem inappropriate, since only about one-fifth of the animals were slaughtered for market. Another

²⁴ Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Southern History*, 41 (1975): 147–66.

²⁵ *Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers* (New York, 1834), 23–24; and [Joseph Eder] "A Bavarian's Journey to New Orleans and Nacogdoches in 1853–1854," ed. Karl J. R. Arndt, *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 23 (1940): 496–97. One of the authors of this essay (McDonald) has observed the phenomenon of vegetables reseeding themselves (or "escaping," as it is technically known) on his own farms in Florida and Alabama.

²⁶ For details on herding, see McDonald and McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman," 160–63 and the sources cited therein. In that article, we assumed that a large percentage of the plain folk were engaged in tillage farming of cotton or other commercial crops, an assumption we now question. Hilliard has made the same assumption; *Hog Meat and Hoeecake*, 151. But Wright's argument to the contrary seems conclusive; *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 55–56, including Table 3.4, n. 24.

²⁷ Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoeecake*, 105. For modern consumption, real and recommended, see *The World Almanac & Book of Facts*, 1979 (New York, 1979), 161.

three-fifths of the hogs, however, were slaughtered for home consumption, which means that the value of the annual swine "crop" was 80 percent of the total value. Moreover, virtually all of the gross sales of livestock was net profit, whereas the profit margin in crops was relatively slender and uncertain.²⁸

The drives of Southern livestock in enormous herds over long distances were such as to boggle the imagination. The French Broad River area of East Tennessee sent more than 150,000 hogs a year across the mountains into North and South Carolina; 80,000 or more passed through Cumberland Gap each fall; and another 100,000 or so came south annually along established routes from Kentucky and Tennessee to Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The magnitude of the industry may be seen by comparing drives in the Old South with the more celebrated later drives during the heyday of the cowboy. Walter Prescott Webb's classic *The Great Plains* provides a table that shows the number of Texas cattle driven to market in each of the fifteen years from 1866 to 1880. The average annual number was about 280,000, the total during the period 4,223,497. By contrast, during the last fifteen years of the antebellum period, Southerners drove or otherwise marketed an average of 4,468,400 hogs per year; the total during the period was 67,026,000. The marketing of cattle in the antebellum South is more difficult to estimate, but in 1850 a federal agency reported that during the preceding twenty years one small area of the South—some two hundred miles square of piney woods in southern Mississippi, eastern Louisiana, and western Alabama—had raised for market one million cows annually.²⁹

One more important point needs to be made. The leisurely life style of the Southern plain folk was not a by-product of slavery, as many contemporary travelers thought, nor was it an adaptation made by Europeans to the peculiar climatological and geographical conditions of the region. Nor, for that matter, was it a product of a "frontier process." (The South was still frontier country in 1860; only a fraction of its land had been cleared in the two and a half centuries since the white man began to arrive.) Rather, the Southern way was a classical example of what some cultural geographers have called cultural preadaptation or preselection.³⁰ We have not yet completed our massive investigation of the ethnic origins of white Southerners, but our preliminary data indicate that upwards of 70 percent of those whose ethnic background can be ascertained were of Celtic extraction—mainly Welsh, Scots, Irish, and Scotch-Irish—or had originated in the "Celtic frontier," the extreme southwestern, western, and northern

²⁸ McDonald and McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman," 147; and Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoe cake*, 129. Ransom and Sutch have estimated the slaughter rate of hogs at 80 percent; *One Kind of Freedom*, 151, 346–47 n. 12. Also see Richard Sutch, "The Treatment Received by American Slaves: A Critical Review of the Evidence Presented in *Time on the Cross*," *Explorations in Economic History*, 12 (1975): 369–70. Since the rate of slaughter for market was about 20 percent, it follows that about one-fourth of the hogs slaughtered were killed for market.

²⁹ Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931), 223; Dodd and Dodd, *Historical Statistics of the South*, 2–61; and U.S. Patent Office, *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1850*; part 2: *Agriculture* (Washington, 1851), 260.

³⁰ Acreage has been calculated from Dodd and Dodd, *Historical Statistics of the South*, 2–61. On cultural preadaptation, see Milton Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," *Geoscience and Man*, 5 (1974): 143–54; Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55 (1965): 549–77; and Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States," 40–66.

parts of England.³¹ To be sure, the tidewater plantation country of the Atlantic seaboard was predominately English, but elsewhere in the South Anglo-Americans were distinctly in the minority; and there were various German,³² French,

³¹ For the "Celtic fringe," see J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 8 (1974): 6. Pocock has not included the English border country as part of the "Celtic fringe," but others have. On the distinctiveness and Celticness of the English North Country, see Denis Hay, "England, Scotland, and Europe: The Problem of the Frontier," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1975): 77-91; on that of the southwest, see A. L. Rowse, ed., *The West in English History* (London, 1949); and, on that of the Welsh border, see Howell T. Evans, *Welsh Drovers: Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1938); and H. R. Ranking, "Cattle Droving from Wales to England," *Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture*, 62 (1955): 218-21. In using the term "Celtic," we do not mean to suggest a common genetic pool, for the peoples under discussion were clearly of different genetic mixtures. The Welsh are obviously of different genetic stock from the Irish, for instance, and Highland Scots had different bloodlines from Lowlanders. Rather, we are speaking of peoples who shared a common cultural heritage—customary lifestyles, attitudes, and ways of doing things. Even in that sense, of course, the various peoples we treat as Celtic were far from identical. But after a great deal of study we have concluded that it is legitimate to consider them as a single general cultural group, different from the English—much in the same way that Western culture is seen as distinct from Islamic culture, while recognizing that Italians and Swedes differ from one another even as do Libyans and Turks. A more accurate phraseology than Celtic, in the sense we are using the term, would be "people from the British Isles who were historically and culturally non-English"—but somehow that phrase seems less catchy. In a previous article, following the "Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," which appeared in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* in 1931, we reported that Scots and Scotch-Irishmen "constituted just under a fourth of the total white population of the South" in 1790; "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman," 156 n. Since writing that article, we have uncovered a number of serious methodological errors in the 1931 report, and, as a consequence, we have re-examined the entire subject. It turns out that, in 1790, persons of Celtic extraction ranged from 38.7 percent of the white population in Maryland to 53.4 percent in South Carolina, as against 47.4 percent English in Maryland and less than 37 percent English in South Carolina. In the Southern uplands, from which most nineteenth-century inhabitants of the interior South derived, Celts in 1790 constituted as much as 90 percent of the population. By contrast, in New England in 1790 between 70 and 80 percent of the population was English. These data and the analysis on which they are based are reported more fully in Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 37 (1980): 179-99. For the past two years, we have also been engaged in a large-scale name analysis of the entire antebellum South; our tentative figure of upwards of 70 percent is derived from this study. Our calculations indicate that there were some Scotch-Irish in upper New England; but open-range husbandry was not available to them. Even in the seventeenth century, common grazing rights were restricted to original town proprietors and their heirs or assigns; and, by the time Scotch-Irishmen arrived, the commons had been substantially closed. See Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (New York, 1941), 21-23, 56-58. Also see the Microfilm Collection of Town Records, New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N.H. Although the rural Virginia "oot" for "out" is clearly of Scottish origin, some studies of southwestern Virginia dialects would seem to contradict our findings, since they indicate that those Virginians (as well as rural folk in parts of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi) continued to speak with a seventeenth-century English accent well into the twentieth century. The "English" accent, however, is that of the West Country—Celtic Cornwall and the "Celtic frontier" shires of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts. See Bennett Wood Green, *Word Book of Virginia Folk Speech* (Richmond, 1912); Cleanth Brooks, *The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain* (Baton Rouge, 1935); and John Eacott Manahan, "The Cavalier Remounted: A Study of the Origins of Virginia's Population, 1607-1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1946), 182-85, Appendix 17.

³² Germans in the colonial South tended to live in separate enclaves, and, being industrious farmers, they cleared the land by cutting down trees, burning them, and pulling "out the stumps by the roots." This practice was in marked contrast to the "shiftlessness of the Scotch-Irish," who girdled trees, let them bleed to death and fall or be blown down, and simply planted around the stumps. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge, 1952), 135, 140-41. In comparison to the Celts, Germans operated farms with "greater intensity, productivity, and locational stability." German farmers in Texas were "more active in market gardening" and "in supplying vegetables and fruit," and "they devoted more attention to wine-making and the production of white potatoes. In both western and eastern settlements, the Germans showed greater interest than southerners in cultivation of small grains. . . . By the same token, the Germans . . . operated on a higher level of commercialization than the Americans before the Civil War." In 1850, the average German farm in eastern Texas was half the size and contained livestock valued at less than a third as much as that of the average non-German farm. Although Germans frequently adopted Southern ways, "the open range was an entirely new economic undertaking for the Germans, alien to their European agricultural heritage." Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin, 1966),

and Hispanic³³ settlements in the region, but these groups either lived in isolated enclaves or were absorbed into the dominant Celto-American culture. By contrast, the Northern United States, except for the recently arrived Irish and for the Scotch-Irish in western Pennsylvania and in "Copperhead country" along the Ohio River, were peopled mainly by English and Germans.

As J. G. A. Pocock has put it, the Celtic peoples are "no more English than Britain is European." They and Englishmen on the Celtic frontier shared many cultural characteristics, the most relevant for present purposes being a long-standing tradition of open-range pastoralism and an accompanying disdain for tillage agriculture, especially for labor-intensive cultivation. As early as 1185 Gerald of Wales reported, after a tour of Ireland, that "the pastoral way of life, the tending of herds, did not require the same physical toil involved in arable farming, and therefore the Irish were thought to be indolent." Gerald found essentially the same to be true of Wales: "It must always be borne in mind that

192-94, 98, 100, 85. Germans were almost the only people in the South whom Frederick Law Olmsted understood and admired; their neat houses and diligent merchants, mechanics, and farmers reminded him of New England. After enjoying a German inn, Olmsted remarked, "Nothing so pleasant as that in Texas before, hardly in the South." Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas* (reprint ed., New York, 1969), 140-47, 149, 167, 178-90, 235-37.

³³ Livestock laws and herding practices in Louisiana under the French and Spanish were quite different from those of the Celtic South. Apparently the early settlers of Louisiana were unskilled as herdsmen; in 1713, the colony was forced to import "pigs or salt bacon" in "sufficient quantity to last the garrison for six months." Tenants on Bienville's lands were given "provisions for one year, a cow in calf, two hogs, four chickens with a cock, and the necessary utensils and agricultural implements. . . . The cow must be returned within three years, and of all the cattle raised in excess of the first twelve head, Bienville was to receive half. For the two hogs furnished, he demanded a fat hog every second year, and for the four chickens and the cock six fat hens or capons were demanded every year." This demand for fat hogs and chickens suggests that the animals were penned up. In any event, hogs seem not to have been plentiful in colonial Louisiana. An estate recorded in 1745 listed "a number of horned cattle, oxen, cows, bulls and heifers," but no hogs; another estate recorded in 1761 enumerated 348 animals of various kinds, but not a single hog. There was no open range in Louisiana before it became part of the United States. Testimony in 1749 reveals that shepherds controlled the daily movement of both sheep and hogs. A contract "for the purpose of raising livestock and poultry" in 1763 specified the building of barns for hogs and sheep and the enclosing of land, the fence for which the "two contracting parties" would put up "at joint expense" in order "to prevent the cattle from straying off." A case of cattle damaging crops brought before the Superior Council of Louisiana in 1763 shows that animals were required by law to be fenced into enclosures throughout most of the year. A letter to the Council of West Florida complains that a buyer of land had forfeited his right to it because he failed to put "Cattle thereon" and to build "inclosures." And, a decree of 1795 states, "No live stock is permitted to run at large, between the 15th March & the 15 November, and every Inhabitant is at liberty to kill . . . the Domestic Animals that shall trespass upon the Crops." Lauren C. Post, "The Domestic Animals and Plants of French Louisiana as Mentioned in the Literature with Reference to Sources, Varieties, and Uses," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 16 (1933): 565; Albert Godfred Sanders, "Documents Concerning the Crozat Regime in Louisiana, 1712-1717," *ibid.*, 307; Kathryn C. Briede, "A History of the City of Lafayette," *ibid.*, 20 (1937): 900-01; Heloise H. Cruzat *et al.*, eds., "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," June-July 1745, March-April 1762, January-December 1749, October 1763, and January-March 1763, *ibid.*, 14 (1931): 246, 23 (1940): 942-44, 20 (1937): 488, 26 (1943): 205-06, and 24 (1941): 819-20; and James A. Padgett, ed., "Minutes of the Council of West Florida, April 3-July 22, 1769," *ibid.*, 23 (1940): 374, and "A Decree for Louisiana Issued by the Baron of Carondelet, June 1, 1795," *ibid.*, 20 (1937): 597. Methods of animal husbandry changed completely after Louisiana became a state. The Police Jury in parish after parish altered the laws and legalized the open range. In 1813, for example, St. Helena Parish not only allowed animals to run at large but required "Each inhabitant or planter" to construct a stout fence five and a half feet high around his crops to protect them from the hogs and cattle that freely roamed the parish. The open-range system in Sabine Parish soon produced so many hogs "that the owner who had failed to mark his hogs was frequently unable to identify them," and each year men went out to hunt hogs "with dogs and guns." Robert Dabney Calhoun, "The Origin and Early Development of County-Parish Government in Louisiana (1805-1845)," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1935): 93, 120; Walter Prichard, ed., "Minutes of the Police Jury of St. Helena Parish, August 16-19, 1813," *ibid.*, 23 (1940): 416-17; and John B. Belisle, *History of Sabine Parish, Louisiana* (n.p., 1912), 97.

the Welsh are not being enervated by daily toil," he reported three years later; "the whole population lives almost entirely on . . . the produce of their herds. . . . They eat plenty of meat, but little bread. They pay no attention to commerce, shipping or industry."³⁴

This leisurely pastoral way of life perdured and remained characteristic of all the Celtic portions of the British Isles. The Exchequer Rolls for 1378 show that nearly 45,000 hides were exported from Scotland that year, indicating that animal husbandry was the basis of the kingdom's economy. Estienne Perlin, a mid-sixteenth-century traveler to Scotland, spoke of the abundance of cattle (a term that comprehends sheep, horses, and swine as well as bovine animals). Late in the century, according to A. R. B. Haldane in his monumental study of droving in Scotland, Bishop Leslie noted the huge herds of every manner of livestock that, "through a certane wyldnes of nature," foraged the open range "lyke wylde hartes, wandiring out of ordour." And, despite increased Anglicization of the Lowlands after the Act of Union in 1707, something resembling open-range animal husbandry remained the way of life for most of the Scottish plain folk well into the eighteenth century; indeed, as Haldane has made clear, one principal effect of the Act of Union was to open southeastern English markets for long trail drives of Scottish animals. As for the Scottish plain folk themselves, Thomas Pennant described them pithily in 1769; they were, he said, "indolent to a high degree, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement."³⁵

The Celts had sometimes thrived, sometimes been impoverished; but they were amazingly resistant to changing their ways, and particularly to making the painful wrench from being animal-raisers to being mere tillers of the soil. The Irish, for instance, held crop-growing in such contempt that, despite centuries of oppressive English landlordism, it was not until the 1780s that planting began to be common in Ireland—and then with the potato, a crop whose labor requirements are minimal. Thomas Croker's description of the Irish peasants, written in 1824, strikingly resembles Olmsted's descriptions of Southern Americans. "The cabins of the peasantry," Croker recorded, "teem[ed] with a numerous population of children, pigs, and poultry." Living conditions, he continued, were appalling; "an adequate idea of the wretchedness of the habitations can scarcely be formed from description. . . . The floor is bare earth, so uneven that

³⁴ Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," 7; Brian de Breffny, ed., *The Irish World: The Art and Culture of the Irish People* (New York, 1977), 86; and Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales, 1188* (New York, 1978), 270, 233. To appreciate the differences between Ireland and Wales on the one hand and England on the other, see Warren O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England* (London, 1972), *passim*. For the best works on the Celts, see Anne Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts* (London, 1970); T. G. E. Powell, *The Celts* (New York, 1958); Gerhard Herm, *Celts: The People Who Came out of the Darkness* (New York, 1977); Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London, 1961); Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland . . .* (New York, 1969); Archibald R. B. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (London, 1952); Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (5th ed., London, 1790); L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (New York, 1972); and K. H. Connell, *Irish Peasant Society* (New York, 1968). Also see Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915), 1-208; Ian C. C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956); and James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), including the bibliography, 354-61.

³⁵ Haldane, *Drove Roads of Scotland*, 7, *passim*; Peter Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891), 74; and Pennant, *Tour through Scotland*, 214.

the four legs of a chair are seldom of use at one time, and baskets and utensils lie around in an indiscriminate litter; a pig, the wealth of an Irish peasant, roams about with conscious importance." Pigs, indeed, were everywhere; "the Irish possessed abundance and were insatiably fond" of pork. But the ordinary Irishman "has no idea of planting a bush, or fruit tree, or of raising a flower; and his ignorance renders him too stubborn to make trial of improved agricultural implements."³⁶

When the culturally preadapted Celtic peoples migrated to the Southern uplands of British North America—which they did on a grand scale during the hundred years after 1715—they found geographical and political conditions ideal for the flourishing of their style of life. In sum, the opulently easy society of the Southern plain folk on the eve of the Civil War represented the culmination of many centuries of Celtic traditions. And these same Celtic traditions might explain why so many slaveowners did not push their slaves to work harder: maximization of profits and of one's labor supply was alien to the culture and, in fact, had never been common in the Celtic areas of the British Isles.

NOW LET US SHIFT TO THE POSTBELLUM SOUTH. If antebellum observers were agreed that Southerners were leisurely or lazy, postbellum observers were agreed that most Southerners lived in wretched misery. "After the war," a freedman recalled, "Old Man Gordon took me and some of the others out to Mississippi. I stayed in peonage out there for 'bout forty years." Peonage, however, was not confined to blacks: tenancy and sharecropping reduced most white farmers to a system of virtual peonage as well. "Whilst houses, fences, and everything have gone and are going to ruin and decay," noted a late nineteenth-century observer, "the poor farmer can only get advances to make cotton. [There are] no fences, no hogs, no cattle, no agriculture, no nothing. Bald, barren, uncultivated, and washed spots are seen everywhere. . . . The products of the soil . . . do not sustain and support the population. . . . Not one in a hundred makes a crop now without mortgaging for his year's support and supplies."³⁷

Moreover, things grew steadily worse, decade by dreary decade. The lucky ones were those who escaped to the mills where they worked long hours for a pittance. "Soon as the mill opened," recalled one man, "my father and all the younguns that was old enough commenced to work. I got ten cents a day for working from six o'clock in the morning to five minutes until seven o'clock in the evening." Only a few were that lucky: burdened by debts, tenants were essentially fixed to the soil. When they left, it was at the landowner's bidding, not their own. Here is a woman describing her childhood: "All of our folks before us was tenant farmers and that's all we've ever done. If you know anything about tenant farming you know they do without everything all the year hoping to

³⁶ Breffny, *The Irish World*, 182–83; and Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, 61, 128–29, 269, 103.

³⁷ B. A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), 248; and Ethel M. Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, Ala., 1910), 269–70.



Figure 3: Cotton sharecropping family after the turn of the century.
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Farm Bureau, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

have something in the fall. Well, it's very little they ever have."³⁸ And James Agee, in 1936, described the circumstances of an Alabama farmer he called George Gudger:

Gudger has no home, no land, no mule; none of the more important farming implements. He must get all these of his landlord, [who,] for his share of the corn and cotton, also advances him rations money during four months of the year, March through June, and his fertilizer.

Gudger pays him back with his labor and with the labor of his family.

At the end of the season he pays him back further: with half his corn; with half his cotton; with half his cottonseed. Out of his own half of these crops he also pays him back the rations money, plus interest, and his share of the fertilizer, plus interest, and such other debts, plus interest, as he may have incurred.

What is left, once doctors' bills and other debts have been deducted, is his year's earnings.

Gudger is a straight half-cropper, or sharecropper.

Very few tenants, Agee explained, paid cash rent. Most followed some variant of sharecropping, with its characteristic life cycle:

From March through June, while the cotton is being cultivated, they live on the rations money.

From July through to late August, while the cotton is making, they live however they can.

From late August through October or into November, during the picking and ginning season, they live on the money from their share of the cotton seed.

³⁸ Federal Writers' Project, *These Are Our Lives* (New York, 1975), 181.



Figure 4: Interior of a typical house occupied by postbellum sharecroppers and tenants. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Farm Bureau, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

From then on until March, they live on whatever they have earned in the year; or however they can.

During six to seven months of each year, then—that is, during exactly such time as their labor with the cotton is of absolute necessity to the landlord—they can be sure of whatever living is possible in rations advances and in cottonseed money.

During five to six months of the year, of which three are the hardest months of any year, with the worst of weather, the least adequacy of shelter, the worst and least of food, the worst of health, quite normal and inevitable, they can count on nothing except they may hope least of all for any help from their landlords.³⁹

The decline into peonage can be shown with figures. During the late antebellum period, perhaps 80 percent or more of the farms in the Lower South were operated by owners. During the postbellum period this figure declined steadily until, in 1930, more than one million white families and nearly seven hundred thousand black families were tenants. In that year only 37 percent of Southern farms were fully owned by their operators, and most of those were heavily mortgaged. In 1910 the number of whites who “owned” more than five tenant families, which would be more than twenty people, was nearly the same as the number who had owned twenty or more slaves in 1860. In the Deep South peonage was even more obvious. Farms operated by owners in Alabama and Mississippi declined from 54 percent in 1880 to 27 percent in 1930.⁴⁰

³⁹ Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (New York, 1966), 105–06.

⁴⁰ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 9; Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850–1960* (Nashville, Tenn., 1945), 63–84; Fairfax Publishers, *The Statistical History of the United States* (Stanford, Conn., 1965), 278; and U.S. Census Bureau, *Report on the Productions of Agriculture . . . Tenth Census, 1880* (Washington, 1883), 64, 100, and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Agriculture*, volume 2, part 2: *The Southern States* (Washington, 1932), 972, 1050.

What happened can be seen by an analysis of six counties: Greene and Pickens in Alabama, and Noxubee, Monroe, Tishomingo, and Itawamba in Mississippi. In the antebellum period and throughout the postbellum period Greene and Noxubee counties were populated overwhelmingly by blacks. The average white population for one hundred years was less than 20 percent of the total. On the other extreme, Tishomingo and Itawamba counties averaged white populations of more than 89 percent for the same period. The population of Pickens and Monroe counties has been mixed, averaging slightly less than 50 percent white.⁴¹ Each of the counties in each of these categories—black, white, and mixed—had been self-sufficient before the Civil War, and each experienced a systematic decline in production and in the ability of its citizens to feed themselves adequately in the postbellum period. Before the Civil War the people in these counties owned more than 2.1 hogs per person and raised an average of 48.5 bushels of corn per person; by 1930 the figures had declined to 0.4 of a hog per person and 22.8 bushels of corn per person. In other words, per capital hog production fell by 80 percent, and per capita corn production by more than 50 percent. From being net exporters of food these counties became importers of food.⁴²

Meanwhile, the farms in these counties were getting smaller and cotton production was declining drastically. The average acreage per farm in the black counties decreased from 650 to 53, in the predominately white counties from 328 to 70, and in the mixed counties from 429 to 67. And cotton production fell from 83,174,800 pounds in 1860 to 51,023,000 in 1930. Per capita cotton production decreased from 607 pounds per person in 1860 to 362 pounds per person in 1930, when 71 percent of the farms in these counties were operated by tenants.⁴³ Obviously, more and more people were working harder and harder to scratch out a living of an ever declining quality. By 1944, according to the Department of Agriculture, the gross production of each Southern farm worker was only 56 percent of the national average, and only 38 percent as much as the average Midwestern and Western farm worker produced. Moreover, the average Southern farm worker cultivated only 15.4 acres of crops compared to the national average of 37.4 acres per farm worker.⁴⁴

⁴¹ U.S. Census Bureau, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: An Appendix*, 421, 447, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), 8, 270, *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890*, pt. 1 (Washington, 1895): 416, 417–18, *Negro Population, 1790–1915* (Washington, 1918), 642, 656–57, *Population by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions, 1910, 1900, 1890* (Washington, 1912), 9, 13–14, 276, 278, 279, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932* (Washington, 1935), 685, 687, 758, 759, 760, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, 3, pt. 1 (Washington, 1932): 94, 96, 1312, 1313, 1315, *U.S. Census of Population, 1960: Number of Inhabitants, Alabama* (Washington, 1961), 63, 65, and *Census of Population, 1960*, volume 1: *Characteristics of the Population*, part 26: *Mississippi* (Washington, 1961), 90, 91, 93.

⁴² U.S. Census Office, *Statistical View of the United States . . . Compendium of the Seventh Census . . . 1850* (Washington, 1850), 194, 196, 197, 260, 262, 263, *Population of The United States in 1860*, 8, 270, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), 3, 85, and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Agriculture*, 1001, 1003, 1007, 1009, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1085, 1087, 1089.

⁴³ U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 8, 270, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), 2, 84, 193, 206, 3, 85, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, 94, 96, 1312, 1313, 1315, and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Agriculture*, 972–77, 1007, 1009, 1050–55, 1085, 1087, 1089.

⁴⁴ Department of Agriculture, *Progress of Farm Mechanization*, 12.

"How did we get caught?" cried James Agee in an anguished passage. "Why is it things always seem to go against us? Why is it there can't ever be any pleasure in living? I'm so tired it don't seem like I could ever get rest enough. . . . In what way were we trapped?"⁴⁵

LET US ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN how they got "trapped." Three months after Appomattox, an influential journal proposed that Northerners colonize and Yankeeize the South—"in short, . . . turn the slothful, shiftless Southern world upside down." What actually happened to Southerners is what had happened to their Celtic ancestors when the English subdued them—that is, the ultimate outcome of the Civil War was like that of wars of feudal conquest, resulting in making the great landlord class total masters inside the South and in making them vassals to overlords outside the region. In specific terms, the deposed and discredited planter class continued after the war to own a disproportionate share of the land: in 1870 the wealthiest 5 percent owned over two-fifths of the land and the wealthiest 20 percent owned nearly three-quarters of the land. Soon after the war, the former slaves more or less forced their former masters to adopt the sharecropping system. The freedmen were thus trapped very early: to them, as to Janis Joplin's Bobby McGee, freedom became "just another word for nothing left to lose."⁴⁶

The entrapment of the white plain folk was a longer and more complex process. The first step was the large-scale destruction of their capital in the form of livestock as a direct or indirect consequence of the war. Advancing Union and retreating Confederate forces stole or impressed nearly everything edible in their paths; and, in the turbulence during the years following Appomattox, roving bands of freedmen wantonly stole and slaughtered many more animals. Only in areas where there had been relatively little fighting or relatively few slaves were there increases in the number of hogs between 1860 and 1880. In eight of the former slave states the hog population declined by a total of 2.6 million; in the "Five Cotton States" isolated by Ransom and Sutch, per capita ownership of swine fell from 1.64 in 1860 to 0.88 in 1880. Damaging as this was to the plain folks' traditional way of life, however, it need not have been fatal, and it was not: perhaps two-thirds of them still owned their own land in 1880.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Agee and Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, 74–75.

⁴⁶ *Nation*, 1 (1865): 67; Ransom and Sutch have provided comparative data on the concentration of land-ownership for 1860 and 1870; *One Kind of Freedom*, 78–80. Also see Jonathan M. Wiener, "Planter Persistence and Social Change: Alabama, 1850–1950," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7 (1976): 235–60. The lyric to Bobby McGee was composed by Kris Kristopherson, Columbia KC 30322. The economic history of the post-bellum South has been studied by a number of cliometricians besides Ransom and Sutch, including Robert Higgs, Stephen J. DeCanio, and Joseph D. Reid, Jr. For an excellent summary and critique of these efforts, see Harold D. Woodman, "Sequel to Slavery: The New History Views the Postbellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, 43 (1977): 523–44. None of the works of these scholars takes into account the animal-raising tradition in the antebellum South.

⁴⁷ Grady McWhiney, "The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture," *Alabama Review*, 31 (1978): 21–24 and the sources cited therein; McDonald and McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman," 163–65 and the sources cited therein; and Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*, 152, Table 8.1. Land ownership is difficult to ascertain because the census does not tabulate farms by race and form of tenure. Ac-

But the trap was already being fashioned. Part of it lay in the undermining of their market as a by-product of the new relationships between the great landlords and their tenants and between the landlords and their own overlords. It was in the interest of landlords to discourage tenants from raising foodstuffs for their own consumption, partly because such production was unprofitable to the landlords and partly because in their new capacity as storekeepers, the landlords had an interest in selling food to the croppers. The landlord-storekeeper might have acquired his foodstuffs, or at least his meat, from the plain folk, except that his dependence upon Northern credit made him beholden to his outside suppliers. Given that dependent relationship, given the rise of the corn-hog-feeder-lot industry on the prairie plains (with its fatter, lower-priced, and less nutritious pork), and given the rise of the railroads (with their inherently cheaper rates for long hauls), the landlord-storekeeper found it more advantageous to import foodstuffs than to buy them locally.⁴⁸

The other part of the trap lay in undermining the plain folks' capacity to produce and transport their stock. The method was complex in detail but simple in principle: the fencing laws were changed to end the open-range system. There is evidence that the great planters had long sought to abolish the open range but, before the war, had lacked the political clout. After the war they gained the power to do what they wished, partly through the votes of their black sharecroppers and partly through the corrupt influence of their well-heeled Northern connections. The history of the land laws has not been studied in every state, but Crawford King has made a careful study of the laws in Alabama and has sampled enough of those elsewhere to conclude tentatively that Alabama was more or less typical of the entire South. Beginning in 1866, Alabama adopted a succession of local option laws, whereby a majority of voters in a county could end the open range. Unsurprisingly, black belt counties closed the range first, but the movement steadily spread until, by 1890, half of the counties in the state had eliminated the open range. In time it would be abolished entirely.⁴⁹

That was devastating to the herders for two essentially unrelated reasons. The first is that it seriously impaired the plain folks' traditional "transportation" system, the trail drive. The state became checkerboarded with closed-range areas; long drives became progressively more difficult and finally impossible. Meanwhile, the economics of running a railroad, which made interstate shipment cheaper than shipment inside the state, effectively closed the new method of transportation to Alabama herdsmen.⁵⁰

cording to the *Statistical History*, some 64 percent of all Southern farms were operated by owners or part-owners; *Statistical History of the United States*, 278. In the census of 1900, the first year in which tenure is tabulated by race, 36 percent of the whites and 75 percent of the blacks were tenants. Extrapolating backward, it would seem that as many as three-quarters of the whites still owned their own farms in 1880. Ransom and Sutch, however, using a sample of eleven thousand farms, have calculated that 41 percent of the white small family farms (fifty acres or less in crops) in 1880 were operated by tenants; *One Kind of Freedom*, 84, 283-91.

⁴⁸ For a good description of this part of the "trap of debt-peonage," see Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*, 156-70. On the effects of the corn-hog-feeder-lot industry and the railroads, see McWhiney, "The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture," 24-29.

⁴⁹ King, "Alabama Fencing and Stock Laws: The End of the Open Range," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, held in Troy, 1979.

⁵⁰ McWhiney, "The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture," 29-30.

The second reason has to do with the nature of the beast. The pig is "thermodynamically ill-adapted" to hot climates; he "is primarily, a creature of forests and shaded riverbanks." He could thrive in the Southern uplands or in the lowland canebrakes as long as he could run free, but he could not survive if penned up. According to the Agricultural Research Council Institute of Animal Physiology at Cambridge, England, "adult pigs will die if exposed to direct sunlight and air temperatures over 98°" Fahrenheit.

To compensate for its lack of protective hair and its inability to sweat, the pig must dampen its skin with external moisture. It prefers to do this by wallowing in fresh clean mud, but it will cover its skin with its own urine and feces if nothing else is available. Below 84° F., pigs kept in pens deposit their excreta away from their sleeping and feeding areas, while above 84° F. they begin to excrete indiscriminately throughout the pen. The higher the temperature, the "dirtier" they become.⁵¹

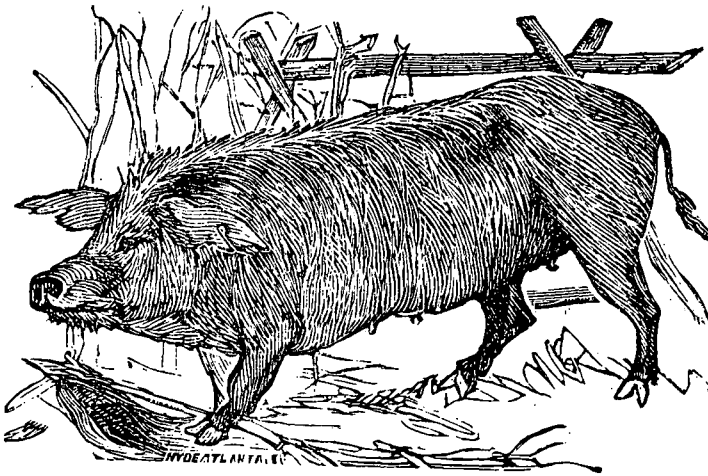


Figure 5: Line drawing of a "common Georgia hog: low-grade sow."
Reproduced from Thomas P. Janes, *A Manual on the Hog* (Atlanta, 1977), 31.

In other words, to pen up Southern range hogs was to condemn them to filth and disease and, in due course, to veritable extinction. It was also to condemn the Southern people to disease: their new diet of fat, pen-fed pork and milled corn, imported from outside the South, contributed directly to the spread of pellagra and other nutrition deficiency diseases.⁵² What was more, to deprive the plain folk of their pigs was to condemn them to take up a life—as commercial plow-farmers—for which their entire heritage and traditional ways not only failed to prepare them but also effectively doomed them. Every year more and more of them became cultivators, in which capacity—given their habits, given their steadily deteriorating health, and given the postbellum marketing system,

⁵¹ Marvin Harris, *Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches* (New York, 1978), 34–36.

⁵² McWhiney, "The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture," 27–29; Wilbur O. Atwater and Charles D. Woods, *Dietary Studies with Reference to the Food of the Negro in Alabama in 1895 and 1896* (Washington, 1897), 64–69; and Joseph Goldberger, "Pellagra," in Adelia M. Beeuwkes *et al.*, comps., *Essays on the History of Nutrition and Dietetics* (Chicago, 1967), 103–06. Atwater and Woods studied only blacks, but their observations were equally applicable to white sharecroppers as the twentieth century wore on.

especially that of cotton—they had scarcely a chance of succeeding. As they failed, they went into debt; when they went into debt, they lost their lands; when they lost their lands, their only recourse was labor in the textile mills or the lumber camps, or—what was the lot of most—the peonage of the tenant and cropping system.

And thus the gigantic trap slowly, steadily, inexorably closed upon them, until almost no one in the South remained free.

How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?

EDWARD PESSEN

HOW DIFFERENT FROM EACH OTHER were the North and South before the Civil War? Recent work by historians of antebellum America throws interesting new light on this old question. Since some of these studies deal with individual communities,¹ others with single themes of antebellum life, they are in a sense Pirandelloan pieces of evidence in search of an overarching synthesis that will relate them to one another and to earlier findings and interpretations. My modest hope is that the discussion that follows will be useful to historians in pursuit of such a synthesis.

The terms "North" and "South" are, of course, figures of speech that distort and oversimplify a complex reality, implying homogeneity in geographical sections that, in fact, were highly variegated. Each section embraced a variety of regions and communities that were dissimilar in climatic, topographical, demographic, and social characteristics. If, as Bennett H. Wall has written, "there never has been the 'one' South described by many historians,"² neither has there been the one North. Historians who have compared the antebellum South and North without referring to the diversity of each have not necessarily been un-

This essay is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Ninety-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association held in New York, December 1979. I wish to thank Bertram Wyatt-Brown, chairman of the AHA session, and Herbert G. Gutman, Grady McWhiney, and, above all, Bennett H. Wall, the commentators, for their helpful criticisms and suggestions. I am indebted, too, to Jane H. Pease, Joe Gray Taylor, William H. Pease, John B. Boles, John V. Mering, Barbara Welter, Norman Dain, Phyllis Dain, the late Bell Irwin Wiley, the late T. Harry Williams, John N. Ingham, the late Hans J. Morgenthau, Dr. Karl J. Leone, Myrna Chase, Don Doyle, Thomas R. Frazier, Stanley Buder, Otto Pflanze, and the anonymous referees of the *American Historical Review* for their valuable advice. All deficiencies in this essay are my responsibility alone.

¹ I first seriously thought of comparing the North and South after reading three papers by young historians on which I was asked to comment at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association held in Atlanta in November 1976. Whitman H. Ridgway's "The Decline of the Post-Revolutionary Establishment: Maryland Community Elites in the First Party Era," J. Mills Thornton III's "The Growth of Elitism in Alabama Politics, 1840-1860," and Donald De Bats's "Political Elitism in Antebellum Georgia" revealed striking similarities between politics in these Southern communities and in the Northern communities that I had been examining.

² Wall, "An Epitaph for Slavery," *Louisiana History*, 16 (1975): 233. Useful recent statements on Southern diversity include D. W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," *AHR*, 83 (1978): 1195; Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoeecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale, Ill., 1972); Ralph A. Wooster, *Politicians, Planters, and Plain Folk: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Upper South, 1850-1860* (Knoxville, 1975); Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas* (College Station, Texas, 1977); and Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1978).

aware of this diversity. Their premise, in speaking of the North and South, is that the Mason-Dixon line divided two distinctive civilizations, the basic similarities within each of which transcended its internal differences.

The modern discussion is a continuation of a scholarly controversy that has engaged some of the giants of the American historical profession. Charles A. Beard, Ulrich B. Phillips, Allan Nevins, David M. Potter, C. Vann Woodward,³ and other scholars of stature have been drawn to the theme because it is inextricably related to perhaps the most fascinating of all questions in American history: the causes of the Civil War.⁴ Many historians attribute that "irrepressible conflict" to the fundamental differences between the two civilizations that were parties to it.⁵ Even those scholars who have played down the role of sectional differences in bringing on the war have found themselves unable to avoid comparing the ways of life and thought of the two belligerents.⁶

Unsurprisingly, the discussion has produced a variety of interpretations. Some scholars have emphasized the similarities of the North and South, a much greater number have stressed their dissimilarities, and others have judiciously alluded to their significant likenesses—"commonalities," in Potter's terminology—and unlikenesses.⁷ The greater popularity, among scholars and laity alike, of

³ Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927); Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929); Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, 6 vols. (New York, 1947), esp. vol. 2: *A House Dividing, 1852-1857*; Potter, *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge, 1968), and *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York, 1976); and C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," *Journal of Southern History* [hereafter, *JSH*], 19 (1953): 3-19, and *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue* (Boston, 1971).

⁴ Book-length discussions of the causes of the Civil War include Edwin C. Rozwenc, ed., *The Causes of the American Civil War* (Lexington, Mass., 1972); Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, 1954); Howard K. Beale, *What Historians Have Said about the Causes of the Civil War*, Theory and Practice in Historical Study, Social Sciences Research Council (New York, 1946); and Lee Benson, "Explanations of American Civil War Causation: A Critical Assessment and a Modest Proposal to Reorient and Reorganize the Social Sciences," in his *Toward the Scientific Study of History: Selected Essays* (Philadelphia, 1972), 223-333.

⁵ According to Allan Nevins, the sectional "schism in culture" created an atmosphere in which "emotions grew feverish, in which every episode became a crisis, every jar a shock"; *Ordeal of the Union*, 2: 554. In Eugene D. Genovese's version, the South's "special civilization built on the relationship of master to slave" was "at the root of the conflict with the North"; Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and the Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965), 35. Carl N. Degler has recently written that, "because of those differences" between the sections, "which clustered around the existence of slavery in the South, eleven states broke away to form the Confederate States of America"; Degler, *Place over Time: The Continuity of Southern Distinctiveness* (Baton Rouge, 1977). Also see Arthur C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865* (New York, 1934); and Heywood Fleisig, "Slavery, the Supply of Agricultural Labor, and the Industrialization of the South," *Journal of Economic History* [hereafter, *JEH*], 36 (1976): 592. For my own thoughts concerning the relationship between sectional differences and the outbreak of the war, see pages 1148-49, below.

⁶ For critics of what David Potter described as the "school of historical thought" that "sees the [Civil War] as a clash of profoundly dissimilar cultures," whose people ostensibly "were at odds because they lived in different cultural worlds," see Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*, 30-31, and *The South and Sectional Conflict*, 76-78; James G. Randall, "The Blundering Generation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27 (1940): 3-28; and Francis B. Simkins, *The Everlasting South* (Baton Rouge, 1963), 38.

⁷ Carl N. Degler's work contains interpretations that emphasize both differences and similarities between North and South; Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1974), and *Place over Time*. To the writings of Potter and Woodward, about which the same can be said, can be added James G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1969); T. Harry Williams, *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics* (Athens, Ga., 1961); Charles G. Sellers, ed., *The Southerner as American* (Chapel Hill, 1960); and Grady McWhiney, *Southerners and Other Americans* (New York, 1973). A particularly strong, if not entirely persuasive, assertion of the essential similarity of the two sections over the entire course of American history is Howard Zinn, *The Southern Mystique* (New York, 1964), a work that is present-minded in the extreme. Thomas P. Govan has answered his title question pithily and bitingly in the negative; Govan, "Was the Old South Different?" *JSH*, 21 (1955): 447-55. Works that emphasize sectional differences include Nevins, *Ordeal of*

comparisons that emphasize differences is doubtless due, in part, to the fact that the war heightened our perceptions of those supposedly irreconcilable differences and, in part, to the fact that several dissimilarities were so striking, so unarguable, so obviously significant. While much of the scholarly controversy has concerned subtle sectional distinctions, whether in values, ideals, or other complex intangibles that might be read one way or the other, depending on the predilections of the interpreter, other disparities transcend subjectivity, based as they are on hard, quantifiable evidence.

Here were two sections containing roughly equal areas for human settlement. Yet on the eve of the Civil War the population of the North was more than 50 percent greater than that of the South. The most dramatic disparity concerned racial balance: roughly one-quarter of a million Northern blacks comprised slightly more than 1 percent of the Northern population; the more than four million blacks in the South constituted one-third of the Southern population. And almost 95 percent of Southern blacks were slaves. Although the value of agricultural products in the two sections was almost equal, Northern superiority in manufactures, railroad mileage, and commercial profits was overwhelming, far surpassing the Northern advantage in population. Similarly, Northern urban development outdistanced Southern, whether measured by the number of cities or by the size and proportions of the population within them.⁸ What did these and other, harder to measure, differences signify? To what extent were they balanced out by important sectional similarities? These are among the questions this essay will consider.

In comparing the great antebellum sections, it is useful to remember that all powerful, complex, and viable contemporaneous societies are likely to converge or be similar in some respects, dissimilar in others. It would be lovely were we able to estimate precisely the relative significance of the various criteria of comparison, the points at which similarities or differences become critical, and the nature of the balance between likenesses and unlikenesses that would justify appraising two societies as "essentially" different or similar. Alas, we cannot. A society or civilization is a complex Gestalt. The subtle reciprocity binding together

the Union; Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*; Simkins, *The Everlasting South*; Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism* (Baton Rouge, 1948); Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1953), and *The Coming of the Civil War* (2d ed., Chicago, 1957); Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), and *The Civilization of the Old South: Writings of Clement Eaton*, ed. Albert D. Kirwan (Lexington, Ky., 1968); Frank E. Vandiver, ed., *The Idea of the South: Pursuit of a Central Theme* (Chicago, 1964); W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941); William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and the American National Character* (New York, 1961); Forrest McDonald, "The Ethnic Factor in Alabama History: A Neglected Dimension," *Alabama Review*, 36 (1978): 256-65; Raimondi Luraghi, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South* (New York, 1978); Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1969), and *The Political Economy of Slavery*; and Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Slave Economies in Political Perspective," *Journal of American History* [hereafter, *JAH*], 66 (1979): 7-23.

⁸ These well-known facts are drawn from the U.S. census reports from 1830 to 1860. In a provocative recent essay Leonard P. Curry has argued for the rough equality of antebellum urban development in the North and South. Curry has demonstrated that a large proportion of the South's relatively small antebellum population increase occurred in Southern cities. But, in his ingenious manipulation of demographic data, he failed to consider that a large proportion of a small absolute figure is itself a small absolute figure. Curry's argument for the qualitative similarity of cities in all sections is more successful. Curry, "Urbanization and Urbanism in the Old South: A Comparative View," *JSH*, 40 (1974): 43-60.

its elements cannot be understood by mechanically attempting to weigh the significance of each of these elements and then adding up the total. The impossibility of contriving a simplistic calculus for measuring societies does not, of course, mean that a sensible comparison is impossible. It means only that such a comparison will inevitably be subjective and serve, at best, as a point of departure to those who evaluate the evidence differently.

A comprehensive comparison of the two sections would overlook nothing, not even the weather, which, according to Phillips, "has been the chief agency in making the South distinctive."⁹ In the space available here I shall focus on what our sociological friends might call three social indicators: (1) the economy, (2) the social structure, and (3) politics and power. In selecting these matters for examination, I do not mean to suggest that they are more important than values, ideals, the life of the mind, or any number of other features of antebellum life. Tangible phenomena may be easier to measure than intangible, but they offer no better clue to the essential character of a place and a people. I emphasize economic, social, and political themes because all of them are clearly important, the evidence on them is substantial, and each has recently been re-examined to interesting effect.

THE ECONOMIC PRACTICES OF EACH SECTION—one hesitates to call them economic "systems" in the face of the contradictory and largely planless if not improvisatory nature of these practices—were similarly complex. Northerners and Southerners alike made their living primarily in agriculture. Guided by the unique weather and the unequal length of the growing seasons in their sections, Northern and Southern farmers increasingly specialized, but in dissimilar crops. Tobacco and, above all, rice, sugar, and cotton were largely unknown to the North. Yet in the South, as in the North, farmers—whether large or small—sought and, for the most part achieved, self-sufficiency. They produced more grains and corn than anything else and in both sections raised and kept domestic animals roughly equal in quantity and, it has recently been claimed, comparable in quality.¹⁰ In view of the regularity with which Northern farmers brushed aside the lonely voices in their midst who urged subordination of profits to the "long-range needs of the soil," their money-mindedness in planting wheat (their own great dollar earner) year after year, and their unsentimental readiness to dispose of "family land" so long as the price was right, what Stanley L.

⁹ Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 3. I hope to pursue this comprehensive investigation in the future.

¹⁰ Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," *JSH*, 41 (1975): 147–66; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933); Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860* (Washington, 1925); Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860* (New York, 1962); Albert Fishlow, "Antebellum Interregional Trade Reconsidered," *American Economic Review*, 54 (1964): 352–64; Robert E. Gallman, "Self-Sufficiency in the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South," *Agricultural History*, 44 (1970): 5–24; Raymond C. Battalio and John Kagel, "The Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture: South Carolina, A Case Study," *ibid.*, 25–38; and William H. Hutchinson and Samuel H. Williamson, "Self-Sufficiency of the Antebellum South: Estimates of the Food Supply," *JEH*, 31 (1971): 591–612.

Engerman has said about Southern planters seems to apply equally well to Northern agriculturalists: they were certainly not "non-calculating individuals not concerned with money."¹¹

The enduring popularity of *Gone with the Wind* suggests that the American popular mind continues to believe that the Old South was a land of large plantations populated by masters both honorable and courtly, cruel and sinful, by Southern belles "beautiful, graceful . . . , bewitching in coquetry, yet strangely steadfast," by loyal, lovable, comic, but sometimes surly Negroes, and by white trash or "po' buckra." American historians have, however, known for a least half a century that the plantation legend "is one of great inaccuracy"—false to the character of Southern society, to the diversity of Southern whites, and to the realities of black life.¹² Great plantations centering on splendid mansions did exist in the Old South but not in very great numbers.¹³

The most distinctive feature of the antebellum Southern economy, as of Southern life as a whole, was, of course, its "peculiar institution." Slavery had not been unknown in the North, flourishing through much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and persisting in New Jersey until 1846. But it had involved relatively few blacks and had had slight effect on Northern life and thought.¹⁴ Northern public opinion, better represented by the authors of the Federal Constitution in 1787 and the Missouri Compromise in 1820 than by the abolitionists of the antebellum decades, accepted slavery, approved of doing business with those who controlled it, abhorred its black victims, and loathed Northern whites who agitated against it. Northern acquiescence in Southern slavery does not erase this most crucial difference between the sections, but it does argue for the complementarity and economic interdependence of North and South.¹⁵

The profitability and other economic implications of antebellum slavery have become the subjects of intense recent debate, stimulating the development of

¹¹ Engerman, "A Reconsideration of Southern Economic Growth, 1770–1860," *Agricultural History*, 49 (1975): 343–61.

¹² See Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York, 1924). For some interesting work on the psychological role of the plantation myth or legend, see George B. Tindall, "Mythology: A New Frontier in Southern History," in Vandiver, *The Idea of the South*, 1–15; Williams, *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics*; Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee*; C. Hugh Holman, "The Southerner as American Writer," in Sellers, *The Southerner as American*, 180–99; and Cash, *The Mind of the South*.

¹³ Lee Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870* (New Haven, 1975), 133, 142; and Fleisig, "Slavery, the Supply of Agricultural Labor, and the Industrialization of the South," 585–87.

¹⁴ Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago, 1967); Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, 1973); and Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America," *AHR*, 85 (1980): 44–78. For the argument that Northern rejection of slavery had been dictated almost entirely by cost considerations, see Carville V. Earle, "A Staple Interpretation of Slavery and Free Labor," *Geographical Review*, 68 (1978): 51–65.

¹⁵ Glover Moore, *The Missouri Compromise, 1819–1821* (Lexington, Ky., 1953); Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, 1941); Kinley J. Brauer, *Cotton versus Conscience: Massachusetts Whig Politics and Southwestern Expansion, 1843–1848* (Lexington, Ky., 1967); Leonard L. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York, 1970); and Brian J. Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New York City Merchants, 1828–1844" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974). Danforth has persuasively argued that many Northern businessmen were ready to subordinate all other political considerations to their lucrative cotton trade with the South.

cliometrics or the new economic history.¹⁶ Since slavery was more than a labor system, historians have also searchingly investigated its noneconomic implications for both blacks and whites.¹⁷ A fair reading of the recent evidence and argument is that, while more slaves by far worked as field hands, slaves also performed with great efficiency a great variety of other jobs, many of them skilled, allowing for significant economic differentiation within the slave community.¹⁸ And, as exemplary workers and as costly and valuable properties, skilled slaves were ordinarily spared gratuitous maltreatment or deprivation.¹⁹ Despite the inevitable brutality of the system, slaves appear to have managed to maintain the integrity of their personalities, customs, values, and family ties.

Several trade unionists in the antebellum North agreed with slavery's apologists that not only the working and living conditions but in some respects the "liberty" enjoyed by Northern hirelings compared unfavorably with the situation of slaves.²⁰ These were patently self-serving arguments, designed to put the lot of the Northern worker in the worst possible light. The fact remains that the economic gap between enslaved black and free white workers in antebellum South and North was narrower than historians once thought. Evidence bearing on the conditions of white Northern as well as black Southern labor demonstrates that during the middle decades of the nineteenth century the real wages of Northern workingmen declined and their living conditions remained bleak, their job security was reduced, their skills were increasingly devalued, and in many respects their lives became more insecure and precarious.²¹

¹⁶ A sampling of the recent literature includes Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South," *Journal of Political Economy*, 66 (1958): 95-130; Harold D. Woodman, "The Profitability of Slavery: A Historical Perennial," *JSH*, 29 (1963): 303-25; Yasukichi Yasubi, "The Profitability and Viability of Plantation Slavery in the United States," *Economic Studies Quarterly*, 12 (1961): 60-67; Alfred H. Conrad et al., "Slavery as an Obstacle to Economic Growth in the United States: A Panel Discussion," *JEH*, 27 (1967): 518-60; Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1974); Paul A. David and Peter Temin, "Slavery: The Progressive Institution," *JEH*, 34 (1974): 739-83; Richard Sutch, *The Treatment Received by American Slaves: A Critical Review of the Evidence Presented in Time on the Cross* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975); Herbert G. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Urbana, Ill., 1975); and Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, "Explaining the Relative Efficiency of Slave Agriculture in the Antebellum South," *American Economic Review*, 67 (1977): 275-96.

¹⁷ Stanley M. Elkins provocatively compared the personalities and psyches of slaves to those of European concentration camp inmates in a work that has inspired a massive and increasingly critical discussion of its thesis; Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional Life* (Chicago, 1959). The following publications, all of them severely critical of Elkins's argument, make important contributions of their own: John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1972); George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slave Owners Made* (New York, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York, 1976); and Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977).

¹⁸ On this point, see Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970); Charles B. Dew, "Disciplining Slave Ironworkers in the Antebellum South: Coercion, Conciliation, and Accommodation," *AHR*, 79 (1974): 393-418; and Wall, "An Epitaph for Slavery," 239.

¹⁹ In *Time on the Cross*, Fogel and Engerman have argued cliometrically and, as their critics have pointed out, unpersuasively that slaves were rarely whipped and were comparatively well fed. For contrasting viewpoints on the quality of the slaves' diet or, more precisely, on the quality of the pork eaten by Southerners, both white and black, see Kenneth F. Kiple and Virginia A. Kiple, "Black Tongue and Black Men: Pellagra and Slavery in the Antebellum South," *JSH*, 43 (1977): 411-28; and Grady McWhiney, "The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture," *Alabama Review*, 31 (1978): 3-32.

²⁰ John Finch, *Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York* (New York, 1833); and the New York *Working Man's Advocate*, March-April 1844.

²¹ Antebellum labor spokesmen in the North made precisely these charges; see Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany, N.Y., 1967), pt. 2. Diverse modern evi-

At mid-century industrial workers in the South as in the North worked primarily in small shops and households rather than in factories. Trade unionists in Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, and New Orleans were with few exceptions skilled and semi-skilled white artisans, precisely as they were in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh. In Southern as in Northern towns and cities, the least skilled and prestigious jobs were those done preponderantly by Catholic immigrants rather than by older Protestant, ethnic groups.²² Significantly, the South attracted far fewer of the antebellum era's "new immigrants"—that is, Germans and Irish—than did the North. For all of their smaller numbers in the South, European immigrants played an economic and social role there that was not dissimilar to what it was in the North. Diverse measurable evidence indicates that the pattern of immigrant life in the United States was national, rather than distinctly regional, in character. A similar point can be made about Southern urbanism and manufacturing—namely, quantitative distinctiveness (or deficiency), qualitative similarity to the North. Although the value of Southern manufactured products was usually less than one-fifth of the national total during the antebellum decades, the South was hardly a region devoid of industrial production. Articulate Southerners "crusade[d] to bring the cotton mills to the cotton fields," and, whether due to their exhortations or to the play of market forces, the amount of capital the slave states invested in cotton manufacturing doubled between 1840 and 1860, surpassing their rate of population growth.²³ Because the South nevertheless lagged far behind the Northeast in manufacturing, one influential school of historians has described the antebellum economy—and, for that matter, Southern society as a whole—as noncapitalist, prebourgeois, or "seigneurial."²⁴

Some historians have criticized Southern deficiencies in commerce, finance, transportation, and manufacturing as manifestations of economic wrongheadedness and irrationality and have attributed to these deficiencies the South's defeat in the Civil War. A number of modern economic historians, cliometricians for the most part, have interpreted the evidence somewhat differently. Invoking the old argument of "comparative advantage," they have noted that heavy investment in cotton, the nation's great dollar earner in international trade, was hardly irrational, since it enabled the South to equal the national rate of profit during the era. Southerners who did invest in Southern factories

dence sustains labor's complaints to a surprising degree. See Stanley Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth* (New York, 1964); Walter B. Smith, "Wage Rates on the Erie Canal, 1828–1861," *JEH*, 23 (1963): 298/311; Bruce Laurie, "Nothing on Compulsion": Life-Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820–1850," *Labor History*, 15 (1974): 337–76; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815–1919," *AHR*, 78 (1973): 531–88; and Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).

²² This point is the thesis of a paper on antebellum Southern free labor by Herbert G. Gutman and Ira Berlin that Gutman presented to the Columbia University Seminar on the City in the spring of 1976. For the North, see Theodore Hershberg *et al.*, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 7 (1974): 174–216; and Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).

²³ Herbert Collins, "The Southern Industrial Gospel before 1860," *JSH*, 12 (1946): 386–402; and Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 13.

²⁴ See, in particular, Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, and *The World the Slaveholders Made*; Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966); and Luraghi, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South*.

got a return that compared favorably with industrial profits elsewhere. (Why, ask the critics, didn't they invest more of their capital that way?) If Southern manufacturing was outdistanced by that in the Northeast, it compared favorably with industrial production in the Northwest and, for that matter, in Continental Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. If the South suffered inordinately in the wake of the financial panics of 1837 and 1839, it was, as Reginald C. McGrane noted long ago, precisely because the South had speculated excessively in transportation projects and land acquisition as well as other investments. The South's "unusually favorable system of navigable streams and rivers" has been cited to explain its lag in railroads. Yet in the 1840s Southern railroads "equalled or exceeded the national average capitalization per mile." The views of many scholars are expressed in Gavin Wright's recent observation that "before the War the South was wealthy, prosperous, expanding geographically, and gaining economically at rates that compared favorably to those of the rest of the country."²⁵

Antebellum Northern investors, like their counterparts in the South and in Europe, put their money into American products, industrial and agricultural, solid and flimsy, drawn almost entirely by the profit margin likely to result from their investment. Investors in all latitudes appear to have been indifferent to possible long-range consequences of their financial transactions, acting rather on the principle that the "rational" investment was the one likely to pay off. That the railroads, the diversified industry, and the commercial superiority of the North turned out to have important military implications in the 1860s could hardly have been anticipated by earlier profit-seekers. When the commercial magnates known as the Boston Associates invested heavily in factories built in the new suburbs of Boston, they hardly had in mind outfitting Union troops a generation later; they were much more concerned about maintaining close ties with Southern cotton magnates on whose raw materials they were so heavily dependent. There is something bizarre in historians, more than a century after the event, scrutinizing the economic behavior of antebellum capitalists and subjecting that behavior to unrealistic tests of rationality and farsightedness that these men themselves would have found farfetched.

To argue, however, as several historians have, that a substantial Southern

²⁵ Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 89. The other assertions in this paragraph are based on Paul A. David, "The Growth of Real Product in the United States before 1840: New Evidence, Controlled Conjectures," *JEH*, 27 (1967): 151-95; Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 1: 254-55; Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, "Comparative Regional Development in Antebellum Manufacturing," *JEH*, 35 (1975): 182-208; Fred Bateman *et al.*, "Profitability in Southern Manufacturing: Estimates for 1860," *Explorations in Economic History*, 12 (1975): 211-12, 226-30; James Roger Sharp, *The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837* (New York, 1970), 28; McGrane, *The Panic of 1837: Some Financial Problems of the Jacksonian Era* (Chicago, 1924); James A. Ward, "A New Look at Antebellum Southern Railroad Development," *JSH*, 39 (1973): 413, 419-20; Lewis E. Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1949); Merl E. Reed, *New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1966); Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, "Manufacturing in the Antebellum South," in Paul Uselding, ed., *Research in Economic History: An Annual Compilation of Research*, 1 (Greenwich, Conn., 1976): 1-44; Fleisig, "Slavery, the Supply of Agricultural Labor, and the Industrialization of the South," 592; and Fred Bateman *et al.*, "The Participation of Planters in Manufacturing in the Antebellum South," *Agricultural History*, 48 (1974): 277-97. Blaine A. Brownell has argued that Southern industrialism was expanding and that there were "remarkable structural similarities in Southern and Northern industry on the eve of the Civil War." But his argument largely rests on the impressionistic observations of European visitors. Brownell, "Urbanization in the South: A Unique Experience?" *Mississippi Quarterly*, 26 (1973): 105-20.

lag—whether in railroad mileage or urban growth—is not as great when it is measured in *per capita* rather than absolute terms²⁶ explains away rather than explains these fundamental sectional differences. For it can reasonably be maintained that the antebellum South's comparatively small white population (which accounted for its high *per capita* rates) was not due to historical accident but to significant features, if not failings, in Southern civilization. That all differences between two communities indubitably have a historical explanation—be it the smaller population, the hotter climate, or the prevalence of enslaved blacks—in no sense detracts from the significance of those differences. The burden of my argument is not that antebellum economic developments in the states south of the Potomac were almost exactly like, let alone a mirror image of, those in the states north of the river but rather that the economies were similar in significant ways that are often taken for granted, as, for example, in the similar operation of the profit motive or the similarity of the laws of inheritance in the two sections. And even where, as in industrial production and labor systems, the South and North differed most glaringly, modern evidence has reduced and placed in a somewhat different perspective the gulf between them. As for the recent suggestion that the South was not capitalistic, I shall defer comment until I have first dealt with social and political matters, since capitalism concerns more than economic arrangements alone.

HISTORIANS HAVE LONG KNOWN that a society's social structure offers an important clue to its character. The kind of social classes that exist, the gulf between them, their roles in society, the ease or difficulty of access to higher from lower rungs on the social ladder, and the relationships between the classes tell as much about a civilization as do any other phenomena.²⁷ What distinguishes modern from earlier historians in their treatment of social class is the extent to which they have borrowed from social scientists both in theorizing about class and in the methodology used for measurement. Employing these new approaches, historians have drastically modified earlier notions of antebellum society.

The ancient belief that the white antebellum South consisted of two classes, wealthy planters at the top and a great mass of poor whites below, may continue to command some popular acceptance. That belief has been so long dead among historians, however, that as early as 1946 Fabian Linden could remark that "the debunking of the 'two class' fallacy" had "become the tedious cliché."²⁸ For, beginning in 1940 and continuing steadily thereafter, Frank L. Ows-

²⁶ Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 1: 254; and Curry, "Urbanization and Urbanism in the Old South," 43-60.

²⁷ For a discussion of the variety of ways of defining class, see Harold Hodges, *Social Stratification: Class in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); Leonard Reissman, *Class in American Society* (New York, 1967); W. Lloyd Warner with Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status* (New York, 1960); Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process* (New York, 1957); Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1966); and Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass., 1973), 165-247.

²⁸ Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South: An Appraisal of Some Recent Views," *Journal of Negro History*, 31 (1946): 187.



Figure 1: D'Evereux, located in Natchez, Mississippi, is one of the best examples of Greek revival architecture in the South; it was built in 1840, and James Hardie was the architect. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the author-photographer from G. E. Kidder Smith, *A Pictorial History of Architecture in America*, 1 (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1976): 367.

ley and a group of scholars influenced by his work utilized hitherto neglected primary sources to reveal that the most typical white Southerners by far were small farmers working the modest acreage they owned with few, if any, slaves.²⁹

The too neat portrait that the Owsley school drew of the white Southern social structure was quite similar to the picture of *Northern* society accepted by historians less than a generation ago.³⁰ The white population was ostensibly composed primarily of the great "middling orders," hard-working, proud, and not unprosperous farmers for the most part, whose chance to rise even higher so-

²⁹ Ulrich B. Phillips and Lewis Cecil Gray early in this century portrayed a Southern economy and society composed of diverse elements; *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 339-40; and *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, *passim*. But Frank L. Owsley and his disciples effectively dealt the death blow to the two-class concept. Representative writings by the "Owsley School" include Frank L. Owsley and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *JSH*, 6 (1940): 24-45; Harry L. Coles, "Some Notes on Slaveownership and Landownership in Louisiana, 1850-1860," *ibid.*, 9 (1943): 381-94; Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949); Blanche H. Clark, *The Tennessee Yeoman, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942); Chase C. Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 50 (1942): 195-228; and Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860* (Nashville, Tenn., 1945).

³⁰ In David Potter's phrase, the Owsley School had "delineated the structure of antebellum society in terms in which large slaveholders and plain farmers were practically indistinguishable"; *The South and Sectional Conflict*, 14. For a devastating critique of the Owsley approach, see Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South," 140-89. For an equally critical recent statement, see Wright, "'Economic Democracy' and the Concentration of Agricultural Wealth in the Cotton South, 1850-1860," *Agricultural History*, 44 (1970): 63-94. Also see Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization*, 154-60; and Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*. For a rare—rare, that is, in this scholarly era—opposing viewpoint, see Eugene D. Genovese, "Yeoman Farmers in the Slaveholders' Democracy," *Agricultural History*, 49 (1975): 341.



Figure 2: Rose Hill, located in Geneva, New York, is a fine example of Northern Greek revival architecture; William K. Strong, a retired New York City merchant, built the mansion in 1839 on land purchased from the Rose family. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the author-photographer from Kidder Smith, *A Pictorial History of Architecture in America*, 188.

cially matched the opportunities an increasingly democratic society gave them to exert political influence and power. Small groups of rich men—great planters in the one clime and merchants and industrialists in the other—occupied the highest social plateau; professionals who served the rich were slightly above the middle, which was occupied by small business people and independent farmers, skilled artisans, and clerks; and below them stood industrial and landless agricultural laborers. Since class is determined not by bread alone, blacks—whether slave or free and regardless of how much individuals among them had managed to accumulate—were universally relegated to the lowest levels of the social structure, scorned even by white vagrants and frequently unemployed workers, urban and rural, who constituted America's equivalent of a propertyless proletariat.³¹

The achievement of recent research is its transformation of what was a rather blurred image of social groups, whose membership and possessions were both

³¹ For the Southern class structure, see Frank Huffman, Jr., "Town and Country in the South, 1850-1880: A Comparison of Urban and Rural Social Structures," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 76 (1977): 366-81; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*; Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*, 27-31; James C. Bonner, "Profile of a Late Antebellum Community," *AHR*, 49 (1943-44): 663-80; D. L. A. Hackett, "The Social Structure of Jacksonian Louisiana," *Louisiana Studies*, 12 (1973): 324-53; McDonald and McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman"; and Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (University, La., 1939). For a devastating critical analysis of Shugg's research, see Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Another Look at Shugg's Louisiana," *Louisiana History*, 17 (1976): 245-81. And, for a modest, lovely book about merchants and their place in the Southern community, see Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860*.

unclear, into a more sharply focused picture. By digging deeper, particularly in nineteenth-century data on wealth and property, historians have come close to knowing the numbers of families belonging to different wealth strata and the amount of wealth these families owned. The beauty of the new evidence on who and how many owned what and how much is that in the antebellum era wealth appears to have been the surest sign of social, as well as of economic, position. Antebellum wealth was almost invariably made in socially acceptable ways. Modern scholars have found that "the social divisions of antebellum America were essentially wealth-holding categories." The upper class did not comprise so much the families who "controlled the means of production" as it did the families who "controlled the vast wealth created largely through the exchange of goods produced."³² Degree of wealth was the surest sign of the quality of housing, furnishings, and household goods a family could afford, of its style of living and uses of leisure, and of the social circle within which it moved and its individual members married. Gathering from the manuscript census schedules, probate inventories, and tax assessors' reports statistically valid samples or, in some cases, evidence on every family in the community under study, modern scholars have been able to arrange the antebellum Southern and Northern populations on a wealth-holding scale. While it is close to a statistical inevitability that the distribution of wealth in the South and North would not be precisely the same, the most striking feature of the evidence is how similarly wealth was distributed—or maldistributed—in the two sections.

On the eve of the Civil War one-half of the free adult males in both the South and the North held less than 1 percent of the real and personal property. In contrast, the richest 1 percent owned 27 percent of the wealth. Turning from the remarkable similarity in sectional patterns of wealthholding at the bottom and the very top, the richest 5 to 10 percent of propertyowners controlled a somewhat greater share of the South's wealth, while what might be called the upper middle deciles (those below the top tenth) held a slightly smaller share in the North. The South also came close to monopolizing wealthy counties, the per capita wealth of which was \$4,000 or more and, despite its smaller population, the South, according to the 1860 census, contained almost two-thirds of those persons in the nation whose worth was at least \$110,000. According to Lee Soltow, the leading student of this evidence, these sectional disparities "could be attributed almost entirely to slave values. . . . If one could eliminate slave market value from the distribution of wealth in 1860 . . . , the inequality levels in the North and South were similar."³³

In view of the centrality of slavery to the antebellum South, it is idle to speak of "eliminating the market value" of slaves from the sectional comparison. Northern free labor, rural and industrial, also represented a form of "sectional wealth," if a much overlooked form. Although as individual human beings they

³² Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 37; and Edward Pessen, "The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City: An Historical and Theoretical Inquiry," *Journal of Urban History*, 2 (1976): 278–79.

³³ Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870* (New Haven, 1975), 99, 101, 133–34, 149, 152, 158. But see Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 25–27.

did not add to their own private wealth or to the wealth of the employers they served, their labor created wealth for themselves and for these same capitalists at rates of productivity that, I believe, even Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman would concede compared favorably with the rates of the most efficient slaves. In other words, the North had access to a form of wealth, free labor, that was roughly as valuable per capita as was slave wealth, however absent this Northern wealth was from the reports prepared by census takers and assessors. Given the known habits of these officials to overlook small property holdings—precisely the kind of holdings that would have been owned by Northern working people—and to accept as true the lies people swore to as to their worth,³⁴ it is likely that the fairly substantial cumulative wealth owned by small farmers and modest wage earners was almost entirely omitted from the wealth equation. Such groups were far more numerous in the North than in the South. Had slaves been treated as part of the potential property-owning Southern population to which they actually belonged, instead of being treated as property pure and simple, the total wealth of the antebellum South would have been diminished by several billion dollars: the product of multiplying the number of slaves by the average market price of almost \$1,000 per slave.³⁵ The addition of nearly four million very poor black people to the number of potential propertyowners in the South would have increased its rate of inequality (and the Gini coefficient of concentration that measures it), although not everywhere to the same extent.³⁶

Wealth in both sections was distributed more equally—perhaps the more apt phrase is less unequally—in the countryside than in towns and cities. While the rural North has been less intensively investigated than its Southern counterpart, enough research has been completed to disclose that the North was hardly a haven of egalitarian distribution of property. Rural Wisconsin (which had a Gini coefficient of inequality as high as that of antebellum Texas), the Michigan frontier, and northwestern New York State were centers of inequality and pov-

³⁴ See Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man,'" *AHR*, 76 (1971): 995, 998, and "The Wealthiest New Yorkers of the Jacksonian Era: A New List," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 54 (1970): 148–52; Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870*, *passim*; and Richard K. Jones, "Stonington Borough: A Connecticut Seaport in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1976), 424–25. Jones has shown that in dozens of cases the market value of probated estates was two to four times the value that had only recently been attributed to these same estates by assessors.

³⁵ Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe's stimulating and excellent "counterfactual exercise" in assessing the effect on the antebellum South's distribution of wealth of "freeing the slaves" has the one omission that I can detect of failing to restore—and with interest—the capital that Southerners had invested in slave purchases; *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 55, 135, 146–53. The same theme has also engaged Gavin Wright, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, Lee Soltow, and Robert Gallman. Also see Engerman, "Some Considerations Relating to Property Rights in Man," *JEH*, 33 (1973): 43–65.

³⁶ This is, at least, the conclusion of Campbell and Lowe, who have found that "freeing" slaves and thus diminishing the wealth of rich propertyowners is balanced out by the substantial enlargement of potential propertyowners, in the persons of very poor blacks. In antebellum Charleston, by contrast, transforming slaves from property into (potentially property-owning) people would have had a marked effect on wealth distribution, increasing the proportion of the propertyless by almost a third and substantially expanding the percentages of wealth owned by the richest 1 percent and 10 percent. The explanation of this maldistribution is the very large proportion of blacks in Charleston, where they comprised more than 50 percent of the population. See Michael P. Johnson, "Wealth and Class in Charleston in 1860," paper presented at the Citadel Conference on the South, held in Charleston, April 19–21, 1979, p. 5.

erty. At mid-century, the proportion of white men who owned land in any amount was substantially lower in the Northwest than in the South. The percentage of free males owning land in the North as a whole was slightly smaller than in the South. Owing to the absence of slaves and to the relative paucity of very large farms, wealth was somewhat less unequally distributed in the rural North than in the South.³⁷

In investigating the distribution of wealth in the antebellum rural South, scholars have probed data on different states, counties, and regions. The patterns throughout are remarkably similar, whether for wealth in general, land and real estate, or personal and slave property. Accentuating the maldistribution of landed wealth—whether in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, the “cotton South,” or the agricultural South as a whole—was a fact of life that the Owsley school neglected: the dollar value per acre of large farms owned by slave-owning planters was substantially greater than the value per acre of the small farm. And yet, regardless of the nature of the soil or the proportion of large farms in a given region, the rates of wealth concentration were remarkably similar as well as constant during the decades before the war. Paralleling the recent finding that in antebellum Texas, no matter what the differences were “in climate, soil, and extent of settlement, the most striking fact is . . . the high degree of concentration in wealthholding across all the regions,” another recent study reports no great differences in “the degree of inequality” between the cotton South and the other “major agricultural regions” of grain, tobacco, sugar, and rice production in 1860.³⁸

The distribution of slave wealth closely followed the pattern of other forms of Southern wealth.³⁹ During the decade before the war, slaveownership was confined to between 20 and 25 percent of white families, and maldistribution of this form of property was the rule within the slave-owning population. Half of all slaveowners owned five or fewer slaves, with only one-tenth owning the twenty or more slaves that by Ulrich B. Phillips’s definition made them “planters.” Less than one-half of 1 percent owned one hundred or more slaves. As with other forms of wealth, the concentration of slave wealth increased slightly between 1850 and 1860.⁴⁰

³⁷ Lee Soltow, *Patterns of Wealthholding in Wisconsin since 1850* (Madison, Wisc., 1971), 78, 79, 88, and *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870*, 41; Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 128–29; George Blackburn and Sherman L. Richards, Jr., “A Demographic History of the West: Manistee County, Michigan, 1860,” *JAH*, 57 (1970): 613, 618; and Wendell Tripp, ed., *Through “Poverty’s Vale”: A Hardscrabble Boyhood in Upstate New York, 1832–1867* (Syracuse, 1974).

³⁸ Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 35–42, 45, 55, 129–30, 135; Albert Niemi, Jr., “Inequality in the Distribution of Slave Wealth: The Cotton South and Other Southern Agricultural Regions,” *JEH*, 37 (1977): 747–53; Linden, “Economic Democracy in the Slave South,” 150–51, 157–59, 161–64, 170–72; Bonner, “Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community,” 673, 675; Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870*, *passim*; and Gavin Wright, “‘Economic Democracy’ and the Concentration of Agricultural Wealth in the Cotton South, 1850–1860,” 74. For Wright’s minor revisions of the wealth estimates for 1850, see his more recent *Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 31. Huffman’s “Town and Country in the South” is indeed the “hurried survey” its author conceded it to be.

³⁹ According to Albert Niemi, “inequality in slave holdings is a good proxy for inequality in total wealth” throughout the antebellum South; “Inequality in the Distribution of Slave Wealth.”

⁴⁰ Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 43–44. Also see Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 34–35; Linden, “Economic Democracy in the Slave South,” 150–52, 166; and Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870*, 134, 142.

While the South had long lagged behind the North in urban development, recent scholarship has unearthed evidence that Southern cities grew at a remarkable rate during the antebellum decades.⁴¹ If the Southern rate of urban expansion still did not match the Northern quantitatively, Southern cities, old and new, were qualitatively not unlike their Northern counterparts.⁴² Antebellum cities in all latitudes were amazingly similar in the roles they played in the political, administrative, financial, economic, artistic, and intellectual affairs of their regions. Antebellum cities were also alike in the types of men who ran them, in the underlying social philosophies guiding those men, and in their "social configurations."⁴³ Not the least of the similarities of cities in both great sections was in their distribution of wealth.

Three things can be said about the distribution of wealth in the towns and cities of the Old South. Property ownership was even more concentrated there than in rural areas. Riches became more unequally distributed with the passage of time, with the proportion of the propertyless increasing sharply between 1850 and 1860. There was an increase too in the proportion of urban wealth owned by the largest wealthholders—at least for the dozen communities measured to date.⁴⁴ And the patterns of wealth distribution in Southern cities were very much like those that obtained in the North.

The pattern of wealth distribution in Providence and Newport (Rhode Island), Pelham and Ware (Massachusetts), Newark, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Mil-

⁴¹ Curry, "Urbanization and Urbanism in the Old South"; Huffman, "Town and Country in the South"; Lyle W. Dorsett and Albert H. Shaffer, "Was the Antebellum South Antiurban? A Suggestion," *JSH*, 38 (1972): 93-100; Brownell, "Urbanization in the South"; Richard J. Hopkins, "Are Southern Cities Unique? Persistence as a Clue," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 26 (1973): 121-44; James M. Russell, "Atlanta, Gate City of the South, 1847 to 1885" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1972); and David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Dream: Cities in the Old South," in Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield, eds., *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South* (Port Washington, 1977), 52-91, 198-204.

⁴² Curry has offered an ingenious but unpersuasive argument designed to show that the urban proportion of the antebellum South's total population growth compared favorably with the Northern figure. For my critique, see note 8, above. The fact remains, however, that, from a starting point at the beginning of the century that was well behind the North, the South, by a number of significant measures, did come close to matching Northern urban growth during the antebellum decades.

⁴³ Pessen, "The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City," 267-306; D. Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge, 1968); Kenneth W. Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850-1860* (New Orleans, 1964); Michael H. Frisch, *Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Meaning of Community, 1840-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century American Community* (Chicago, 1976); Richard S. Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town," *JAH*, 61 (1974): 685-702; Harold Hurst, "The Elite Class of Newport, Rhode Island, 1830-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1975); Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War*; and Robert Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns, 1800-1860* (Amherst, Mass., 1977). In preparation is a comparative study of antebellum Charleston and Boston by Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease that, from the glimpses of it I have seen, promises to be a fascinating piece of work pointing in a direction that differs from the one I have followed. The Peases presented a stimulating paper, "Social Structure and the Potential for Urban Change: Boston and Charleston in the 1830's," at the Ninety-Third Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in San Francisco, December 28-30, 1978.

⁴⁴ Susan Jackson, "Movin' On: Mobility through Houston in the 1850's," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 81 (1978): 260; Jackson, "The People of Houston in the 1850's"; Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, passim*; Robert E. Gallman, "Trends in the Size Distribution of Wealth in the Nineteenth Century: Some Speculations," in Lee Soltow, ed., *Six Papers on the Size Distribution of Wealth and Income* (New York, 1969); Johnson, "Wealth and Class in Charleston in 1860," 4, 12-13; Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown*, 31, 79, 110, 114, 131-32; and James, *Antebellum Natchez*, 136-37, 153-59, 165-66, 169-70, 178.

waukee, the great cities on the Northeastern seaboard, and a dozen other Northern urban centers was impressively consistent and glaringly unequal. The sharp maldistribution of the 1820s and 1830s became more widely skewed with the passage of time (the Gini coefficients of inequality for 1860 matched those prevalent in the South). On the eve of the Civil War, the wealth of most cities, while greatly augmented, was "less widely dispersed than it had been earlier"; the propertyless groups in Stonington (Connecticut) and Chicago, for example, comprised between two-thirds and three-fourths of all households by the outbreak of the war.⁴⁵

Nor do sectional rates of vertical mobility appear to have been much different. In 1856 Cassius M. Clay told an Ohio audience that "the northern laboring man could, and frequently did, rise above the condition [into] which he was born to the first rank of society and wealth," but he "never knew such an instance in the South."⁴⁶ Recently unearthed evidence on the social origins of the men in the "first rank" does not sustain Clay's surmise, so popular with contemporary yeasayers. In the South, "increasing barriers to slaveownership resulting from higher slave prices and the growing concentration of wealth" left "lesser planters," not to mention laboring men, with their "aspiration thwarted."⁴⁷ And in the North—whether in Wayne County (Michigan), Newport, Stonington, small towns in Massachusetts, Chicago, and Brooklyn, or the great cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia—eminent and rich men of humble birth were a rarity. Evidence on the more likely movement from a lower social position to an adjacent one, rather than to the very top, remains in pitifully short supply. In antebellum Philadelphia, small New England counties, and rural Georgia, even the modest movement from one plebian level to another appears to have seldom occurred.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns*, 48; Hurst, "The Elite Class of Newport, Rhode Island," 58, 65, 67, 76, 77; Jones, "Stonington Borough," 351–52; Stuart M. Blumin, "Mobility and Change in Antebellum Philadelphia," in Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven, 1969), 204; Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality," 1019–27; Craig Buettinger, "Economic Inequality in Early Chicago, 1840–1850," *Journal of Social History*, 11 (1978): 414; and Lee Soltow, "The Wealth, Income, and Social Class of Men in Large Northern Cities of the United States in 1860," in James D. Smith, ed., *The Personal Distribution of Income and Wealth* (New York, 1975), 235–41. I have omitted a discussion of comparative sectional income because of the paucity, spottiness, and unreliability of aggregate income estimates for this period. For a devastating critique of the weaknesses in the 1840 census, in Richard A. Easterlin's study based on it, "Interregional Differences in Per Capita Income, Population, and Total Income, 1840 to 1950," in *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century: Studies in Income and Wealth*, vol. 24 (Princeton, 1960), and in the numerous studies that in turn rely on Easterlin's conjectures, see Gerald Gunderson, "Southern Ante-Bellum Income Reconsidered," *Explorations in Economic History*, 10 (1973): 151–76.

⁴⁶ Clay, as quoted in Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970), 48. Also see Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization*, 152–53; Simkins, *The Everlasting South*, 38–39; and Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 133–34.

⁴⁷ Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 35–37; James L. Roark, *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1977), 8; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*, 33; Bonner, "Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community," 673, 675, 679; and Michael P. Johnson, "Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston, 1800–1860," *JSH*, 46 (1980): 47.

⁴⁸ Alexandra McCoy, "The Political Affiliations of American Economic Elites: Wayne County, Michigan, 1844–1860, as a Test Case" (Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1965); Jones, "Stonington Borough"; Hurst, "The Elite Class of Newport, Rhode Island," 47–53; Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors upon Political Behavior"; Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns*, 61–62, 69; Stuart Mack Blumin, "Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century American City: Philadelphia, 1820–1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968); Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830–1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York, 1971), chap. 5; Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War*, pt. 2; and Buettinger, "Economic Inequality in Early Chicago," 416–17.

Throwing important, if indirect, light on the relatively slight opportunities for upward social and economic movement antebellum America offered to poor or economically marginal men is the era's high rate of physical or geographical mobility. In rural as well as urban communities, in large cities and small, and on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, armies of footloose Americans were on the move, following trails never dreamed of in the Turner thesis. One-half of the residents, primarily the poorer and propertyless, left those communities from one decade to another in their search for a more acceptable living.⁴⁹ I have no doubt that future research will yet disclose that, during what was a period of economic expansion in both sections, significant numbers of Americans improved their lot, even if modestly.⁵⁰ To date, however, the data reveal equally slight rates of social mobility and high rates of geographical mobility on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line.

Carl Degler has recently observed that Southern society "differed from northern in that the social hierarchy culminated in the planter, not the industrialist."⁵¹ At mid-century, great Northern fortunes, in fact, owed more to commerce and finance than to manufacturing. What is perhaps more important is that a sharply differentiated social hierarchy obtained in both sections. In Degler's phrase, planter status was "the ideal to which other white southerners aspired." A good case can be made for the equally magnetic attraction that exalted merchant status had for Northerners. If the fragmentary evidence on Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas, which Jane H. Pease has so effectively exploited, is any indication, then great planters lived less sybaritically and consumed less conspicuously than historians have previously thought. If Philip Hone's marvelous diary—two dozen full-to-the-brim volumes of life among the swells during the antebellum decades—has broader implication, then the Northeastern social and economic elite commanded a lifestyle of an elegance and costliness that, among other things, proved irresistably attractive to the aristocratic Southerners who graced Hone's table, pursued diversion with other members of Hone's set, and married into its families—the Gardiners, Coolidges, Coldens, Bayards, Gouverneurs, and Kortrights.⁵²

That the social structures of the antebellum South and North were in some important respects similar does not, of course, make them carbon copies of one another. In this as in other respects the chief difference between the sections was that one of them harbored a huge class of enslaved blacks. John C. Calhoun,

⁴⁹ Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860*, 76, 108-09, 115-18; Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns*, 3; Don H. Doyle, "The Social Order of a Frontier Town: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870," paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Denver, April 18, 1974, p. 2; Huffman, "Town and Country in the South," 372-73; Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South," 178, 180-81; Hopkins, "Are Southern Cities Unique?" 139; Michael B. Katz *et al.*, "Migration and the Social Order in Erie County, New York, 1855," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1978): 669; Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream," 60; and Jackson, "Movin' On: Mobility through Houston in the 1850's," 251, 269, 282.

⁵⁰ Edward Pessen, "Social Mobility in American History: Some Brief Reflections," *JSH*, 45 (1979): 165-84.

⁵¹ Degler, *Place over Time*, 56.

⁵² Pease, "A Note on Patterns of Conspicuous Consumption among Seaboard Planters, 1820-1860," *JSH*, 35 (1969): 381-93; and Edward Pessen, "Philip Hone's Set: The Social World of the New York City Elite in the 'Age of Egalitarianism,'" *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 56 (1972): 285-308, "The Lifestyle of the Antebellum Urban Elite," *Mid-America*, 55 (1973): 163-83, and "The Marital Theory and Practice of the Antebellum Urban Elite," *New York History*, 53 (1972): 389-410.

James H. Hammond, George Fitzhugh, and other influential Southern champions of white supremacy never ceased reminding their antebellum audiences, therefore, that in the South "the two great divisions of society [were] not the rich and the poor, but white and black, and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper classes."⁵³ Several historians have recently agreed that great planters and small white farmers in the South shared common interests, for all the disparity in their condition.⁵⁴ The interests of the different social classes will be considered in the discussion of influence and power that follows. Whatever these interests may have been, Southern whites, rural and urban, lived as did Northerners—in a stratified society marked by great inequalities in status, material condition, and opportunity.

INFLUENCE, POWER, AND, ABOVE ALL, POLITICS in antebellum America have been the subjects of massive recent research. Most discussions of antebellum politics have stressed differences between the major parties. The literature takes on new meaning peculiarly germane to this discussion when it is recast and its focus shifted to a comparison of politics in the North and South. Politics, as Samuel Johnson once observed, often touches human beings but lightly. A recent study of antebellum North Carolina reports that its political system, which was indifferent to pressing problems, was only saved from "violent explosions" by "its own practical insignificance."⁵⁵ That people may be indifferent to the politics of their time, perhaps sensibly so, does not render politics insignificant to the historian. In retreating from history as past politics, some of us appear to have taken up a history of nonpolitics. This is silly. For how the political system works, whether for good or for ill, is as important a clue to the character of a civilization as any other.

By mid-century the American political system was everywhere formally democratic. Notorious exceptions to and limitations on democracy persisted, but they persisted in both North and South and for largely the same reasons. If blacks could not vote in the Old South, with rare exceptions neither could they vote in the Old North, where they were barred by statute, subterfuge, custom, and intimidation.⁵⁶ The South initiated the movement to limit the powers and terms of office of the judiciary and substitute popular elections for the appointment of judges. When Fletcher M. Green reminded us a generation ago that antebellum Southern states created new, and modified old, constitutions that were

⁵³ Calhoun, Speech before the U.S. Senate, as quoted in Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, 1: 419.

⁵⁴ Genovese, "Yeoman Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," 338; Degler, *Place over Time*, 80-81; Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 42; and Otto H. Olsen, "Historians and the Extent of Slaveownership in the Southern United States," *Civil War History*, 18 (1972): 101-16.

⁵⁵ Harry Legare Watson II, " 'Bitter Combinations of the Neighborhood': The Second American Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1976), 65.

⁵⁶ The best comprehensive overview of the political and other deprivations suffered by Northern free blacks is Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Chicago, 1971). Invaluable on Northern racial attitudes is George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York, 1971). As is still true in the twentieth century, apportionment discriminated in favor of rural over urban areas; see Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic: The Secession of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 87-88.

fully as democratic as those in Northern states, he concluded that by this "progressive expansion in the application of the doctrine of political equality . . . , the aristocratic planter class had been shorn of its political power." Power, he claimed, had now been transferred to "the great mass of whites."⁵⁷ As Green's critics were quick to point out, popular suffrage and theoretical rights to hold office are not synonymous with popular power.⁵⁸ Yet these are not empty or hollow rights. That they have often been made so testifies not to their insignificance but rather to the importance of the larger context in which democratic political gains are registered. It remains neither a small matter nor a small similarity that on the constitutional level the antebellum North and South were similarly democratic and republican.⁵⁹

At least as important as a society's system for selecting political officeholders is the kind of men who are regularly selected and their characteristic performance in office. In collecting evidence on political figures, scholars have sought to measure the measurable—above all, the social and economic characteristics of officeholders and party leaders. I think it safe to assume that historians performing these chores have the wit to know that an individual of whatever background is perfectly capable of transcending it. Their unspoken working assumption is one that has been known since before Aristotle: the material and social circumstances of men in power may throw some light on their motives and behavior, taking on added significance when these circumstances are uniform or close to uniform. That Charles A. Beard's mechanistic overemphasis of these points may have given them a bad name does not detract from their usefulness.

Abundant data have been accumulated on the occupations, wealth and property ownership, church affiliations, education, and other social indicators not only of antebellum officeholders in several dozen cities equally divided between South and North and in counties in every Southern state but also of state officials in all of the Southern and most of the Northern states and of Congressmen from most of the states in the Union. The resultant picture inevitably is not uniform. Humble county and town officials, for example, were less likely to be drawn from the highest levels of wealth and from the most prestigious occupations than were men who occupied more exalted state and federal positions.⁶⁰ Aldermen and councilmen usually did not match the mayor either in wealth or in family prestige. But the relatively slight social and economic differences found between men at different levels of government or between men nominated by the parties that dominated American politics from the 1830s to the

⁵⁷ Green, "Democracy in the Old South," *JSH*, 12 (1946): 3–23. Also see David Donald, "The Confederate as a Fighting Man," *ibid.*, 25 (1959): 178–93; and, for a valuable discussion of the movement to democratize and limit the powers of the judiciary, see Maxwell Bloomfield, *American Lawyers in a Changing Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).

⁵⁸ In Clement Eaton's phrase, "the existence of a democratic political machinery is . . . no guarantee that democracy will prevail in the functioning of government"; *The Civilization of the Old South*, 298–99. Also see Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 3, 109.

⁵⁹ For an interesting argument that stresses the importance of the political ideology of republicanism to the antebellum South, see Michael Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York, 1978).

⁶⁰ See particularly the two definitive studies by Ralph A. Wooster: *The People in Power: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Lower South, 1850–1860* (Knoxville, 1969), and *Politicians, Planters, and Plain Folk: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Upper South, 1850–1860* (Knoxville, 1975).

1850s were not differences between the North and South.⁶¹ In the South as in the North, men similar in their dissimilarity to their constituencies held office and exercised behind-the-scenes influence. In contrast to the small farmers, indigents, laborers, artisans, clerks, and shopkeepers—the men of little or no property who constituted the great majority of the antebellum population—the men who held office and controlled the affairs of the major parties were everywhere lawyers, merchants, businessmen, and relatively large property owners. In the South they were inordinately men who owned slaves and owned them in unusually large numbers.⁶² It may well be that a society that is stratified economically and socially will confer leadership on those who have what Robert A. Dahl has called substantial material “advantages.”⁶³ It is not clear that this is an iron law. What is clear is that the Old South and the North awarded leadership to precisely such men.

More important than the social and economic backgrounds of political leaders are their public behavior and the ideologies or “world views” underlying this behavior. Not that the thinking or action of powerful men is totally unaffected by their material circumstances. But, in view of the complexity of any individ-

⁶¹ For a recent comparison of Whig and Democratic candidates and party leaders, see my *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (rev. ed., Homewood, Ill., 1978), 235–41.

⁶² My generalizations on the social and economic standing of antebellum political leaders in the South and North are based on the following studies: William Barney, *The Secessionist Impulse: Alabama and Mississippi in 1860* (Princeton, 1974), 61, 63, 81–89; James M. Russell, “Elites and Municipal Politics and Government in Atlanta, 1847 to 1890,” in Robert C. McMath and Orville V. Burton, eds., *Southern Communities in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn., 1980); Peter D. Levine, *The Behavior of State Legislative Parties in the Jacksonian Era: New Jersey, 1829–1844* (Rutherford, N.J., 1977), 72; Watson, “‘Bitter Combinations of the Neighborhood,’” 121, 224; Burton W. Folsom II, “The Politics of Elites: Prominence and Party in Davidson County, Tennessee, 1835–1861,” *JSH*, 39 (1973): 359–78; James, *Antebellum Natchez*, 93–94; Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown*, 31, 88, 113; Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, 117, 123, *passim*; William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, “‘Money, Class, and Party’: Charleston’s Nullification Politics, 1830–1833,” paper presented to the Ninth Annual Conference in History, held at the State University of New York, Brockport, October 1976, pp. 10, 15, 35–36; Alcorn, “Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,” 697–98; Hurst, “The Elite Class of Newport,” 83, 84, 96, 115; Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven, 1961), 62–66; Edward Pessen, “Who Governed the Nation’s Cities in the ‘Era of the Common Man?’” *Political Science Quarterly*, 87 (1972): 591–614; Michael H. Frisch, “The Community Elite and the Emergence of Urban Politics: Springfield, Massachusetts, 1840–1880,” in Thernstrom and Sennett, *Nineteenth-Century Cities*, 282, 284–85; Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns*, 40; Robert M. Ireland, *The County Courts in Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky., 1972); Kathleen Kutolowski, “American Political Elites: A Case Study of Local Power, 1803–1860,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in St. Louis, April 1976; Whitman H. Ridgway, “McCulloch vs. the Jacksonians: Patronage and Politics in Maryland,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975): 350–62; W. Wayne Smith, “Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: Class, Kinship, and Politics,” *ibid.*, 63 (1968): 55–67; Joseph Harrison, Jr., “Oligarchs and Democrats—The Richmond Junto,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 78 (1970): 189; De Bats, “Political Elites and the Structure of Georgia Politics”; Milton Henry, “Summary of Tennessee Representation in Congress from 1845 to 1861,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1951): 140–48; John V. Mering, *The Whig Party in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1967); Edwin A. Miles, *Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, 1960); Grady McWhiney, “Were the Whigs a Class Party in Alabama?” *JSH*, 23 (1957): 510–22; Thomas B. Alexander *et al.*, “The Basis of Alabama’s Ante-Bellum Two-Party System,” *Alabama Review*, 49 (1966): 243–76; Brian C. Walton, “The Second American Party System in Arkansas, 1836–1848,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 28 (1969): 120–55; Gene W. Boyett, “Quantitative Differences between the Arkansas Whig and Democratic Parties, 1836–1850,” *ibid.*, 34 (1975): 63–66; Soltow, *Patterns of Wealthholding in Wisconsin since 1850*; and J. Mills Thornton III, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 66. Many of these studies, when they do present data on wealth, do so only for officials and leaders. When they also contain evidence on the average wealth of the people, the disparity is always striking: the wealth of the leaders usually ranged from four to twenty times the wealth of the led.

⁶³ Dahl, *Who Governs?*, 85.

ual's ideology and of the diverse elements that help shape it, the effect of these circumstances cannot be assumed and is likely to vary from one individual to another. Although the political philosophies of men do not lend themselves to quantitative or precise measurement, the burden of recent scholarship is that most Southern and Northern political activists were similarly ambitious for worldly success, opportunistic, materialistic, and disinclined to disturb their societies' social arrangements.⁶⁴ Men with values such as these were ideally suited to lead the great pragmatic parties that dominated antebellum politics.⁶⁵

Many parties flashed across the American political horizon during the antebellum decades. That the Antimasonic Party, the Liberty Party, and the Free Soil Party almost entirely bypassed the South is an important difference between the sections. The South was not hospitable to organized political dissent, particularly dissent hostile to the expansion of slavery. These parties were small and ephemeral organizations whose leverage stemmed not so much from any great voting support they were able to command as from the nearly equal strength in both sections of the great major parties, the Democrats and the Whigs. Whoever would evaluate the actions of those who held executive or legislative office in antebellum America must, almost invariably, evaluate Whigs or Democrats—at least until the mid-1850s, when a new party emerged during the great controversy over the extension of slavery in the territories.

The Democrats and Whigs were national parties drawing their leaders and followers from both sections. They could usually count on intersectional support for the national tickets they presented quadrennially to the nation at large. Interestingly, the presidency—whether occupied by Southerners Jackson, Tyler, Polk, and Taylor and the Southern-born Harrison or Northerners Van Buren, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan—was in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s in the hands of Whigs and Democrats who displayed great sensitivity toward the political and economic interests of the slave-owning South.⁶⁶ In the 1840s Congressmen voted not by region as Northerners or Southerners but primarily as Whigs and Democrats. Party rather than sectional interest prevailed in the roll calls on most issues reaching the national political agenda. In the 1850s, as Thomas B. Alexander has reported, “forces greater than party discipline . . . were evidently at work . . . , forcing party to yield to section on a definable number of issues.”

⁶⁴ Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, 172–74. Political leaders are no less idiosyncratic than are other men; they have, of course, been interpreted differently elsewhere. Yet the version I have given of their operative values and the prevalence of these values among leaders in all latitudes follows the evaluations in older studies of antebellum politics and such recent biographies as Irving H. Bartlett, *Daniel Webster* (New York, 1978); Chase C. Mooney, *William H. Crawford* (Lexington, Ky., 1974); John A. Monroe, *Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1973); Herman J. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenny: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy* (Chicago, 1974); James C. Curtis, *Andrew Jackson and the Search for Vindication* (Boston, 1976); and Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767–1821* (New York, 1977).

⁶⁵ By pragmatic parties I mean, as do most historians and political scientists who have used the term, parties largely but not solely concerned with electoral success, parties not devoid of principles so much as parties of flexible or shifting principles.

⁶⁶ The great political influence of these interests raises questions about the recent interpretation likening the place of the South within the antebellum United States to that of weak and underdeveloped nations in the modern world order.

Yet, even in the 1850s, "both major parties maintained a high level of cohesion and intersectional comity" with regard to the range of issues not bearing on slavery and its right to expansion.⁶⁷

The great national issues of antebellum politics, culminating as they did in Sumter and the ensuing war, were of transcendent importance to Americans. A good case can nonetheless be made that local and state politics touched the lives of people more often and more directly than did national politics, particularly during an era when the men in the nation's capital were inclined to treat *laissez faire* as an article of faith.⁶⁸ State governments in North and South, by contrast, engaged in vigorous regulation of a wide range of economic activities.⁶⁹ Local governments taxed citizens and, if with limited effectiveness, sought to provide for their safety, regulate their markets and many of their business activities, look after the poor, maintain public health, improve local thoroughfares, dispose of waste, pump in water, light up the dark, and furnish some minimal cultural amenities through the exercise of powers that characteristically had been granted by state government. States chartered banks, transportation companies, and other forms of business enterprise, determined the scope of such charters, themselves engaged in business, disposed of land, and regulated local communities. The great question is how did the actual operations of local and state governments in the North and South compare during the antebellum decades.

Antebellum state government was almost invariably controlled by either Whigs or Democrats. The major parties were essentially state parties, bound together in the most loosely organized national confederations. Citizens divided not by geographical section but by party preference within each state. The parties were in all latitudes characteristically controlled by tight groups of insiders that sometimes monopolized power, sometimes shared it with rival factions, in the one case as in the other controlling nominations and conventions, hammering out policy, disseminating and publicizing the party line, organizing the faithful to support it, enforcing strict discipline, and punishing those who dared challenge either the policies or the tactics pursued by the leadership. While party policies could conceivably have been infused with the noble principles proclaimed in party rhetoric, such infusion rarely appears to have been the case. The "Albany Regency," the "Richmond Junto," the "Bourbon Dynasty" of Arkansas, and similar cliques in control elsewhere have been described as realists rather than idealists.

⁶⁷ Alexander, *Sectional Stress and Party Strength: A Study of Roll-Call Voting Behavior in the United States House of Representatives, 1836-1860* (Nashville, 1967), 110. Also see Joel H. Silbey, *The Shrine of Party: Congressional Voting Behavior, 1841-1852* (Pittsburgh, 1967); and David J. Russo, "The Major Political Issues of the Jacksonian Period and the Development of Party Loyalty in Congress, 1830-1840," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 62 (1972): 1-51.

⁶⁸ For an interesting argument on the relatively slight impact of national government, see Philip S. Paludan, "The American Civil War Considered as a Crisis in Law and Order," *AHR*, 77 (1972): 1013-34. For the argument that state legislatures were "the centers of political power," at least in the Upper South, see Wooster, *Politicians, Planters, and Plainfolk*, 27.

⁶⁹ Oscar Handlin and Mary Handlin, *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy—Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (New York, 1947); Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); Milton S. Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); James N. Primm, *Economic Policy in the Development of a Western State: Missouri, 1820-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); and Carter Goodrich, *Government Promotion in American Canals and Railroads, 1800-1900* (New York, 1960).

To call attention to the gulf between the pronouncements and the actions of antebellum state political leaders is not to indulge in cynicism but simply to report the facts as historians have recorded and interpreted them. J. Mills Thornton's recent description of antebellum Alabama's political leaders as demagogues who felt a "secret contempt for the voters" they publicly extolled and whose "primary function was to gain as many offices as possible for the party faithful" is not unlike historians' characterizations of other leaders in other states, both in the North and in the South.⁷⁰ In New York as in Alabama, in Michigan as in Georgia, in Pennsylvania as in Mississippi, in Illinois as in Missouri, the "compelling aim" of the major parties and the groups that ran them appears to have been "to get control of the existing machinery of government" and to dispense to party loyalists the jobs that attended electoral success. While seemingly preoccupied with patronage and gerrymandering or with keeping from the agenda of state governments issues that posed a "threat to property and the social order or which threatened . . . stability,"⁷¹ the major parties did not sidestep altogether economic, social, and cultural issues of some moment. The most germane feature of roll call evidence on such issues is how little there is to choose between legislative voting patterns in the South and the North.⁷²

In towns and cities, unlike the states, party counted for little. Candidates for the mayor's office and the local council or board of aldermen did not fail to remind voters of the moral superiority of their own parties. But, as students of antebellum urban politics have noted, it mattered little whether this major party or that won the election or whether the town was located north or south of the Mason-Dixon line. True, the problems faced by cities in Texas, where "Indian fighting was probably the most important municipal activity," were unknown in the Northeast (and, for that matter, the Southeast). The amazing thing is how similar were both the problems taken up by local government everywhere and the measures enacted for coping with them.

Perhaps in no other milieu was governmental policy so permeated with class bias. Whether it was Natchez or Springfield, Charleston or Brooklyn, New Orleans or Boston, the lawyers, merchants, and large propertyowners who occupied city hall ran things in the interests of the "wealthier inhabitants." Tax rates were everywhere minuscule and property flagrantly underassessed, at the insistence of large taxpayers. Valuable lots were leased to rich men at ridiculously low rates, if not sold to them for a song. Funds provided by the niggardly bud-

⁷⁰ Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, 43, 95, 115, 140, 150, 246.

⁷¹ See Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton, 1971), 42-43, 55; Watson, "Bitter Combinations of the Neighborhood"; Ridgway, "The Decline of the Post-Revolutionary Establishment," and "McCulloch vs. the Jacksonians"; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*, 127, 155-56; and Rodney O. Davis, "Partisanship in Jacksonian State Politics: Party Division in the Illinois Legislature," in Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *Quantification in American History* (New York, 1970), 149-62. Also see the studies cited in note 62, above.

⁷² Herbert Ershkowitz and William G. Shade have examined roll calls in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, and Missouri between 1833 and 1843; see their "Consensus or Conflict? Political Behavior in the State Legislatures during the Jacksonian Era," *JAH*, 58 (1971): 591-621. For an informed criticism of this essay and an effective argument that "partisan voting behavior on selected roll calls" does not indicate the existence of "contrasting belief systems," see Levine, *The Behavior of State Legislative Parties in the Jacksonian Era*, 16, 201, 206, 232.

gets typical of the time were spent most freely to improve or widen streets used by businessmen rather than to clean streets in the neighborhoods of the poor. Improved public facilities for disposing of waste or carrying fresh water into the city were usually introduced first in upper-class residential districts. The "indisputable connection between the policies of the city council and the interests of the wealthier inhabitants" that Richard Wade discerned in Cincinnati early in the era could be found in most other cities.

A contemporary New Yorker attributed to corruption the not atypical favoritism the city showed its propertied elements, observing that "nearly every alderman has in some degree owed his success to the personal efforts and influence of 'backers,' who must be recompensed for their services."⁷³ In the absence of evidence that local officeholders were so motivated, it is more reasonable to assume that they acted out of an honest conviction that the prosperity of the larger community depended in the first instance on the prosperity of its wealthiest inhabitants. That such beliefs were colored by the material advantages of those who possessed them, as by the conservative social values typically absorbed by men of their standing, seems equally reasonable. In any case, the pattern of uncommonly prosperous propertyowners controlling localities in the interests of men and families similarly situated was not confined to one geographical section.⁷⁴

Power is not, of course, confined to control of government.⁷⁵ Control over banks, credit, capital, communications, and voluntary associations, which in an era of laissez faire often exercised more influence than did public authorities over education and culture, crime and punishment, social welfare and poverty, gave to those who had it a power that was barely matched by those who held the reins of government. The burden of recent research is that small social and economic elites exercised a degree of control over the most important institutions in the antebellum North that bears close resemblance to the great power attributed to the great planter-slaveowners by William E. Dodd a half century ago and by Eugene D. Genovese more recently. Influential voluntary associa-

⁷³ [William A. Brewer] *A Few Thoughts for Taxpayers and Voters* (New York, 1853), 74.

⁷⁴ Full documentation of this point would present a catalogue of almost all of the studies of antebellum localities that I have already cited. For these two paragraphs I have primarily drawn up Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown*; draft typescript of Pease and Pease's comparative study of antebellum Charleston and Boston (which I have used with the kind permission of the authors); James, *Antebellum Natchez*; Frisch, *Town into City*; David R. Goldfield, "The Business of Health Planning: Disease Prevention in the Old South," *JSH*, 42 (1976): 557-70; Wade, *The Urban Frontier*, 209; and Hurst, "The Elite Class of Newport," 92-94.

⁷⁵ There is a vast theoretical literature on power. Classic discussions include Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. Talcott Parsons (London, 1964), 152, and *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (London, 1947), 180; Talcott Parsons, "Some Reflections on the Place of Force in Social Processes," in Harry Eckstein, ed., *Internal War* (New York, 1964), 57; and Carl J. Friedrich, *Man and His Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics* (New York, 1963), 199-200. In a stimulating recent paper, Bertram Wyatt-Brown has argued that Southern custom afforded nonslaveowning whites and small slaveowners an informal power to get away with a great deal in the way of personal violent behavior, even to the extent of destroying property, in exchange for accepting the fundamental social order of the antebellum South; Wyatt-Brown, "The Yeomanry and the Issue of Justice: Southern Social Structure and the 'Unanimity of Violence,'" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in New Orleans, April 12, 1979. William Faulkner made a similar point about the postbellum South in several of his writings.

tions and financial institutions appear to have been run by similarly atypical sorts on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line.⁷⁶

Shortly after secession, Governor Joseph E. Brown told the Georgia legislature that in the South the "whole social system is one of perfect homogeneity of interest, where every class is interested in sustaining the interest of every other class." Numerous Southerners agreed with him, and many scholars concur. In their failure to challenge planter supremacy, small farmers—slaveowners and nonslaveowners alike—ostensibly demonstrated the unique identity of interest that was said to bind all whites together in the antebellum South.⁷⁷ The interest of a group is a normative term, known only to God (and perhaps to Rousseau in his capacity as authority on the General Will), in contrast to its perceived interests, as stated in its words and implicit in its actions. There are, therefore, as many interpretations of the "true interests" of Southern—or, for that matter, of Northern—small farmers as there are historians writing on the subject. The South's large enslaved black population doubtless affected the perceptions of all Southern whites, if in complex and unmeasurable ways. Recent research indicates that poorer and nonslave-owning Southern whites were, nevertheless, sensitive enough to their own social and economic deprivation to oppose their social superiors on secession and other important matters.⁷⁸ Whether the acquiescence of the mass of antebellum Northerners in their inferior social and economic condition was in their own interest will be decided differently by conservative, reformist, and radical historians. Our admittedly insubstantial evidence on the issue suggests that the degree of social harmony coexisting with subtle underlying social tensions was, racial matters apart, not much different in the North and the South.

⁷⁶ Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South* (New Haven, 1921); and Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, and *The World the Slaveholders Made*. Also see Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns*; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston 1971); John H. Ellis, "Businessmen and Public Health in the Urban South during the Nineteenth Century: New Orleans, Memphis, and Atlanta," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 44 (1970): 197–212; Gail O'Brien, "Power and Influence in Mecklenburg County, 1850–1880," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 54 (1977): 120–44; John Duffy, "Nineteenth-Century Public Health in New York and New Orleans: A Comparison," *Louisiana History*, 15 (1974): 325–37; M. J. Heale, "From City Fathers to Social Critics: Humanitarianism and Government in New York, 1790–1860," *JAH*, 63 (1976): 21–41; and Walter S. Glazer, "Participation and Power: Voluntary Associations and the Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 5 (1972): 151–68. For a study of the distribution of diverse forms of power in one community, see Edward Pessen, "Who Has Power in the Democratic Capitalistic Community? Reflections on Antebellum New York City," *New York History*, 58 (1977): 129–56.

⁷⁷ Brown, as quoted in Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic*, 42. Also see Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 134; Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*, 32; Olsen, "Historians and the Extent of Slaveownership in the Southern United States," 101–16; Genovese, "Yeoman Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," 332, 338; and Barney, *The Road to Secession*, xiii–xiv, and *The Secessionist Impulse*, 3, 187. Although he has rejected Genovese's argument of planter hegemony, Degler has accepted Olsen's thesis that small and large Southern farmers had interests that were "at least parallel, not antagonistic"; *Place over Time*, 77, 80.

⁷⁸ Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic*, xx–xxxi, 33–34, 65–66; Paul D. Escott, "Southern Yeomen and the Confederacy," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 77 (1978): 146–47, "An Irrepressible Conflict within the South? Class Influences on the Balloting for Secession," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in New Orleans, April 12, 1979, pp. 1, 2, 7, 14–15, and *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 21–32; Roark, *Masters without Slaves*, xi, 2, 21–22, 42–48, 55; and Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 42, 70.

LIMITATIONS OF SPACE PERMIT no more than a swift allusion to a number of other matters that are fascinating either because, like religiosity and values, they are intangible or, like crime and violence, they resist precise measurement.⁷⁹ Scholars of a revisionist bent can have a field day with these themes, for the growing literature on them yields tantalizing evidence that appears to overturn the traditional view of a distinctive antebellum South. Legal briefs can thus be written attesting the near similarity of the South and North in their achievements in science, medicine, public health, and other aspects of intellectual and cultural life, in their ideals of womanhood, in their racial attitudes, in their violence and attitudes toward violence, in their materialism as in other values, in aspects of humanitarian reform, and in religion, particularly in the roles played by evangelicalism and the Benevolent Empire in the Protestant denominations that were predominant in both sections.⁸⁰ Much of this literature implicitly pro-

⁷⁹ Michael Stephen Hindus recently pointed out that statistics deal only with reported crime, not with the "dark figure" or "crimes which will never be known to the historian"; Hindus, "The Contours of Crime and Justice in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767-1878," *American Journal of Legal History*, 21 (1977): 214. Or, as David J. Bodenhamer has said, "No one can determine the true amount of crime in any society"; Bodenhamer, "Law and Lawlessness in the Deep South: The Local Response to Antebellum Crime," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in New Orleans, April 12, 1979, p. 6.

⁸⁰ The following is a sampling of the burgeoning literature on these themes: Watt L. Black, "Education in the South from 1820 to 1860 with Emphasis on the Growth of Teacher Education," *Louisiana Studies*, 12 (1973): 617-29; Laura D. S. Harrell, "The Development of the Lyceum Movement in Mississippi prior to 1860," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 31 (1969): 187-201; Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860* (New York, 1973); Robert C. Reinders, "New England Influences on the Formation of Public Schools in New Orleans," *JSH*, 30 (1964): 181-95; Doyle, "The Social Order of a Frontier Town," 17; William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-1859* (Chicago, 1966), 13; John Duffy, "Medical Practice in the Antebellum South," *JSH*, 25 (1959): 53-72, and *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1625-1866* (New York, 1968); James O. Breeden, "Body Snatchers and Anatomy Professors: Medical Education in Nineteenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 83 (1975): 321-45, and "Thomsonianism in Virginia," *ibid.*, 82 (1974): 150-80; Gerald Grob, *Mental Institutions in America: Social Policy to 1875* (New York, 1973); Norman Dain, *Disordered Minds: The First Century of Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1766-1866* (Williamsburg, 1971); Goldfield, "The Business of Health Planning: Disease Prevention in the Old South," 557-70; Philip English Mackey, "Edward Livingston and the Origins of the Movement to Abolish Capital Punishment in America," *Louisiana History*, 16 (1975): 145-66; Gordon E. Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the Upper South," *JSH*, 35 (1969): 319-42; Lawrence J. Friedman, "Purifying the White Man's Country: The American Colonization Society Reconsidered," *Societas*, 6 (1976): 1-24; Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio, 1976); John C. Ruoff, "Frivolity to Consumption: or, Southern Womanhood in Antebellum Literature," *Civil War History*, 18 (1972): 213-29; Ronald W. Hogeland, "The Female Appendage: Feminine Life-Styles in America, 1820-1860," *ibid.*, 17 (1971): 101-14; Kathryn L. Seidel, "The Southern Belle as an Antebellum Ideal," *Southern Quarterly*, 15 (1977): 387-401; Litwack, *North of Slavery*; Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), and "The Structure of the Free Negro Caste in the Antebellum United States," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1976): 297-318; John L. Stanley, "Majority Tyranny in Tocqueville's America: The Failure of Negro Suffrage in 1846," *Political Science Quarterly*, 84 (1969): 412-35; William D. Miller, "Myth and New South City Murder Rates," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 26 (1973): 143-53; Guy A. Cardwell, "The Duel in the Old South: Crux of a Concept," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 66 (1967): 50-69; Richard M. Brown, "Historical Patterns of Violence," in Hugh D. Graham and Ted R. Gurr, eds., *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (New York, 1969), 50; Leonard L. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing"; David Grimsted, "Rioting in Its Jacksonian Setting," *AHR*, 77 (1972): 361-97; Robert E. May, "Dixie's Martial Image: A Continuing Historiographical Enigma," *American Quarterly*, 40 (1978): 213-34; Bodenhamer, "Law and Lawlessness in the Deep South," 11, 18-19; Parton Yoder, "Private Hospitality in the South," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 47 (1960): 419-33; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Antimission Movement in the Jacksonian South: A Study in Regional Folk Culture," *JSH*, 36 (1970): 501-29; Timothy F. Reilly, "Parson Clapp of New Orleans: Antebellum Social Critic," *Louisiana History*, 16 (1975): 167-91; John Jentz, "A Note on Genovese's Account of the Slaves' Religion," *Civil War History*, 23 (1977): 161-69; Stuart M. Blumin, "Church and Community: A Case Study of Lay Leadership in Nineteenth-Century America," *New York History*, 56 (1975): 393-408; and Michael S. Franch, "The Congregational Com-



Figure 3: A typical antebellum market scene: this engraving by J. R. Brown depicts a fruit market in Pittsburgh. Reproduced courtesy of the Bettman Archive, Inc., New York.

motes the concept of sectional convergence either by upgrading Southern or by downgrading Northern achievements. But, since historians—unlike embattled attorneys—cannot content themselves with evidence that is both insubstantial and contradicted by evidence pointing in an opposite direction, they are best advised to reserve judgment.⁸¹ Wisdom consists in re-examining and re-evaluating the earlier literature on these themes, weighing carefully the merits of the recent contributions, and, above all, in probing for additional evidence.

HAVING EXAMINED economic developments, social structure, and politics and power in the antebellum sections, let me now return to the question of capitalism in the Old South. Several historians have recently argued that Southern planters constituted a “seigneurial” class presiding over a “pseudocapitalistic”

munity in the Changing City, 1840–1870,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 367–80. In addition, Bell Irwin Wiley has adduced substantial evidence on the similarity of the values of young Southerners and Northerners in uniform; see his *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, 1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis, 1952).

⁸¹ For unusually interesting if not always convincing recent essays emphasizing sectional disparities with regard to these themes, see Raleigh A. Suarez, “Chronicle of a Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana,” *Louisiana History*, 12 (1971): 109–22; Duffy, “Nineteenth-Century Public Health in New York and New Orleans”; Donald G. Mathews, “Religion in the Old South: Speculation on Methodology,” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 73 (1974): 34–52; Sheldon Hackney, “Southern Violence,” *AHR*, 74 (1968–69): 906–25; John Shelton Reed, “To Live—and Die—in Dixie: A Contribution to the Study of Southern Violence,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 86 (1971): 429–43; and Wyatt-Brown, “The Yeomanry and Issues of Justice.”

society, a class whose "world view" ostensibly set them "apart from the mainstream of capitalist civilization." By this analysis, the Old South, though influenced by modern capitalism, belonged (as do early modern India and Saudi Arabia, among others) to the category of "premodern" societies that have been the economic and political dependencies of the dynamic industrial world that exploits them. The antebellum South's banking, commercial, and credit institutions did not in this view manifest the section's own capitalistic development so much as they served to facilitate the South's exploitation by the "capitalistic world market." This argument can be accepted uncritically only by accepting Eugene D. Genovese, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Raimondi Luraghi as the arbiters and interpreters of what represents "every normal feature of capitalism."⁸²

Capitalism is not a rigid system governed by uniform economic practices, let alone inflexible definitions. The economy of the antebellum United States, like capitalistic economies in Victorian England and other nations, was composed of diverse elements, each playing a part in a geographical and functional division of labor within the larger society. As Lewis C. Gray and Thomas P. Govan long ago and other scholars more recently have observed, Southern planters had the attitudes and goals and were guided by the classic practices of capitalistic businessmen.⁸³ The antiurbanism and antimaterialism that Genovese has attributed to the great planters is unconvincing because thinly documented and contradicted by much other evidence.⁸⁴ Some people, including planters themselves, may have likened the planter class to a seigniorial aristocracy. Unlike the lords of the textbook manor, however, Southern planters depended heavily on outside trade, participated enthusiastically in a money economy, and sought

⁸² Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, 1-3, 19, 23, and *The World the Slaveholders Made*, 33, 130-31; Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, 121; and Luraghi, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South*, 8. For an excellent criticism of the enormities in Luraghi's work, see Bennett H. Wall's review essay, "The Myth of the Planter Past," *Plantation Society*, 1 (1979): 273-80. Space requirements dictate that I lump together the views of Genovese, Moore, and Luraghi that do not always coincide and that, in Genovese's case to his credit, are being modified and refined in each new essay he publishes.

⁸³ Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, 1: 301-02; Govan, "Was the Old South Different?" 448; Bateman and Weiss, "Manufacturing in the Antebellum South," 11-13; Tony Freyer, "Law in Antebellum Maryland and Southern Character," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in New Orleans, April 12, 1979, p. 2; and John R. Killick, "The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown and Sons in the Deep South, 1820-1860," *JSH*, 43 (1977): 169. In a quite recent essay, Shearer Davis Bowman has suggested the compatibility of the conservative social and political stance of planters and Junkers with "entrepreneurial, profit-oriented economic behavior"; Bowman, "Antebellum Planters and Vormärz Junkers in Comparative Perspective," *AHR*, 85 (1980): 779-808.

⁸⁴ Genovese's assertion that slaveholders "distrusted the city and saw in it something incongruous with their local power and status arrangements" is documented by a single piece of secondary evidence; *The Political Economy of Slavery*, 24. For numerous testimonies to the alacrity of large planters in establishing town residences for themselves, their evident delight in doing so, and the great influence they enjoyed in cities, see Huffman, "Town and Country in the South," 366-86; and Dorsett and Shaffer, "Was the Antebellum South Anti-urban?" 93-100. Equally unpersuasive are Genovese's assertions that white Southerners were "dreadfully repressed . . . in their sexual mores," ostensibly harboring "unconscious wishes about mother or sister or something equivalent," and that "many travellers" thought Southern values distinctive from Northern; *The Political Economy of Slavery*, 28-30, and *The World the Slaveholders Made*, 96, 146. Genovese based the latter observation on uncited comments by Tocqueville and Achille Murat. In view of the many dozens of visitors who found that most of the important American values commanded national, not sectional, obedience, it is hard to disagree with Degler's contention that the South's "system of values" was "quite congruent with [that of] the rest of the country"; *Place over Time*, 68. For an effective refutation of the notion that the Creole elite were beyond greed and grasping, indifferent to money, and contemptuous of those who lived to amass it, see Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," *JSH*, 18 (1952): 20-36.

continuously to expand their operations and their capital. Marx once said that the limits of the serf's exploitation were determined by the walls of the lord's stomach.⁸⁵ The limits of the slave's exploitation were determined by the expanding walls of the world cotton market.

That slavery is not the classic labor system associated with a Marxist definition of capitalism is, of course, true. The problem with Marx as Pundit of capitalism, for all the undeniable brilliance of his interpretation, is that he was, as he conceded, more interested in changing the system than in explaining it. Those of us content with merely understanding so complex a phenomenon as capitalism know that, whether in its labor system or in other respects, it is a flexible and constantly shifting order, susceptible of diverse definitions. The Southern economy did differ in important respects from the Northern, developing special interests of its own. Yet, far from being in any sense members of a colony or dependency of the North, the Southern upper classes enjoyed close ties with the Northern capitalists who were, in a sense, their business partners. The South was an integral component of a wealthy and dynamic national economy, no part of which conformed perfectly to a textbook definition of pure capitalism. In part because of the central place in that economy of its great export crop, cotton, the South from the 1820s to the 1860s exerted a degree of influence over the nation's domestic and foreign policies that was barely equalled by the antebellum North. India within the Empire indeed! The South's political system of republicanism and limited democracy, like its hierarchical social structure, conformed closely to the prevailing arrangements in the North, as they also did to the classic features of a capitalistic order.

The striking similarities of the two antebellum sections of the nation neither erase their equally striking dissimilarities nor detract from the significance of these dissimilarities. Whether in climate, diet, work habits, uses of leisure, speech and diction, health and disease, mood, habits, ideals, self-image, or labor systems, profound differences separated the antebellum North and South. One suspects that antebellum Americans regarded these matters as the vital stuff of life. The point need not be labored that a society, one-third of whose members were slaves (and slaves of a distinctive "race"), is most unlike a society of free men and women. An essay focusing on these rather than on the themes emphasized here would highlight the vital disparities between the antebellum South and North. And yet the striking dissimilarities of the two antebellum sections do not erase their equally striking similarities, nor do they detract from the significance of these similarities.

The antebellum North and South were far more alike than the conventional scholarly wisdom has led us to believe. Beguiled by the charming version of Northern society and politics composed by Tocqueville, the young Marx, and other influential antebellum commentators, historians have until recently believed that the Northern social structure was far more egalitarian and offered far

⁸⁵ My source for this epigram is my class notes for a graduate course in medieval economic history that I took thirty years ago at Columbia University. Fortunately, the authority for the citation is the reliable and admirable Karl Helleiner, my teacher.

greater opportunity for upward social movement than did its Southern counterpart and that white men of humble position had far more power in the Old North than they did in the Old South.⁸⁶ In disclosing that the reality of the antebellum North fell far short of the egalitarian ideal, modern studies of social structure sharply narrow the gulf between the antebellum North and South.⁸⁷ Without being replicas of one another, both sections were relatively rich, powerful, aggressive, and assertive communities, socially stratified and governed by equally—and disconcertingly—oligarchic internal arrangements. That they were drawn into the most terrible of all American wars may have been due, as is often the case when great powers fight, as much to their similarities as to their differences. The war owed more, I believe, to the inevitably opposed but similarly selfish interests—or perceived interests—of North and South than to differences in their cultures and institutions.

It is a commonplace in the history of international politics that nations and societies quite similar to one another in their political, social, and economic arrangements have nevertheless gone to war, while nations profoundly different from one another in their laws of property or their fundamental moral and philosophical beliefs have managed to remain at peace.⁸⁸ The Peloponnesian War, which, like the American Civil War, was a bitter and protracted struggle between two branches of the same people whose societies were in vital respects dissimilar from one another, appears to have owed little to these differences. In Thucydides' great account, Athens and the Athenians were profoundly unlike Sparta and the Lacedaemonians, whether in "national" character, wealth, economic life, ideals and values, system of justice, attitudes toward freedom, or lifestyle. But to Thucydides, as to the leading spokesmen for the two sides, these dissimilarities were one thing, the causes of the war quite another. Athens and Sparta fell out primarily because both were great imperial powers. "The real cause of the war," concluded Thucydides, "was formally . . . kept out of sight. The growth of the power of Athens and the alarm which this inspired in Lacedaemon, made war inevitable."⁸⁹ None of this is to say that sectional differences had no influence whatever on the actions of those influential men that in

⁸⁶ For the influence of Tocqueville's "egalitarian thesis," see Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War*, chap. 1. In the early 1840s Marx believed that the conquest by Northern workers of the right to vote represented the "political emancipation" of the working classes—a necessary first step to full emancipation. And, influenced by his reading of Thomas Hamilton's *Men and Manners in America* (1833), Marx also believed that class lines were regularly brushed aside in the Northern states. See Karl Marx, *Early Writings*, pt. 1 (New York, 1963), particularly "Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage*," in *The Jewish Question*, 12. Eric Foner has asserted that the Republican Party ideology, emphasizing the great social and economic opportunities available to Northern labor, was given "plausibility" and "a strong cultural authenticity" by the alleged closeness of the facts of Northern life to these claims made by Republican spokesmen; *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 33–34. Foner's conclusions appeared just prior to the publication of a number of empirical studies that cast grave doubt on the accuracy of Republican propaganda—at least in this respect.

⁸⁷ For a discussion and cataloging of these studies, see Edward Pessen, "On a Recent Cliometric Attempt to Resurrect the Myth of Antebellum Egalitarianism," *Social Science History*, 3 (1979): 208–27.

⁸⁸ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (2d ed., New York, 1954). Also see Potter, *The South and Sectional Conflict*, 76–78; and Randall, "The Blundering Generation," 3–28.

⁸⁹ Since I am using the causes of the Peloponnesian War only as a suggestive model for my brief consideration of the causes of the American Civil War, I trust I shall be forgiven for referring only to one study of that earlier war. My generalizations and quotations are drawn from Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Richard Crawley (New York, 1951), 15, 33, 40, 46–49, 50, 65–67, 80–81, 104–06, 118, 189, 253, 440, 509.

April 1861 culminated in the outbreak of the American Civil War. The point rather is that, insofar as the Peloponnesian War throws any light whatever on the matter, wars between strikingly dissimilar antagonists break out not necessarily because of their differences, important as these are, but because of their equally significant similarities.

Late in the Civil War, William King of Cobb County, Georgia, reported that invading Union officers had told him, "We are one people, [with] the same language, habits, and religion, and ought to be one people."⁹⁰ The officers might have added that on the spiritual plane Southerners shared with Northerners many ideals and aspirations and had contributed heavily to those historical experiences the memory and symbols of which tie a people together as a nation. For all of their distinctiveness, the Old South and North were complementary elements in an American society that was everywhere primarily rural, capitalistic, materialistic, and socially stratified, racially, ethnically, and religiously heterogeneous, and stridently chauvinistic and expansionist—a society whose practice fell far short of, when it was not totally in conflict with, its lofty theory.

⁹⁰ Roark, *Masters without Slaves*, 222.

AHR Forum
Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective:
A Discussion

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN
FORREST MCDONALD, GRADY MCWHINEY, and EDWARD PESSEN

EDWARD PESSEN HAS PROVIDED ANOTHER of his very useful surveys of literature relevant to an important theme, this time a comparison of antebellum North and South, to suggest that the two sections "were far more alike than the conventional scholarly wisdom has led us to believe" (page 1147). Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney have offered a sectional comparison only by implication—a "lazy" South versus an industrious North. Both "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" and "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," although quite different in approach, attack fundamental and long-held assumptions about the character of Southern life and the nature of Southern society in the years before the Civil War.

PROFESSOR PESSEN SUGGESTS the need for an "overarching synthesis" for the antebellum North and South and offers a "modest hope" that his discussion "will be useful to historians in pursuit of such a synthesis" (page 1119). We shall assuredly find useful this focus on an impressive range of recent work and the relating of pieces of evidence "to one another and to earlier findings and interpretations" (page 1119). The author does not claim to have any one overarching synthesis in his sights and concedes that others would emphasize different aspects of comparison. His way of trying to be useful to historians in this instance is by comparing North and South in terms of the dominant theme of his extensive work as "naysayer" to the egalitarian "myth" in American history.

Professor Pessen has long held that wealth is the best single indicator of social class and of power, that wealth in the antebellum United States was very badly distributed, that highly undesirable class distinctions were embedded in the sys-

Editor's note: All references indicated parenthetically in this article refer to the essays in this issue by Professors McDonald and McWhiney, pages 1095–1118, above, and Professor Pessen, pages 1119–49, above, or to other comments within this discussion.

tem, and that an image of extensive economic and social mobility is unjustified.¹ Not unexpectedly, then, he here examines the economies, the social structures, and politics and power in the two sections. Scrupulously acknowledging the "striking dissimilarities," he concludes that, "without being replicas of one another," both North and South were "relatively rich, powerful, aggressive, and assertive communities, socially stratified and governed by equally—and disconcertingly—oligarchic internal arrangements" (pages 1147–48). Thus, "for all of their distinctiveness, the Old South and North were complementary elements in an American society . . . whose practice fell far short of, when it was not totally in conflict with, its lofty theory" (page 1149).

Professor Pessen is entitled to his judgments about the centrality of these bases of comparison, hedged about as they are with perceptive caveats. My most pervasive concern arises not from his choice of theme but from the quality and coverage of existing studies for illuminating the economic and social life of that large majority of the people who lived outside even small towns. I do not think as highly of these studies as Pessen does. I acknowledge that critical bibliographical commentary throughout the paper would have been impractical and that using studies for one purpose does not entail endorsing any of them for different considerations. The projection of a lucid and coherent image, nevertheless, I respectfully submit, has left a residual impression of greater underpinning for that image than I can accept. Pessen has focused much of his work on the people of towns and cities, and to my mind he has taken his questions and perceptions farther into the countryside than the sources justify. He claims, for example, not only that "in rural as well as urban communities, in large cities and small, and on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, armies of footloose Americans were on the move, following trails never dreamed of in the Turner thesis," but also that these "armies" consisted "primarily" of "the poorer and propertyless" (page 1135). Granted, fully "one-half of the residents . . . left those communities from one decade to another" (page 1135). But I simply do not believe that we can possibly know that they were mostly the poorer and propertyless rural Americans—at least not at this stage of our work. The problem of rural intergenerational economic mobility, either associated with or apart from geographical mobility, moreover, has hardly been touched and may be beyond reach. And, for the substantial proportion of rural nonfarm population for whom real income is elusive, we just do not yet have adequate evidence that wealth was "the surest sign of social, as well as of economic, position" (page 1130), unless only great wealth is meant.

In this brief comment I can refer to no more than a pair of examples of sources less persuasive than might be inferred. Professor Pessen cites several times Lee Soltow's *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870* (1975) and Gavin Wright's *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (1978), and I think that these books are of consid-

¹ Some of Edward Pessen's own work is cited in notes to his essay. I have especially found useful one article he did not cite: "Who Rules America? Power and Politics in the Democratic Era, 1825–1975," *Prologue*, 9 (1977): 5–26.

erable importance to the theme of inequality of wealth in Pessen's essay. As Pessen certainly knows but for good reason could not spare the space to discuss, the mixed reviews that these works received suggest caution. One reviewer of Wright's volume offered some high praise but also cited "deformities"—including "the construction of heavy deductive structures on factual quicksands."² Soltow's *Men and Wealth* drew sharp criticism from Pessen himself, although not necessarily on matters pertaining to this essay.³ Soltow's work is based principally on a spin sample from manuscript censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 that must average about five families per county per census. However suitable the sample was for making generalizations about the total population, it was not intended to provide illumination of the county-level context within which the distribution of wealth may have had significance apart from the macrocosmic array. Most of Wright's research is based on the Parker-Gallman sample of about five thousand farms from approximately four hundred Southern counties—fewer than one-half of the region's counties. Since Wright limited his selection to the cotton belt, his work is less useful to those who would make region-wide generalizations. I find both of these books valuable. My purpose here is to illustrate my concern that Professor Pessen appears to be more optimistic about the stage of our knowledge than are many of us who are mired in intractable and contradictory sources.

One small positive suggestion about comparing sections is that the population density of those eligible to hold wealth and power—that is, the white population—may provide some insights. In 1860, the Northern county median in population density had about thirty-two persons per square mile; 95 percent of the Southern counties were lower in density of white residents. Apart from the extreme frontier states of 1860, the median county in every Southern state had a white population density below that of the median county of any Northern state (except that Maryland was tied with Illinois). Such relative dispersion of Southern whites may well have resulted in important sectional distinctions in economy, social structure, or concentrations of power. One very modest illustration is provided by a study of 361 marriages in five Alabama counties, in which Nancy C. Roberson sought to identify patterns of wealth and slaveholding in the families of marriage partners.⁴ Her findings justify a cautious assumption that, where suitable partners were far between, propinquity sometimes modified considerations of wealth and slaveholding. Even cultural diffusion from towns or cities involved far greater distances for Southerners because of the location of the region's cities on its periphery.

Professors McDonald and McWhiney have concentrated only on the South "from self-sufficiency to peonage." Their interpretation is intriguing and offered with verve and fervor. They are already aware that most of their novel propositions meet with more incredulity than any brief essay could possibly overcome.

² Robert Higgs, Review of Gavin Wright's *The Political Economy of the Cotton South* in the *Journal of American History*, 66 (1979): 153.

³ Pessen, Review of Lee Soltow's *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850–1870* in *Reviews in American History*, 4 (1976): 222–29.

⁴ Roberson, "Social Mobility in Ante-Bellum Alabama," *Alabama Review*, 13 (1960): 135–45.

Since they present numerous statements that could be made credible only by massive documentation, I think a very big book will be needed to bring their interpretation to the stage where useful confrontation on defined and delimited questions may be possible.

A few brief remarks are, nevertheless, in order. The authors' conclusions that "Celtic" describes "a single general cultural group, different from the English" (page 1108 note 31) will continue to be challenged. Their extensive claims for the persistence of "cultural preadaptation" will not be readily acceptable to those who have studied the extent of adaptation to environment among differing ethnic elements.⁵ The special "preadaptation" to open-range swine economy will probably be viewed as not very special by students of other contributors to Southern herding patterns.⁶ The reductio-ad-absurdum computations on the labor needed to produce Southern crops has been duplicated for Northern crops.⁷ Even the undeniable decline in swine production after the Civil War, I think, will need to be accounted for in more complex terms.

Such a brief comment as this on so wide-ranging an interpretation may be doomed to triviality, and for that I apologize to my friends, the authors. I do wish to raise some questions about antebellum marketing of swine, which I believe to be an important element in their interpretation. My examination of the 1860 census data suggests that swine per capita in Southern counties provided principally for local slaughter and consumption; only a modest proportion of the swine were driven long distances. For the South as a whole, the figure for swine per capita is below two. In each of the ten Southern states a few counties had less than one per person, several counties had more than three, and the median county was at or slightly above the regional level. A median county with one per capita characterized four other Southern states. Intrastate or other nearby sale should usually have been possible. Long drives undoubtedly did occur, but the greatest number of swine in one year for any single trail, according to Professors McDonald and McWhiney, is one hundred and fifty thousand, less than 1 percent of the swine of the region. The impact of fencing on swine marketing as well as the extent of its effect on Southerners is essentially related to the proportion of market activity that required long drives. The actual timing of effective fencing activity is another crucial element that remains to be clarified, together with reasons for the beginning of the decline in the number of swine. Between 1850 and 1860, the number of swine in the South was already leveling off, and the greatest proportional decrease in numbers between 1860 and 1870 did not occur as much in those regions where armies camped or campaigned as in those counties with a high percentage of slaves in the total population in

⁵ For an interesting individual-level analysis that explicitly rejects the concept of preadaptation, see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972).

⁶ For a commentary on how natural open-range livestock grazing seemed to early South Carolina settlers and on the familiarity of some of the black people with African grazing activity, see Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974).

⁷ William N. Parker reported his similar computations for the North in commenting on a version of this essay presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in New Orleans, April 1979.

1860. Quite possibly, the increase in people free to eat high on the hog reduced the attractiveness of untended grazing.⁸

I HAVE NOT GRAPPLED WITH MOST of the many propositions offered by Professors McDonald and McWhiney, for I have found their essay to be a porcupine. I promise the authors that I shall peruse the big book when it emerges, even buy it, but never review it. In his essay, as in many other parts of his work, Professor Pessen undertakes to digest stunningly extensive bodies of work. One of the things we sorely miss in U.S. history is an ongoing effort to bring some synthesis, however preliminary, out of the glut of individual items. Some of the social sciences do better, but then perhaps they focus more narrowly. Those of us who teach antebellum sectionalism courses are, this time, indebted for a stimulating and challenging addition to required reading lists.

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER
*University of Missouri,
Columbia*

⁸ For comment on the drastic penalty for the "surreptitious feast in the forest with which servants sometimes indulged themselves," see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 217. I do not share the view sometimes expressed that the 1870 census for the South is too flawed to trust for general trends.



BOTH PAPERS—"How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" and "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation"—discuss a long-standing historical question, the similarities and differences between the Northern and Southern states before the Civil War.¹ Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney also discuss a related question, the impact of the Civil War upon Southern society. A major reason for the antebellum comparison has been the interest in the origins of the Civil War: was it an irreconcilable conflict between two different societies and cultures? As Edward Pessen suggests, the onset of a war, even a civil war, need not imply antagonists with two different ways of life. McDonald and McWhiney indicate, however, that sectional comparisons have had a long history; examples, usually emphasizing sectional differences, are to be found in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Both articles follow earlier traditions by focusing on the behavior of whites and on white society, culture, and political life.

¹ Since both papers contain rather extensive references to the relevant literature, I shall cite only those works that are the basis for specific points. Space constraints preclude responding to many of the controversial issues raised.

There is a crucial issue posed by Professor Pessen's title, one that confronts much of historical writing, and is particularly critical in the study of social and cultural history. Granted that between two groups (sections)—groups that themselves contain a wide range of variation—there are some similarities and dissimilarities, how can a simple answer to Pessen's type of question be arrived at? Which of the many characteristics are to be regarded as crucial? How can similarities and differences be described (even when not measured)? How can the importance of any set of differences or similarities be determined? Clearly, there will be some similarities and differences, and the interpretation of the nature and importance of such differences and similarities will vary with the specific question studied. All societies are diverse, and in comparing any two it will be possible for comparisons to emphasize either similarities or differences. And, even if we conclude that in only one out of the multitude of characteristics did two societies differ, that one—if important enough—might justify an emphasis upon difference, not similarity. There remains, of course, the further question of the factors that gave rise to the differences between societies (or caused the similarities) and the period of time in which they became important.

PROFESSORS MCDONALD AND MCWHINEY EMPHASIZE what they perceive as an important North-South difference: a "lazy" South versus a hard-working North. They thus present a familiar view of sectional differences. They also follow a long historiographic tradition by attributing these differences to the characteristics of the original settlers. Where they differ is in their emphasis on the role of the Celtic element, not the more frequently discussed Cavaliers. The authors are in some disagreement with those who, while agreeing that there were significant sectional differences prior to the Civil War, argue that such differences were due to the impact of climate and other factors that led to the development of a slave-based society in one of the sections. In this argument, slavery and a slave society produced more important differences between sections, despite the similarities of their settlers—a contention obviously contrary to that of McDonald and McWhiney.²

Their view of one component group in the South—able to obtain an acceptable standard of living with limited production of export staples, relying on livestock raised in a less expensive manner than in the North, and, possibly, working at a more relaxed pace than farmers in the North—seems plausible. But projection of such behavior onto the entire South produces a rather curious result. It becomes difficult to understand the dynamics of the emergence, expansion, and relatively widespread ownership of slave labor producing staple com-

² There remain problems in relating all of the key features of Southern society to the Celtic element. Not only were there different patterns among the Celts, but, since many of the settlers in the South were not Celts, the characteristics of other groups (white and black) remain of importance. Given the early patterns of market production in the Chesapeake and South Carolina, moreover, it may be that the behavior of even the settling Celts varied with geographic and economic conditions. The Southern uplands were particularly dominated by Celts, as McDonald and McWhiney point out (page 1108 note 31), so that their depiction seems most applicable to this region.

modities for sale in national and international markets; the dynamics of the shift from tobacco to cotton in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the westward expansion of *commercial* agriculture; the commercial features of Southern society, with financial and transportation developments sponsored by state governments; and the great wealth acquired by Southern slaveowners. Clearly, however accurate their portrayal of small, upland farmers, there is more to the South than what Professors McDonald and McWhiney convey—whether these other features were due to atypical Celts or to misplaced English.

They seem to argue that most everyone in the South was lazy or, at least, did not find it necessary to work long or hard. This characteristic is attributed not only to slaveowners and other whites but even to the slaves. In discussing the nature of the work input, Professors McDonald and McWhiney distinguish between the length of the work day and the number of hours actually at work as well as between the hours worked during peak seasons and other times of the year.³ More needs to be said, however, on the critical distinction between hours of work and intensity of work—a point at issue in recent discussions of the slave economy.⁴ Further, the estimates presented of hours worked in the South and the North-South comparisons of hours worked have major problems. The estimates they use of time spent on corn and cotton production are based upon national averages, for which the details of calculation are not known. The more recent, systematic estimates prepared under the direction of William N. Parker contain detailed regional breakdowns that suggest that McDonald and McWhiney severely understate the time spent on corn production in the South. While Parker's average labor input into cotton production does not differ markedly from the figure used by McDonald and McWhiney, his estimate of the labor time needed to produce a bushel of corn is more than twice that which they use.⁵ (The explanation of the significant sectional differences between Northern and Southern productivity in corn production was itself a frequently discussed question.⁶)

To compare estimates of total labor input derived from measures of crop output per hour with estimates of hours worked derived from time-budget studies

³ In several cases the distinctions had been made by those whom McDonald and McWhiney criticize. Thus, as they note, both Lewis C. Gray and Eugene D. Genovese have distinguished between the length of the work day and the hours actually worked; see note 17 (page 1110), above. The estimates of Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman refer only to "peak labor periods," not to the entire year.

⁴ John F. Olson has drawn this distinction between hours of work and intensity of work; see his "Clock-Time vs. Real-Time: A Comparison of the Lengths of the Northern and Southern Agricultural Work-Years" (unpublished essay). Also see note 14 (page 1101), above.

⁵ See Parker and Judith L. V. Klein, "Productivity Growth in Grain Production in the United States, 1840-60 and 1900-10," in Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, *Output, Employment, and Productivity in the United States after 1800* (New York, 1966), 523-80; and Parker, "Labor Productivity in Cotton Farming: The History of a Research," *Agricultural History*, 53 (1979): 228-44. The former provides estimates for labor time in corn, the latter provides estimates for cotton and, in addition, contains citations to the estimates of labor time in land clearing (by Martin Primack) and in dairy farming (by Fred Bateman). Because of the differences in productivity between small farms and plantations, there may be some bias in the application of Parker's estimates to both free and slave workers. (This problem also affects the use of the estimates employed by McDonald and McWhiney.)

⁶ For a recent statement, see William N. Parker, "A Note on Regional Culture in the Corn Harvest," *Agricultural History*, 46 (1972): 181-89. Sectional differences in corn output per acre and per worker were a source of comment in the antebellum years.

can be misleading. The crop-time method that Professors McDonald and McWhiney use for the South leads to a serious underestimation of the actual labor time in agriculture, for reasons not altogether clear, in both sections. Robert E. Gallman's estimates of labor time in antebellum agriculture, also based upon estimates of crop output per labor hour, account for about as few hours as do McDonald and McWhiney.⁷ Why such dramatic differences exist, even when it is thought that appropriate allowances are made for other uses of labor, is worth more attention, but the comparisons presented cannot be used to argue for North-South differences in labor input of the sort McDonald and McWhiney seek to establish.

Despite these criticisms of their empirical measures, as well as of their extending their contentions to the entire South, Professors McDonald and McWhiney do highlight an important aspect of antebellum Southern society and the changes following from the Civil War. There is no space here to discuss their claims as to the culture of the Celts, the question of whether the planter class (whoever they were) actually increased their political power after losing the war, and why, after a thousand years of struggle, these Celts were finally defeated. McDonald and McWhiney do, however, stress the importance of non-slaveholding whites in the antebellum South, who, with relatively limited production of staple crops (though a larger percentage produced cotton than McDonald and McWhiney suggest [page 1106 note 26]) and mast feeding of livestock, obtained adequate consumption with (possibly) more leisure or easier work routines than did Northern farmers. At issue remain two major transitions. There was a sharp increase in cotton output from small, nonslave farms in the 1850s, with the extension of railroads within the South. In the postbellum period there was a marked shift of whites, particularly in older areas of the South, into cotton production, with market involvement (and tenantry) apparently increasing with the decline of the plantation.⁸ These responses focus attention on the determination of the extent to which the antebellum smaller farms had "voluntarily" limited market involvement and the extent to which they had been "forced out" by the greater efficiency of the antebellum cotton plantations that used slave labor. As McDonald and McWhiney point out, the Civil War did have a marked impact on the small white Southern farmer (as it did on planters and slaves). There was a shift from livestock and corn production in the aftermath of the Civil War's destruction of livestock. As measured by farm output, however, the small white farms were less affected than were the antebellum plantations, the decline of which led to a marked reduction in output per black person and an expansion of sharecropping.

⁷ See Gallman, "The Agricultural Sector and the Pace of Economic Growth: U.S. Experience in the Nineteenth Century," in David C. Klingaman and Richard K. Vedder, eds., *Essays in Nineteenth-Century Economic History: The Old Northwest* (Athens, Ohio, 1975), 35-76. The estimates of hours worked in agriculture derived from labor requirements in crops and livestock for the years between 1909 and 1936 similarly fall short of the estimate of annual hours worked derived from direct estimates; see John A. Hopkins, *Changing Technology and Employment in Agriculture* (Washington, 1941), 146-48. Although McDonald and McWhiney attempt some adjustment for omitted output, the basic difficulty for sectional comparison persists.

⁸ For a longer discussion of these issues, see Stanley L. Engerman, "Economic Aspects of the Adjustments to Emancipation in the United States and the British West Indies" (forthcoming).

Professors McDonald and McWhiney make a number of related arguments about the antebellum South. Several of these are in obvious disagreement with those of Professor Pessen and will be touched on below. I have concentrated on one of their points, but it is one that they have made central to their presentation of North-South differences. On that issue, however accurate their analysis of certain groups, it cannot be applied to all of the whites and to the black slaves who lived and worked in the South.

PROFESSOR PESSEN ARGUES for the importance of certain similarities between the antebellum North and South. While he focuses on three major structural features, he notes other characteristics in which sectional similarities were present, as well as a number of characteristics for which significant dissimilarities did exist. His general point, however, is that "the antebellum North and South were far more alike than the conventional scholarly wisdom has led us to believe" (page 1147), and the thrust of his article is to emphasize similarities, not differences.

The basis of Professor Pessen's argument is the considerable body of new data and empirical information—both quantitative and nonquantitative—that have been generated by many recent studies. These studies, of both North and South, have served to provide material for useful correctives to some earlier views.⁹ To the extent that Pessen draws attention to this accumulating information, his essay provides a useful service. It is in his interpretations of some of this work and in his attempts to draw specific conclusions and decide various ongoing debates that problems arise. However useful the new evidence summarized, Pessen's discussion does not deal with a number of key interpretive issues, nor does it satisfactorily confront the argument that even striking similarities in some characteristics cannot adequately account for the patterns of change in the antebellum sections. Because of the style of Pessen's presentation, drawing on the work of others, with attacks on those historians he (for whatever reason) disagrees with, it becomes difficult to discern an overall view of the period. Thus, it remains uncertain whether emphasis on similarities or on differences is more critical for understanding the antebellum period or even for describing the onset of the Civil War.¹⁰

The three similarities stressed by Professor Pessen are the economies, the social structures, and the ways of politics and power. Both sections are seen to have had antebellum economies that were booming, productive, and flexible,

⁹ In part Pessen draws upon works claiming that scholars have misperceived the South, and in part he relies on work (including his own) arguing that scholars have misread the North. Germane to the methodological issue is one of focus; although some of these reinterpretations are based explicitly on the comparative method, in many cases they are based upon separate analysis in only one of the sections. Nevertheless, the major shift in recent work has been away from the claims that the Southern social structure, wealth distribution, and political life were markedly different (if not unique), particularly in comparison with the North (and Western Europe).

¹⁰ Thus, for example, it might be claimed that there was a basic similarity in motivation—economic, political, or otherwise—for westward expansion in both sections. Yet the reasons why there was an inability to achieve any permanent compromise may point to the importance of differences (particularly those due to the differing regional concentrations of the black population and their enslavement). Nevertheless, it could be argued that it was the similarities in motivation and belief that made the conflict inevitable, not any differences in sectional cultures.

with individuals striving to acquire wealth. (Pessen apparently finds, in the South, few of the yeoman farmers discussed by Professors McDonald and McWhiney. Based upon motivation, these, rather than slaveowners, might represent an important difference between North and South. At the least, Pessen denies that these yeomen had the political, social, and economic power that McDonald and McWhiney attribute to 'them.) The distribution of wealth within white society is seen to be roughly similar in both sections, particularly in urban areas.¹¹ Both regions are seen to have been similarly "hierarchical," with some vertical, and extensive geographic, mobility. And both sections had formal "republicanism" and "limited democracy," with, Pessen argues, the political leadership drawn mainly from the wealthy.

While numerous discussions persist about aspects of these depictions of each section, not to mention their comparisons, an important debate has been in progress about the meaning of these measured similarities. Pessen points to, but does not emphasize, certain differences, possibly crucial in the antebellum period, possibly of potential subsequent importance. Underlying these differences is, of course, the role of slavery in Southern society—the differences between one section with a population over one-third black, mostly enslaved, and most productively used in plantation agriculture, and the other with less than 2 percent of the population black and relatively few enslaved. However similar the motivations of planter capitalists and industrial capitalists, however efficiently each section followed its comparative advantage, and however rapidly both sections were growing economically, one section included a slave-based agriculture and the other had, in addition to a commercial agriculture based on family farms, a developing industrial sector based upon wage labor.¹² One section was more influenced by planter-slaveowners, the other more by merchant and industrial capitalists. These features affected the structure of society and led, for example (as Pessen notes), to certain restrictions on what was politically acceptable. Thus, beneath the structural similarities and some important similarities in motivation, behavior, and belief, there remained key differences in desired policies and in the sources of wealth. These differences, even with some basic similarities in belief and behavior, in conjunction with the importance of attitudes toward race and slavery, had obvious implications for national political and social life. Yet there is still little agreement on how all of these interacted to bring about an intersectional war, nor is there agreement on which of the similarities and differences are central to understanding antebellum life.

AS THESE ARTICLES SHOW, North-South comparisons for the antebellum period remain a lively source of controversy. Professors McDonald and McWhiney

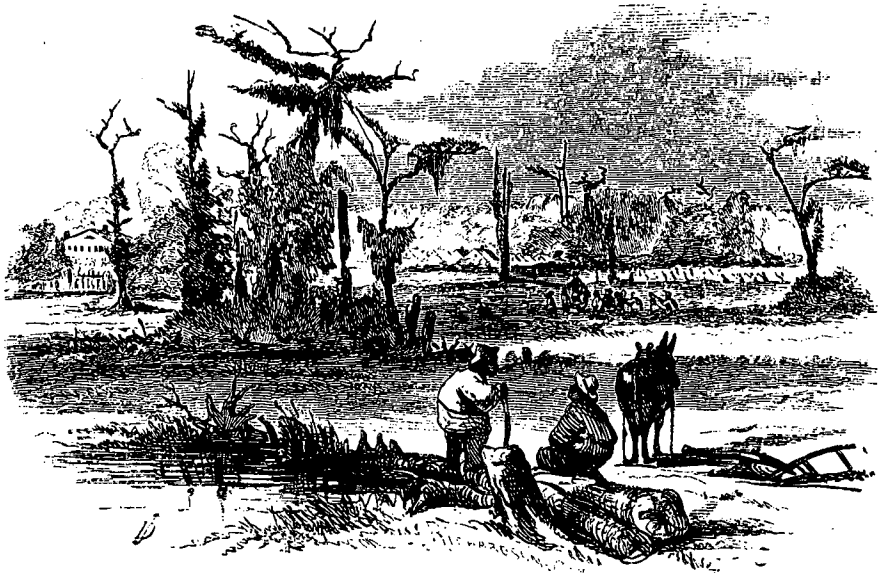
¹¹ Note, however, that if Southern yeomen were not financial-income-maximizers, as McDonald and McWhiney claim here, and, if some farmers and laborers in the North behaved similarly, the interpretation of the measured wealth distributions would be different from what is suggested.

¹² It is unnecessary to debate here whether or not the South was "capitalist," since much semantic confusion besets the issue (some pointing to motivation as the crucial aspect, others to available opportunities) and since, for many questions of historical interest, no determination is necessary. Rather than trying to answer that question, it seems best to restrict the discussion to the various underlying characteristics that are involved in its answer.

present a new twist on older views that emphasize sectional differences, while Professor Pessen draws together fresh evidence noting structural similarities whose importance had not been fully appreciated. Although not included in this discussion, the article by Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman,¹³ which deals with a similar question, is perhaps the most revisionist of the writings on the subject, inverting many views of antebellum North-South differences in economic performance. While I disagree with parts of their analysis, as I do with some aspects of the two discussed, these three articles are symptomatic of many studies of economic, political, social, intellectual, demographic, and cultural aspects of the antebellum period. Many of the relatively clear-cut comparisons presented in the past have given way to views of considerably greater complexity in describing intra-, as well as inter-, sectional similarities and differences. The new knowledge generated has provided the basis for new interpretations of white (and black) life in the antebellum years and has contributed to a clarification and sharpening of the earlier debates.

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN
University of Rochester

¹³ Earle and Hoffman, "The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800-60," *AHR*, pages 1054-94, above.



WE FIND LESS TO DISAGREE WITH in the comments of our critics than in the article by Edward Pessen. But we shall confine our observations concerning his paper to a letter to the editor to be published in the communications section of the February issue, where he will have the opportunity to respond. Thomas B. Alexander and Stanley L. Engerman have offered—both in the remarks published here and in private—useful objections, suggestions, questions, and demurrers; for that wholesome spirit of scholarly give and take we are appreciative.

BOTH COMMENTATORS HAVE OBSERVATIONS AND RESERVATIONS regarding our estimates of how much Southerners worked. Those estimates, as we indicate, are “only” some “rough” calculations (page 1099) that bear out the observations of contemporaries. Had we used William N. Parker’s higher estimates for the labor required to grow corn, the overall results would have changed little. We have also conducted other tests, which we did not report. Both of us have grown corn without using modern implements, and we had ample time left for scholarly activities. One of us tested the work involved in the “task system,” which was used on many plantations. He physically performed typical tasks as recorded in plantation records; and, though he was fifty-two years old, no task reckoned as a day’s work took him more than three hours. As for farm work in addition to that required in raising crops, there is as much or as little to do as one is disposed to do. A compulsive planter like James Mallory tried to keep his hands busy, but that he was atypical is attested by the run-down condition of most Southern farms. There is another consideration: given their climate and ways of doing things, Southerners could neglect chores and still fare well. Northern farmers could not. If they failed to build and maintain fences and barns or to chop a winter’s supply of wood, they were likely to be in serious trouble.

Both of our critics believe that the Old South was more heterogeneous, more commercially oriented, and further along on the road to modernization than we do. Professor Engerman comments, for instance, on the “commercial features of Southern society” (page 1156). The footnotes in Morton J. Horwitz’s *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (1977) are instructive here. They reveal that the transformation from a legal system based upon the concept of holding property for enjoyment to one geared to commercial development simply did not take place in the South—for the most part the new law of contracts, negotiable instruments, and so on, was a Northern phenomenon. Engerman’s statement about Southern “financial and transportation developments sponsored by state governments” (page 1156) is misleading. Nearly every Southern state had made one or more attempts at banking by 1860, but most had been failures. The Bank of Kentucky, for example, failed in 1814 as a result of mismanagement; the state established forty-six new banks in 1818, and most soon failed. North Carolina’s state banks were so poorly managed and so disastrous to the state’s fiscal system that the legislature liquidated them in 1828. The Mississippi state bank failed in 1830; a new one was authorized, but it failed in 1839 and liability for its bonds fell on the state. The story was much the same in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Texas outlawed banks with a constitutional provision that “no corporate body shall hereafter be created, renewed, or extended, with banking or discounting privileges.”

Southern ventures into state-backed entrepreneurial activity were quite characteristically Celtic: in keeping with the “indolent unless roused” Scottish syndrome that Thomas Pennant described in his *Tour of Scotland, 1769* (5th ed., 1790), Southerners were given to bursts of enthusiastic activity that petered out for lack of the kind of persistent application that was characteristic of Englishmen and Yankees. Other aspects of state systems of law and public policy like-

wise substantiate our analysis of antebellum Southern social and economic life. The fencing laws are an obvious case in point. So, too, are the tax laws. What was taxed in the South was land, slaves, horses, carriages—the property of the planters. What was not taxed was swine—the principal property of the plain folk. If planters committed to work and to profit-maximization had dominated Southern life, surely the laws would have been different. Revealing in this regard are Peter J. Coleman's findings in his excellent study, *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900* (1974). Development of impersonal bankruptcy laws was necessary to the regularization and modernization of commercial relationships, and such laws evolved in the Northern states during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most Southern states, by contrast, clung to older debtor-relief systems throughout the century—with the significant exception that livestock was generally exempted from seizure for debts.

Commercial activity in the Old South was conducted mainly by outsiders. Most of its successful merchants were Yankees or foreigners. Hinton Rowan Helper noted that Southerners bought everything from shoe strings to fish hooks from Yankees. And Thomas P. Kettell concluded that by 1860 the South had an unfavorable trade balance with the North of more than \$200 million. It was largely Northern capital and initiative that provided such transportation facilities as the South had, and those were relatively primitive. Traveling the 1,460 miles from Baltimore to New Orleans in 1850, for example, meant riding on five different railroads, two stage coaches, and two steamboats. Even that apostle of Southern independence, *DeBow's Review*, was printed in the North. An English visitor in New Orleans, looking for a guide book to the city, was amazed to learn from a bookseller “that we must wait until he received some more copies from New York, for it appears that the printing even of books of local interest is done by presses 2000 miles distant.”

Several of Professor Alexander's comments require brief notice. His skepticism regarding Celtic culture would, we suggest, be dissipated if he read the works of the brilliant sociologist Michael Hechter. Alexander misreads us when he insists that all but a small percentage of the South's hogs were consumed locally. We cannot share his confidence in the census figures on Southern livestock. The number of animals in open country such as that in northern Illinois, where they were fenced and easily counted, may be fairly accurately reported in the census, but enumerators were unlikely to have made a correct count of the Southern animals who roamed the woods and cane breaks. We also find more correlation between the decline in the number of hogs in areas of the South where “armies camped or campaigned” than does Alexander (page 1153). Only in Southern states with relatively small black populations and where there had been little fighting during the Civil War were there significant gains in the number of hogs between 1860 and 1880. As for Alexander's point about pre-adaptation and swine raising, he cites an unfortunate example. Peter H. Wood's study, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (1974), in fact offers excellent confirmation of the principles of pre-adaptation and cultural conservatism: the slaves in early South Carolina had

been herdsmen in Africa and served well as herdsmen in America, but, when their owners tried to make them raise crops, they rose in bloody rebellion.

WE HAVE NOT DEALT WITH ALL of the questions and objections raised. Most of them would be easy enough to handle, space permitting, but there are others for which we do not yet have answers. We are still searching. We are working on the "very big book" Professor Alexander recommends. But in the nature of the subject—the heritage and culture of ordinary white Southerners—it will not always be possible to deal in the "defined and delimited questions" that he would like to see (page 1153). Such questions require "hard" sources, and most of the primary materials shed light mainly on people who were not part of the inarticulate plain folk. We have tried here to utilize those sources; but our main reliance is and must be upon common sense and upon a "soft" source, the one kind that deals directly with the plain folk—the observations of contemporaries. And, we insist, what we see is what they saw.

FORREST MCDONALD
GRADY MCWHINEY
*Center for the Study of Southern
History and Culture,
University of Alabama*



STANLEY L. ENGERMAN finds a problem in my "attacks on those historians" that I "for whatever reason" disagree with (page 1158). Like the children in Bemelmans's charming story *Madeleine*, I smile at the good and frown at the bad. I am alert to error and particularly sensitive to it when it is committed by the great and the influential. Even the best of us are imperfect—Tocqueville in his disdain for mere facts, Marx in his sometime readiness to subordinate the facts to a noble social purpose, lesser mortals among us (from Rochester and elsewhere) in any number of ways that I believe it worthwhile to report. Like others who delight in dishing out needful criticism, I take no great pleasure in myself receiving it. I can only count my blessings in having as formal critics scholars as judicious and fairminded as Engerman and Thomas B. Alexander (as recently I have been similarly fortunate in my public exchange of views with the gracious Richard P. McCormick and Robert E. Gallman). Professor Engerman is the kind of gentleman, who, discovering in my essay a glaring factual error (I had inaccurately transcribed from an illegible note), privately called it to my attention so that I could correct it. And an author can only pray for a critic as sensitive to the nuances in his every argument as is Professor Alexander, who was kind enough to call to the attention of readers one of the few of my essays that some-

how I had overlooked citing in the footnotes. Having said this, let me now leap into the fray.

FIRST, SOME SMALL THINGS. In writing that I apparently find in the antebellum South "few . . . yeoman farmers" (page 1159), Professor Engerman has failed to note my agreement with Frank L. Owsley that "the most typical white Southerners by far were small farmers" (page 1128). That Owsley may have been wrong on some things does not mean that he was wrong on all things. According to Engerman I suggest that a "civil war need not imply antagonists with two different ways of life" (page 1154). My actual point is that the outbreak of civil war between antagonists with different ways of life may owe relatively little to these differences. And I must demur slightly from Professor Alexander's explanations of my convictions concerning the state of antebellum American society and why I chose the particular themes I did for discussion. Perhaps the citizen in me does find antebellum wealth *badly* distributed and its class distinctions *undesirable*, if inevitable. The scholar in me simply finds that wealth and class in the antebellum United States were not what many contemporaries and later scholars believed them to have been. I chose my themes, as I try to indicate, not because they are more important than other features of antebellum life but because in my judgment, based on my reading of the literature, they have to date been the most definitively researched. While I may feel at home with economic, social, and political evidence, the larger study, of which this essay is a part, is equally concerned with dozens of other matters. And working hours, the pursuit of other subjects, and the state of my golf game permitting, I hope in the future to return to that larger study.

Professor Alexander's chief concern is with the quality and quantity of the evidence underlying my portrait of antebellum rural economic and social life. Having noted in this essay and elsewhere that germane evidence on social mobility and social structure is in "pitifully short supply," lighting up only a small corner of the antebellum social landscape, I share his feeling that we do not know nearly as much as we need to know. The data for this city slicker's rural generalizations are nevertheless more substantial than his comments may suggest. Interestingly, while he wonders about the universality of some of Gavin Wright's generalizations, resting as they do largely on evidence from four hundred Southern counties, Alexander is himself ready to draw "a cautious assumption" about Southern rural marital patterns from a study of five Alabama counties.¹ That Wright's "very valuable" book may have received "mixed reviews" does not detract from the authority of its findings about the distribution of wealth in cotton counties. The rural South was, of course, more than cotton counties. As my essay points out, the work of many other scholars, most notably Albert Niemi, Jr., Randolph B. Campbell, and Richard G. Lowe, in addition to

¹ The author of that study is quite aware of the need for "further and more extensive samplings in other counties" before we can speak of the influence of "economic status" on rural marriage patterns; see Nancy C. Roberson, "Social Mobility in Ante-Bellum Alabama," *Alabama Review*, 13 (1960): 144-45. I am indebted to Professor Alexander for calling to my attention this interesting article by his then seminar student.

Lee Soltow, indicates a high degree of similarity between cotton and other types of rural Southern counties in their patterns of wealth distribution. I have indeed been sharply critical of Soltow's *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870* (1975) but almost entirely for its dismal manner of telling. Although I am not unaware of its methodological lapses, I believe now, as I did four years ago when I reviewed it, that "for all [of its] shortcomings, its chief findings emerge unasailable in their essential dimensions, if not in all their particulars."² It is the work of a painstaking, scrupulously fair, and refreshingly ideology-free scholar who, in accord with Heywood Broun's old dictum, does not class-angle his statistics.

Professor Alexander does not think that our evidence on rural society sustains my observation that America's large transient population was primarily "the poorer and propertyless" elements in their communities (page 1135). I wish, too, that we had more and better data. Yet what we do have is hardly valueless. As Fabian Linden pointed out a generation ago, Herbert Weaver's evidence on antebellum rural Mississippi reveals, when broken down, that nonslaveholders fled at a greater rate than did slaveholders and that the fewer the slaves a family owned the more likely it was to depart from its community.³ It would be surprising indeed if the significant correlations that scholars of both antebellum sections have found in urban communities large and small between "persisters" and relative economic well being does not obtain too for other rural counties in addition to those of antebellum Mississippi. Professor Alexander may well be right in his fear that definitive evidence on rural economic mobility "may be beyond reach" of scholars. If I am optimistic, it is not so much about the quality of what I agree is to a large extent "intractable and contradictory" data (page 1152) but rather about future research that "will yet disclose that . . . , during what was a period of economic expansion . . . , significant numbers of Americans improved their lot, even if modestly" (page 1135), in the countryside as well as in towns and cities. The extant evidence reveals no important sectional disparities in mobility, whether vertical or geographical. Given the subjectivity of all definitions of social class or position, Professor Alexander is, of course, free to omit from his definition wealth—which, he appears, in his comment, to equate with income. I continue to agree with Lawrence Stone and that army of modern scholars who believe wealth to be the best single clue to class position in modern Western society and with old Norris Hundley and young Gavin Wright that wealth is a particularly apposite social indicator for all antebellum milieus. I agree with Alexander that the "relative dispersion of Southern whites may well have resulted in important sectional distinctions" (page 1152). I would go even further. It is *certain* that this dispersion had some effect. The question is, Did it have the particular effect he is prepared to attribute to it? The author of the source he cites concluded not that the Southern social structure was unique or devoid of "class lines" but only that these lines may not have been "rigidly ob-

² Edward Pessen, "The Distribution of Wealth in the Era of the Civil War," *Reviews in American History*, 4 (1976): 227.

³ Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South: An Appraisal of Some Recent Views," *Journal of Negro History*, 31 (1946): 178. Also see William L. Barney, *The Road to Secession: A New Perspective on the Old South* (New York, 1972), 7; and Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860* (Nashville, 1945).

served" by some marriage partners.⁴ The burden of the evidence is that, for all the greater dispersion of its smaller population, the antebellum South's distribution of wealth, status, and power was strikingly similar to the distribution of these resources in the North.

Professor Engerman finds that my "discussion does not deal with a number of key interpretive issues" (page 1158). Whatever these may be, I am sure he is right. I do leave out any number of issues—key, interpretive, and every other sort. He is no doubt right, too, in feeling that "striking similarities in some characteristics cannot adequately account for the pattern of change in the antebellum sections" (page 1158). Change, let alone pattern of change, is a tricky and complex matter that historians devote volumes to explaining, never satisfactorily. And he is right again in observing that I do not emphasize sectional differences and that "it becomes difficult to discern an overall view of the period" in my essay (page 1158). Since I have attempted to present not a comprehensive overview or synthesis but rather an argument for the importance of several, often overlooked, sectional similarities, I cheerfully plead guilty to the charge that I have neither said nor tried to say the last word. My purpose is to help keep the discussion going by suggesting a new perception of some of the important issues.

BELL IRWIN WILEY had an unparalleled mastery of the minds and the values of the young men who fought for the Blue and the Gray. In an informal conversation I had with him (at one of Ben Wall's great SHA parties) shortly before Wiley died, he told me that, if the thousands of letters written home by the youngsters on both sides were thrown in the air and then fell to earth with all identifying characteristics removed, it would be impossible to know which were written by Rebs, which by Yanks. Neither Wiley nor any other sensible person would thereby have concluded that the antebellum South and North were altogether similar to or more like than unlike one another. Slavery, to cite the most dramatic and, no doubt, the most important difference between the sections, touched every aspect of Southern life, thought, and feeling, shaping a unique civilization below the Potomac. I have not sought to deny either the significance or the distinctiveness of the "peculiar institution" or any other feature of antebellum life that may have been confined to one latitude. I have sought rather to show that, important differences notwithstanding, the Old South and the Old North were in significant respects strikingly similar and complementary elements in a powerful and dynamic nation that was the creation of, and whose spirit and character were steadily nourished by, both of the great antebellum sections—the North and the South.

EDWARD PESSEN
*Baruch College and
 The Graduate School and University Center,
 City University of New York*

⁴ Roberson, "Social Mobility in Ante-Bellum Alabama," 144–45. Roberson conceded that her evidence on marriages between nonslaveholding and "large slaveholding families" is "inconclusive." She also reported that there may have been a "greater tendency to stratification in . . . [an] older and richer [rural] community"; *ibid.*, 142.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

HUGH THOMAS. *A History of the World*. New York: Harper and Row. 1979. Pp. xix, 700. \$17.95.

This book has many fine qualities. It is a history of the world: in tracing his themes through successive historical epochs, Hugh Thomas is careful to note what was happening during each epoch on each continent in every major culture. The author, moreover, has read widely and well in the best general surveys (for example, Bernard Lewis's *The Arabs in History* and Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*) and in a number of outstanding monographs. And he has read critically, subjecting each statement in his authorities to the power of an intelligent, critical mind and recognizing the right of the reader to be informed by running footnotes of the source of each major assertion. To be sure, specialists will raise their eyebrows at the dubiousness or, better, the rapidity of some particular interpretation (for example, of feudalism), but they will also recognize that the author has done his reading, knows the controversial historiographical issues, and in nearly every instance has reached a plausible, defensible decision.

In presenting his history, Thomas has invented a novel organization of his material that yields fresh insights. The book divides easily into four parts: man as hunter, until approximately 10,000 B.C. (8 percent of the pages); the age of agriculture, until 1450 A.D. (20 percent); a transition period of economic and intellectual transformation in the West, to 1750 (11 percent); and then the age of the machines, considered in two segments entitled "Industrial Triumphs" (33 percent) and "Political Failures" (28 percent). Three-fifths of the work is on the years since 1750. Under each of the four parts the chapters are organized by themes or subjects: for example, under the age of agriculture, there are chapters on "Population: Famine and Food," "Agricultural Techniques," "Landlords and Laborers," "Agricultural Cooperation," "Cloths and Clothes,"

"An Early History of the Soul," "Universal Religion," and "Law, Government, and Liberty." Each chapter traces the experience of each major culture (Chinese, Hindu, and so forth) with the theme of the chapter during the centuries of the given age.

The fourth virtue of the book is that it is fun to read. Thomas writes with sustained gusto, and there is not a single dull sentence in the 618 pages. He conveys a sense of the abundance of life.

The book is nevertheless subject to two reservations. First, Thomas writes as a free-born Briton who unashamedly, unabashedly, and proudly believes in liberty, government by law, and a free-wheeling capitalism. His bias is so delightfully open as to be inoffensive, but again and again it affects his explanation of the rise and fall of economies, societies, and political regimes. Second, his mode of organization yields fresh insights, but it prevents the author from placing together in the context of a single culture the various elements of that culture. If, for example, in the age of agriculture we have to read about Chinese food, agricultural techniques, landlords and laborers, agricultural cooperation, and other topics in nine separate chapters, we can never see Chinese culture moving synthetically and contextually over time. Hence we can never explain and understand that culture and its movement. And this reservation applies to the history of all the cultures that the book discusses.

HAROLD T. PARKER
*University of Alabama,
Huntsville*

ROBERT H. CANARY and HENRY KOZICKI, editors. *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1978. Pp. xv, 165. \$17.50.

This provocative, perceptive collection of five essays, assembled by the editors of *Clio*, is part of an ambitious program to locate the very idea of history somewhere within the matrix of its narrative presentation. The common thread that ties these essays

together is the belief that a historical masterpiece is necessarily a literary artifact; that it is the iconology underlying the narrative form of a historian's presentation, and not the authenticity of source material, that plays the crucial role in creating the appearance of mirroring historical reality; that the object of the narrative artifact (as of any work of art) is not to represent the past but somehow to "signify" it; and finally that the true mission of the historian is not consummated in drawing correct inferences from historical evidence but in producing literary works of art. Thus conceived, Clio's handmaiden is not the social scientist but the literary critic.

The opening essay by Lionel Gossman, a literary critic, is an erudite exposition of the historical connections that have always existed between history and literature, with special attention paid to developments in France. Kieran Egan, another literary critic, explores F. M. Cornford's brilliant thesis in *Thucydides Mythistoricus* that Thucydides' *History* borrowed heavily from Aeschylean tragedy in achieving its narrative intelligibility. The main argumentation in support of the proposed alliance between the fictive and the historical imagination is to be found in the essays by historian Hayden White and philosopher Louis Mink. White's essay, "Historical Text as Literary Artifact," is a retrospective presentation of some of the themes advanced in his *Metahistory*: that explanation in narrative history is achieved by structuring historical episodes in such a way as to conform to one of four possible plots identified by critic Northrop Frye as comedy, tragedy, romance, and irony; that there are four plots because of the "tropological" deep structure of figurative language. White's views are implausible to this reviewer; his general argument here, however, is much more accessible than it was in *Metahistory*. Mink's essay, "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument," delineates some of the epistemological issues that arise once the kinship between history and fiction is legitimized: How can we insist that historical narratives be "aggregative" when (like fictional narratives) they cannot aggregate "in so far as they are [distinct] narratives" (p. 143)? If "narrative form in history, as in fiction, is an artifice, the product of individual imagination," how can narrative histories claim "to be representing a real ensemble of interrelationships in past actuality" (p. 145)? Why do we continue to regard "the actuality of the past as an untold story" when "there can in fact be no untold story at all, just as there can be no unknown knowledge" (p. 147)?

One weakness in the essays by both Mink and White is the failure to consider the fact that narrative intelligibility is required in *any* history, whether the subject matter is human actions or natural events. Why is James Hutton's great narrative his-

tory, *The Theory of the Earth*, as "literary artifact," not exposed to the sorts of philosophical difficulties alleged to accompany the writing of human history?

The editors, Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, have provided an introduction and a useful bibliography.

HASKELL FAIN
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

PETER MATHIAS and M. M. POSTAN, editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Volume 7, *The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise*. Part 2, *The United States, Japan, and Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1978. Pp. xi, 639. \$39.50.

This is the ninth physical volume to appear in the series begun over a quarter of a century ago. Following the format of the previous volume (Vol. 7, Pt. 1), which discussed several European countries, it brings together under one cover eight essays by distinguished scholars from Great Britain, Japan, and the United States on the themes of capital formation, labor, and enterprise in Russia, Japan, and the U.S. In criticism of the volume as a whole and its editors, Peter Mathias and M. M. Postan, it must be explained to prospective readers that it does not consist of comparative history in any meaningful sense. Neither is it a comprehensive history of industrialization—or even of capital, labor, and enterprise—in the three largest non-European industrialized economies of the world. The editors presumably have restricted their function to the assignment and evaluation of essays on the three themes indicated. Moreover, there are wide gaps within the themes. Soviet industrialization is touched upon only tangentially in a ten-page essay restricted to the NEP period. Indeed the twentieth century is not treated in most of the book, and there is no chapter at all on American labor.

Turning to the essays individually, a reviewer must try to do justice to what are the illuminating and important works of distinguished historians and economists. Space does not permit separate reviews of each essay when some amount to full-scale monographs—the "chapter" by Olga Crisp, for example, comes to over one hundred printed pages. Nor is it possible for a reviewer to attempt the comparative analysis not provided by the editors and authors presupposing mastery of scholarship in two disciplines, history and economics, and two exotic languages, Japanese and Russian. I can pass on to the reader some matters of interest and importance observed along the way and some general comparative statements.

Turning first to the essays on enterprise: little comparative analysis can be made of these essays, as

they deal with quite different aspects of enterprise, although with roughly the same periods of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kozo Yamamura and M. C. Kaser deal with private enterprise as traditionally defined: organized activity for economic ends within a market framework. Kaser, however, focuses on the many types as well as social and ethnic groups of entrepreneurs that have functioned in Russia during the past millennium and on their relationship with the state, which acted as a promoter of or impediment to enterprise or as a substitute for it. He sees NEP as "the last period in which entrepreneurship could be exercised" and views the Stalin and post-Stalin periods as characterized by the substitution of state administration for entrepreneurship, except for "the fringe of managerial action and the penumbra of the private section beyond" (p. 492).

Yamamura focuses elsewhere: on the problem of Westernization in the evolution of Japanese enterprise. Reviewing the orthodox and revisionist historiography of the Japanese entrepreneur, he emphasizes more the roles of peasant and merchant capitalists and less those of samurai and banks. In examining the various types of enterprise and management in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japan, he criticizes the venerable theory of Westernization in favor of a look at the adaptation of Japanese institutions to modernization. "Japan," he concludes, "modernized in a Japanese way" (p. 264).

The essay by Alfred O. Chandler, Jr., deals with a new field of American business history, that of industrial administration. This is touched upon briefly in the Yamamura essay in a discussion of paternalism and the *ringi* tradition in Japan, but practically nothing is said about the substantial subject of Soviet management in the Kaser essay. This is unfortunate, because a comparative administrative history of industrialization in Japan, Russia, and the United States would be most enlightening. Chandler takes as his theme the proposition that "organizational innovation, like technological change, has been central to the process of modernization." His essay, the most important and well-written contribution to the collection, traces the history of industrial administration in the private sector in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the "all purpose colonial merchant . . . not very different from those that had handled production, distribution, finance and transportation in Europe since the Renaissance," to the complex corporate administrations spawned first by the railroads and the demands of their technology in the late nineteenth century, to the multinational conglomerates and media networks of today. He sees the market and technology as determinants of this process. Modernization breeds

bureaucracy, one might add, in the economic as well as the political sphere.

More significant comparison can be made of the two fascinating and vivid essays on industrialization and labor in Russia and Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The "red thread" that runs through Olga Crisp's study is the theme of ruralization of Russian industry and the industrial labor force. Russia's factory workers in the late tsarist period never ceased to be peasants and were never fully transformed into a permanent, hereditary urban proletariat. This was of tremendous consequence for the economic modernization of tsarist Russia, because it determined the continuing rural location of industry, low wages, low productivity, low profits, and high concentration of industrial organization. The result—with Russian labor as with capital, technology, and the state in late tsarist times—was a very partial kind of modernization.

The transition from tradition to modernization in Japan was far more comprehensive and convulsive during the same period. The building of a Japanese factory labor force at the turn of the twentieth century involved a nightmare of exploitation, as compared to Russia where, as Crisp notes, factory conditions were comparatively quite "rosy." Koji Taira vividly relates the horror story of the kidnapping and enslavement of female labor in what can only be called factory prisons in Japan in the period 1890–1910. Japanese women left the farms in those days to make up most of the industrial labor force, unlike the much smaller proportion of female factory workers in tsarist (not Soviet) Russia. Russian women remained in the villages.

The role of the state in factory legislation can be contrasted in tsarist Russia and Japan. In both cases it was positive, but for different reasons. The tsarist government was more antimodern in its attitude toward industry and capitalism. The Japanese government supported a military modernization program that aimed for a "strong army and a rich country" at a time when Japanese capitalism was producing unhealthy and demoralized recruits and mothers of recruits. The government's response to this was factory legislation and education; private industry's response was a more progressive and rational management.

The three essays on capital formation in the United States (Lance E. Davis and Robert E. Gallman), Japan (Kazushi Ohkawa and Henry Rosovsky), and Russia (Arcadius Kahan) are concerned with measurement of capital input. Space does not permit, nor does the reviewer feel qualified to provide, the technical comment that these essays deserve.

WILLIAM L. BLACKWELL
New York University

ROBERT L. HEILBRONER. *Marxism: For and Against*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1980. Pp. 186. \$9.95.

Robert L. Heilbroner is a distinguished professor of economics, well known for his stimulating, lucid, and iconoclastic writing. *Marxism: For and Against* is his latest work, a monograph of slightly over 150 pages of large print. In addition to an introduction, there are four chapters, corresponding to what Heilbroner identifies as the four main elements of Marxism, and it is the author's intention to provide the reader with a sympathetic yet critical introduction to the thought of Karl Marx and his followers.

No short overview of Marx will make everyone happy, but Heilbroner provides an adequate, if mainstream, general presentation of the Marxist perspective. The first three chapters discuss the dialectical approach to philosophy, the materialist interpretation of history, and the Marxist "socioanalysis" of capitalism. Integrated with the exposition of each chapter is a fairly straightforward account of the strong and weak points, as Heilbroner sees them, of that aspect of Marxist thinking. For example, he explains the attractions of a dialectical approach while at the same time indicating why it remains so intellectually elusive. The chapter on capitalism, as those familiar with Heilbroner might suspect, is the best, and he succeeds in making clear to a general reader how Marx saw the everyday commodity as holding the secret to understanding the socioeconomic essence of the bourgeois world.

The final chapter on the Marxist commitment to socialism is the least trenchant. Heilbroner ranges over the connection between Marxism and the totalitarian regimes that pledge allegiance to it, the nature of freedom, the Marxist conception of the individual, and the ways in which socialism is supposed by Marxists to constitute a distinctive form of society. These are difficult issues requiring an extended treatment that Heilbroner does not supply. Although the reflections he offers are not unintelligent, neither are they especially insightful or profound.

This characterizes the book as a whole. It is eminently readable, but slight. Heilbroner prides himself on adopting an attitude of *for and against*, but a number of other writers furnish even-handed treatments of Marx. Advanced readers will learn little, if anything, from this elementary essay, and, although those unacquainted with Marx would presumably find Heilbroner's book beneficial, undergraduates would be better steered toward one of the many more substantive introductory texts available on the subject. Fans of Heilbroner may wish to read the book anyway (after all, it is short), but otherwise *Marxism: For and Against* cannot be strongly recommended for anyone's reading list.

WILLIAM H. SHAW
Tennessee State University

LOUISE A. TILLY and JOAN W. SCOTT. *Women, Work, and Family*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1978. Pp. xiv, 274. \$5.95.

The subject of this volume, as everyone with a knowledge of the two authors, Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, would know, is primarily Frenchwomen—Frenchwomen at work and Frenchwomen in the family during the time of industrialization. But at all relevant points the English story is set alongside the French, and this book therefore is a genuine specimen of an exercise often commended but rarely properly carried out, a cross-national historical comparison.

It is a pity that the title does not proclaim the character of the work. This is one more example, no doubt, of the values of the publisher being imposed on those of the writer, for it is a publishing house dogma that books about individual "foreign" countries lack a market. Not only does this mislead the reader in the present case, but also it serves to obscure the difficulty of the task that Tilly and Scott have set themselves and the extent of their achievement. Comparative historical sociology makes formidable demands not only on the researcher but also on the writer. A shapely, useful book can be expected only rarely.

There are three conclusions that come out of this somewhat laborious exercise, all of importance to the subject in hand and to the pursuit of historical social structure. First, there is no one story to be told of women and the family before, during, and after industrialization but rather many stories. The processes and the relationships varied above all by class and also by occupation, by country and cultural area, and by region or subregion within those areas. Second, economic and technological events and vicissitudes were of paramount importance. When and where textile industries flourished and mechanized, for example, women got jobs outside the home, at least in the early stages of development, but where mining or metal trades developed, they did not. Third, a two-nation comparison tells us a great deal more than a one-nation description. It is nevertheless puzzling to some extent in its outcome and often unfortunately confusing to the reader. From all this it follows, however, that no straightforward generalization about woman's liberation can be made out of the English and French files, the two earliest industrialization cases.

There has been no linear development out of patriarchy into sex role consciousness and equality. Indeed, the Whig account of the process, where everything is looked upon as culminating in our present, is demonstrated as inadequate by detailed and illuminating discussion and description in this book. Work now in hand or published since Tilly and Scott finished theirs certainly confirms this conclusion.

Keith Snell, for example, has now demonstrated

that the apprenticeship of women to a whole range of handicrafts, skilled and unskilled, including that of the blacksmith, was accepted practice in England up to the end of the eighteenth century. It was the exigencies of nineteenth-century working-class life that drove them out of the trades. In a brilliant little study of the French peasant family (*Mari et femme dans la société paysanne* [1980]), Martine Segalen insists on French peasant marriage as a collaboration in production between man and woman. It was a symmetrical relationship, if not of equality, then certainly of interchange between individuals known by both to be indispensable to each other. Behind all this it might be suggested there lies a conception of marriage as a common project shared between man and woman, shared while they are still at home by their children and even by the living-in servant.

To the common project (the family, the household, the craftsman's enterprise, or the farm) corresponded the family fund, and this was administered to a surprising extent by the women, a practice that may go far back in time in both countries. Daughters may have felt more committed to that family fund than sons. That this is not the whole description of family, women, and work in European pre-industrial society is made apparent if we glance from the French and the English toward the center of the Continent, where the role of women in *dem ganzen Haus* was somewhat different. But it would be less than just to the book under review to pile country upon country and obscure the value of the comparisons that have been drawn by Tilly and Scott.

The distinctions they make between the wage economy and the consumer economy seem to me fundamental to the subject, but I found other parts of the dialectic rather less persuasive. It was a good, brave notion to add a coda on women since World War II, and there is much new and interesting material about internal familial relationships, especially of mother and daughter. The descriptions of economic development seem to me to be sounder and much more useful than their demographic descriptions, and there is a tendency to accept fashionable misjudgments on such things as want of affection between peasant spouses and for their children. The account of illegitimacy I also found unconvincing.

The bibliography is good and useful but unfortunately incomplete. It still does not prevent the reader from having to shuffle through the footnotes for an author and a title. Most of the graphic presentations are helpful, although one or two of the figures could not be so described (as, for example, those on page 158). The general style of the prose I found a little disappointing. But this is a useful text, and quite an important one.

PETER LASLETT
Cambridge University

PETER N. STEARNS. *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1979. Pp. ix, 230. Cloth \$19.75, paper \$9.75.

Peter N. Stearns, well known to the profession for his many books on the social history of modern Europe, has undertaken to survey a topic not previously studied as such. Though feminists have rightly complained that until recently most written history was devoted to men, manhood itself escaped scholarly attention. Thus Stearns is in the position of reviewing something about which there are no historical monographs. This reverses the normal order of things whereby general studies build on specialized investigations. There is a literature bearing on the problem, and Stearns has read a remarkable number of social histories and works of contemporary social science, but few of them confront manhood directly. Lack of specific data has obliged Stearns to make inferences and to speculate more than might be wished. Yet he has succeeded in defining maleness as a historical subject in ways that later investigators will probably find useful. He is sensitive, as might be expected, to class as well as gender differences. He has tried to develop generalizations applicable to the West as a whole rather than to specific cultures. This is a brave book, also, that does not hesitate to make, or take on, controversial opinions.

The weaknesses of this study are, for the most part, related to its strengths. Manhood is such a large topic that many aspects have been omitted of necessity. More troubling is the absence of a unifying thesis that would have tied the often disparate bits of information together. On the other hand, to Stearns's credit he has not forced his material into a predetermined mold. He is to be admired also for not moralizing about social change. There are no villains here nor any search for scapegoats—a welcome change from too many recent works by historians in which indignation poses as social analysis.

Despite occasional value judgments that will be annoying to those who do not share his assumptions in all respects, this is a serious book by a responsible scholar. In seeking to establish a historical backdrop for a subject often discussed in a vacuum, Stearns has rendered a valuable service. And he has posed a challenge to other historians to make better sense, if they can, of a subject that, while seemingly self-evident, turns out to be more bafflingly elusive the further it is pursued.

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL
Rutgers University

VERN L. BULLOUGH. *Homosexuality: A History*. New York: New American Library. 1979. Pp. ix, 196. \$4.95.

Over the past few years Vern L. Bullough has published several volumes dealing with the history of

sexuality and has thereby drawn attention to a much-neglected branch of history. Despite its frequent subservience to psychology and sociology, the history of sexuality deserves to take its place alongside its elder brethren among Clio's offspring, including social history and the history of the family and of women. At this early stage, Bullough's work provides a useful survey of general trends and issues and is likely to inspire more detailed monographs dealing with particular periods or themes. Given the readily available sources, the concern is still with the history of attitudes toward sexuality, rather than the history of sexuality *per se*. The current work deals with homosexuality and provides the only available broad sketch of the myths and theories connected with this most controversial subject. Bullough is especially valuable when dealing with the sexual liberation movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the English-speaking world, a subject that is rarely treated in the context of the social reform movements that animated the period. He provides a good description of the contributions of such figures as Magnus Hirschfeld, Henry Hay, and Havelock Ellis, along with a host of sociologists and psychologists who were instrumental in changing attitudes toward homosexuality. The earlier periods, from the ancient world to the nineteenth century—because one must rely on inexplicit, sparse literary sources—are somewhat less satisfactory, although even here Bullough performs an important service by bringing together under one cover material that is otherwise dispersed in other volumes, including some by the author himself.

While various modern theories concerning the genesis of the repressive approach to homosexuality in the Western world are presented, this extreme animus remains a riddle. It might also be helpful to examine the relative treatment of homosexuals in various periods, as opposed to adulterers, rapists, prostitutes, and other sexual offenders, in order to determine whether (within the context of general persecution) there have been periods of greater liberalism, and why. The peculiar role of religion as an enforcer of sexual conformity deserves further attention. Bullough's work, rather than being a detailed history of homosexuality, is an extended essay supported by historical examples and serves as a good introduction to the treatment of homosexuality from ancient times to the present.

MICHAEL GOODICH
University of Haifa

MICHEL DESPLAND. *La religion en occident: Évolution des idées et du vécu*. Preface by CLAUDE GEFFRÉ. (Héritage et

Projet, number 23.) Montreal: Fides. 1979. Pp. xiii, 579.

The preface by Claude Geffré that graces this volume opens by reminding us that "the debate concerning the origin of the idea of religion is always open." Geffré goes on to say that the present study in this context makes a unique contribution—he knows of no equal in the French language. What Denis de Rougemont has done for the history of love in the West, so has Michel Despland done for the history of the idea of religion in the West, he affirms. He also predicts that the book will become a classic that must not be overlooked by any historian or theologian (not to mention philosopher). In a way, the author writes a history of the West by following the destiny of the word and the concept. Though the book may never become a classic, it certainly should not be overlooked, for it does make a major and unique contribution to the subject at hand.

The inquiry is historically based from start to finish. In one respect, then, it is the finest survey of the history of the contextual definitions of religion in the West. One of the most helpful parts of the volume is an appendix (among other appendixes) of forty definitions of religion from Cicero to Schelling with corresponding page references to the text. He begins with Greek and Latin pre-Christian definitions of religion. Cicero is presented as the first to explain systematically the idea of religion and to show the ambiguity involved in the idea of religion as public order and religion as interior experience. The origin of the idea of religion in the West is not uniquely Christian, but it is true that the church fathers molded the idea that was then passed on to the medieval and later periods—the Christian religion exclusively transforms men first and then gives order to society (à la Augustine). An excellent survey of medieval writers is followed by careful attention to radical changes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Of France Despland writes: "The country that invented religion as civilization separated religion from civilization." Voilà! The stage is set for the eighteenth-century crisis and the modern postreligious mentality. Despland at this point analyzes correctly the developments in the field of philosophy of religion and the scientific study of religions. One lesson that the theologians must learn as a result of this study is to say the words "faith" and "religion" in the plural and not in any exclusive way, as some do. Despland's book opens many ecumenical doors.

Despland's knowledge of the sources is encyclopedic. He neglects no major writer as he traces the history of the idea of religion. We should hope that Despland will someday give us a companion volume—a modern philosophy of religion. He proves

himself to be capable of this in the present volume, one that will not be soon replaced. Excellent notes, bibliography, and useful appendixes further enhance this book.

GEORGE SHRIVER
Georgia Southern College

E. P. MEIJERING. *Calvin wider die Neugierde: Ein Beitrag zum Vergleich zwischen reformatorischem und patristischem Denken*. (Bibliotheca Humanistica and Reformatorica, number 29.) Nieukoop: B. De Graaf. 1979. Pp. 122. f 55.

E. P. Meijering has written a compact, comparative study of attitudes toward speculative theology in patristic times and the Reformation. A patristics scholar, Meijering presents a new perspective both on Calvin's use of the church fathers and on the Reformation itself. Calvin felt that the Bible contained the entirety of religious truth; to allow curiosity (*Neugierde*) to carry one beyond the truth of Scripture was to engage in useless and dangerous philosophical speculation. He was sure that the theology of the church fathers had been more biblically pure than that of the medieval Scholastics, that the fathers had avoided speculative *Neugierde* while the Scholastic theologians had perverted early Christian theology with their dangerous incursions into philosophy. The Reformation had restored the biblical purity of the earlier period.

Meijering compares Calvin on this issue with three church fathers. In the course of his treatment he deals with several major theological questions, such as the nature and will of God, the creation and the fall, predestination, whether God is the author of sin, and the timing of the incarnation of Christ. His judgment is that Calvin was closer to Irenaeus on the issue of curiosity and farthest from Augustine, with Tertullian being halfway in between. Thus, in spite of Calvin's heavy use of Augustine and his general agreement with Augustine on the doctrines of human sin and divine grace, he rejected Augustine's "platonic" speculations. Calvin, however, seldom expressed his suspicions of Augustine. Generally, the author feels that Calvin was wrong about the fathers, that his position on *Neugierde* was not theirs, except perhaps for Irenaeus. Augustine and Tertullian were much more willing to engage in philosophical speculation than Calvin was willing to admit.

Meijering concludes that Calvin was both a bibliocist and a reductionist: a bibliocist because he thought that everything useful and necessary to know was contained in the Bible, a reductionist because he thought that the entire Bible could be treated from the focal point of the doctrines of sin and grace. Ironically, the doctrine for which Calvin

is most famous, the free elective will of God, resulted, in the author's opinion, from the forbidden *Neugierde*, and it was on this doctrine that Calvin reached his highest level as a theologian. And that is Meijering's real point—that the modern theologian, in order to reach a higher plateau, must eschew biblicism (whether of Calvin's type or the more modern variety) and admit that he and the philosopher are engaged in the same quest for truth.

If Calvin was a bibliocist, so were most all of the Protestant reformers. The fact that Calvin rejected speculation by both the medieval Scholastics and the church fathers is hardly surprising given the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura*. But this fascinating little book does place this Reformation emphasis within its larger historical perspective, and it suggests the extent to which the Reformation destroyed old patterns of authority and substituted for them what was, in essence, the new authority—the Bible.

J. WAYNE BAKER
University of Akron

O. H. K. SPATE. *The Spanish Lake*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1979. Pp. xxiv, 372. \$39.50.

This volume is a comprehensive and imperial treatment of Pacific history from the day the ocean was first sighted by Balboa until the English interfered with the Iberian monopoly. O. H. K. Spate is not just concerned with the sixteenth century, however; his first chapter is entitled "The World without the Pacific." Exploration, starting with Magellan's voyage, is well covered. Spate's training as a geographer has enabled him to draw simplified maps, one of which shows the antimeridian of the Tordesillas Line.

The history of Spanish expansion on the eastern shores of the ocean is more detailed than one would expect in a book on the Pacific; Spate puts great stress on the impact of silver. Also, Spate naturally deals with the history of the Asian countries facing the Pacific and their relations with Europeans. The Manila galleon trade was the link between them and Spain by way of Mexico. The Japanese might have conquered the Philippines had they succeeded in Korea. Spate points out similarities between the 1950-53 Korean War and Japan's campaign in the peninsula. The book ends with Francis Drake's irruption into the Pacific and the Spanish attempts to prevent a recurrence of foreign incursions.

The Spanish Lake does not have a bibliography with authors listed in alphabetical order. Spate explains that "the machinery and the toil of making this book is adequately illustrated in its notes" (p. xx). There are sixty-one pages of notes with abbreviations for works referred to several times. A con-

siderable number of works in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese has been consulted. Spate has used monographs, collections of documents, and some unpublished Ph.D. dissertations. He also recognizes his debt to Pierre Chaunu who has published on Spain and the Pacific.

Although Spate has perused Celsus Kelly's *La Australia del Espíritu Santo*, no reference is made to the Kelly-Bushell collection of documents on the Spanish voyages in the South Pacific called *Australia Franciscana*, which now has six volumes and is more up-to-date than translations made long ago by Markham and Amherst for the Hakluyt Society. The author frequently refers, however, to Colin Jack-Hinton's *The Search for the Islands of Solomon, 1567-1838*. Jack-Hinton has made extensive use of such documents. In a work of Spate's scope, it is naturally impossible to go to primary sources in each instance.

The Spanish Lake is meant to be the first of a multivolume series entitled *The Pacific since Magellan*. It is a remarkable and needed contribution in English to Pacific history. Spate gives recent opinions on controversial questions, sometimes taking to task well-known writers like the late S. E. Morison. In some cases one cannot help wishing that part of his argument had been relegated to the notes to make for smoother reading. On the whole, however, the book is well written and interesting, and it abounds in touches of humor, often in a foreign language, revealing an extensive erudition on the part of the author. The next volumes in the series are to be looked forward to.

ANDRÉ GSCHÄEDLER
Salem College
Salem, West Virginia

ANCIENT

ELIZABETH M. CRAIK. *The Dorian Aegean*. (States and Cities of Ancient Greece.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1980. Pp. x, 263. \$22.50.

Elizabeth M. Craik's book studies the Dorian islands of "Melos, Kimolos, Pholegandros, Sikinos, Thera with Therasia, Anaphe, Astypalaia, Kalymnos, Kos, Pserimos, Nisyros, Telos, Karpathos with Kasos and Saros, Chalke, Syme with Teutlunssa, and Rhodes." Successive chapters deal with "Setting" (geography, maritime communications, progress of excavation); "Resources" (foodstuffs, wine, trade, timber, marble, silk), "History" (from prehistoric times until the Early Roman Empire), "Language and Script," "Literature," "Medicine and Science," "Myths," "Cults," and "Administration" (mainly of sanctuaries, but the author notes

that sacred and secular administration overlap). A substantial appendix lists epigraphically attested titles of deities worshipped in these Dorian islands. There are indexes of names and subjects and also an outline map.

The book is intended for non-specialists as well as classicists. Citations of ancient works are given in English translation. Without impairing her focus on the Dorian islands of the Aegean, the author gives under each heading enough introductory information to clarify the place of the islanders in general Greek development. The work is essentially a collection of data; theory is kept to a minimum, although the author argues persuasively for the thesis that Dorian settlers reached the islands before the end of the bronze age (pp. 27-30).

The chapters on religious activities are the richest; the book appears to have started from research into the administration of cults. The treatment of literature, science, and medicine is illuminating; Kos and Rhodes play a larger part in these chapters than the other islands. The treatment of political history is restricted by the scanty character of the sources, yet perhaps a little more could have been attempted; *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 15 (10) might have been exploited both for the revolution it narrates and for the political group, the *Diagoretoi*, that it attests. There are a few slips on points of general history, for example, on the dates of Philip II's siege of Byzantium, of the battle of Pharsalos, and of Pompey's operations in Asia Minor (pp. 37, 43, 98). Even so, the author is to be congratulated on having done a workmanlike job of presenting information without distortion. For example, she does not try to impose developmental unity on her islands; it is apparent to the reader that as early at least as the period of the Persian Wars the different islands followed different historical paths.

Presumably the publisher is responsible for the decision not to give foot- or endnotes. References are given in parentheses in the text; some of them are long enough to disturb the continuity of reading.

RAPHAEL SEALEY
University of California,
Berkeley

FRIEDRICH PRINZ. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*. (Zetemata, number 72.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1979. Pp. xi, 483. DM 129.

This book offers detailed analysis of a number of Greek foundation myths, embracing those for places founded by Greek states in the great era of colonization, for Greek states and for originally non-Greek states whose origins precede the era of colonization.

Friedrich Prinz, diligently displaying ancient tes-

timony from well-known as well as inaccessible authors, gives an accurate summary of the story and its variants for each myth. A signal enhancement is the quotation, often at full length, of most of this matter in the text and in 217 items of "Testimonia" (pp. 377–450). In addition, the author scrupulously tracks developments in modern scholarship. The book's clarity of presentation and attention to detail put it on a par with Prinz's exemplary "Herakles" article in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Suppl. 14 [1974]: 137–96).

But Prinz's aims to do more than merely produce "eine zweckdienliche Ergänzung eines mythologischen Lexikons." He seeks to counteract the tendency of modern interpreters to place too much faith in the existence of historically reliable "kernels" within the foundation myths. He argues that careful, strictly intrinsic scrutiny of the stories reveals a transparent "Logik" behind most of them: they were formulated first to carry the origins of the given city back as far as possible and, secondly, to associate the foundation with some prominent hero, for choice a Homeric figure, Herakles, or an argonaut. To this end, willful distortions and fabrications were introduced on the strength of tenuous associations with fitting heroid myths. For example, according to Pausanias and pseudo-Apollodorus, the city of Miletus in Asia Minor was founded by the eponymous hero Miletus, who emigrated from Crete with the hero Sarpedon (pp. 97–111). But this creates a problem. Sarpedon, according to the *Iliad*, was king of the Lycians during the Trojan War and son of Zeus and Laodameia. Our present sources prefer, however, the Hesiodic genealogy that makes him son of Zeus and Europa and brother of Minos. This puts him some two generations *before* the war at Troy! The truth is that the official version has no authority earlier than Ephorus (fourth century), who followed Hesiod (and after him Herodotus) in order to maintain the chronologically troublesome Cretan connections—this because of the existence of a place called Miletus (near Mallia) on Crete. This coincidence of place-names was the original impetus for a story that conveniently linked the Anatolian city with a suitable heroic character; this concern overrode whatever uneasiness there may have been about maladjustment either with Homer or with the actual circumstances of the city's founding.

This sort of discussion is typical and makes the book valuable not only as a compendium but also as a judicious devaluation of the historicity of Greek foundation myths.

JAMES P. HOLOKA
Eastern Michigan University

DAVID M. SCHAPS. *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; dis-

tributed by Columbia University Press, New York. Pp. vi, 165. \$16.00.

In a Harvard dissertation completed in 1972, David M. Schaps reviewed the evidence for women and property control in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. The results of this research have now been published, virtually unrevised. With the exception of two articles by Schaps, the most recent work cited appeared in 1974.

The focus is on the "ordinary free Greek woman," although the financial transactions of freedwomen and prostitutes are examined by way of contrast. The topics covered include types of property, acquisition, the *epikleros* (heiress), the economic function of the *kyrios* (guardian), exchange, disposition, inheritance, and dowry. Forensic orations and inscriptions from mainland Greece and the Aegean to 146 B.C. provided the raw data. Thus papyri are not examined, perhaps owing to the commonly held view (traceable to Herodotus) that whatever happens in Egypt is not typical of the rest of the Mediterranean. The deliberate exclusion of Hellenistic queens is unfortunate, since it was by following their precedent that nonroyal women increased their economic participation in the public sphere.

Schaps's work is a model of patient scholarship limited to the narrow description of circumscribed topics. He offers innovations only in his discussion of the *epikleros*, and, except in one chapter titled "Patterns in Women's Economics," he avoids analysis. He presents evidence from the end of the fifth and from the fourth century that citizen women worked as midwives and vendors—jobs that few respectable women held in the prosperous period of the Athenian Empire—yet he nowhere theorizes that the Peloponnesian War precipitated the change. He shows that some women owned some slaves and movables acquired or produced during marriage and might take them in case of divorce but fails to note that no woman took her children. His ignorance of some secondary literature results in error. He gives examples of wealthy fathers who contributed small dowries, warns us against presuming any relationship between a father's wealth and his daughter's dowry, and states "the purpose of the dowry was to attract a husband" (p. 78). Yet, in 1967 Wesley Thompson discovered an endogamous pattern of marriage between first cousins among the wealthy that reduced the need to attract outsiders. Schaps agrees with earlier scholars that women were not permitted to own land in Attica but fails to ask the obvious questions that this prohibition raises. Were women on a par with the resident aliens who, although they served in the military, were excluded from owning the land they defended? What does "citizenship" connote for

women? The Athenians believed that they had not conquered Attica but had always possessed it. Can the denial to women of the right to own land be explained by this myth of autochthony, denying a birth from woman and positing instead that the men of Athens had sprung directly from the land?

Other historians will surely ask more provocative questions of the same material and draw more complex conclusions, but their work will be facilitated by this sane little book.

SARAH B. POMEROY
Hunter College and
Graduate School,
City University of New York

CHRISTIAN HABICHT. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Vestigia, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, number 30.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1979. Pp. x, 163. DM 48.

The political history of the third century B.C. has not yet been written and for good reason. From the end of Book 20 of Diodorus Siculus to the beginning of Polybius's *Histories* (301 B.C. to 221 B.C.) no comprehensive narrative of political and military affairs based on a chronological scheme has survived from antiquity. Some important events of the period cannot be precisely dated, and relations between the powers, the Hellenistic kings as well as the Greek cities and leagues, remain obscure.

One major source of information has been inscriptions. The thousands of Greek texts found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora by the American School are especially important. In 1971 the virtually complete text in 109 lines of a decree passed by the Athenians honoring Kallias, an Athenian citizen who took service with the Ptolemaic court in Egypt, rose to high rank, and used his position to aid Athens, was found. This inscription, which forms the central point of Christian Habicht's *Untersuchungen*, was later published with full commentary by T. Leslie Shear as *Hesperia*, Supplement 17 (1978).

Habicht deals with Kallias's decree in section 4 of *Untersuchungen*. He discusses two points where he disagrees with the editor's interpretation: the date of the revolt of Demetrios Poliorcetes at Athens (spring 287 against 286), and the nature of the peace of 287 (between Ptolemy and Demetrios only; not universal). The argument cannot be followed without the *editio princeps* and its commentary, but Habicht convinces me that he has established 294 as the date of Demetrios's capture of Athens, 287 as the date of the successful revolt against him, 294 to 229 B.C. as the years when the Macedonians continually occupied Munychia at the Peiraeus, and the nature of the peace of 287 B.C.

Habicht's primary concern is chronology, but he

ranges far and wide over the history of third-century Athens. The volume contains rich observations on internal and external Athenian politics and, in section 9, a lucid account of the problems in establishing an Athenian archon list (only six are fixed from 290 to 200 B.C.) on which our chronologies depend. This volume is not a history but rather is intended "als Vorstudien zu einer allgemeinen Darstellung Athens in hellenistischer Zeit." As such it is important and indispensable; these studies of seemingly discrete problems bring us far closer to the possibility of a history of the third century B.C.

Habicht's work is for the specialist—the volume cannot be used without the corpora of Greek inscriptions at hand and a thorough knowledge of the scholarship of the period—but it is elegantly written and clearly argued. It has moved us far ahead in establishing the framework on which Hellenistic history can be written.

JOHN F. OATES
Duke University

KARL-WILHELM WEEBER. *Geschichte der Etrusker*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 1979. Pp. 215. DM 36.

The Etruscans have always had a great fascination as much for ancient as for modern students. Their art, their religion, their metal-working, their funeral customs, their language—perhaps their very inaccessibility—have challenged scholars since George Dennis (*The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* [1848]) to explore the nature and history of their civilization. Karl-Wilhelm Weeber has written a very useful book that covers the whole period from the first cultures in central Italy to the final disappearance of a distinctively Etruscan identity in the first century B.C. As a concise and sober account of the present state of our knowledge, it can be warmly recommended. It is written in a clear and simple style, and, although the type is too small for comfort, the bibliography inconveniently presented, and the illustrations too few for such an important subject, Weeber has made a judicious synthesis. His approach is primarily historical rather than archeological, and it is a great pity that the production of his book coincided with the collection of seminal articles edited by D. and F. Ridgway, *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalising and Etruscan Periods*, which throws a great deal of new light on the archeological background of the Etruscan period of Italy.

Two major issues stand out. The first is the question "Who were the Etruscans?" Their highly individual culture emerges in the eighth century B.C., chiefly in the area between the Rivers Arno and Tiber but with offshoots having their own local characteristics in Campania and in the Po Valley. Weeber reviews the gradual transition from the

indigenous Villanovan to the fully fledged Etruscan civilization and has a good account of the various upheavals and population movements that occurred around the Mediterranean between 1200 and 700 B.C. Whereas Ridgway and his contributors tend to explain the Etruscan phenomenon as the result of the steady influence on the native societies by Mycenaeans, Phoenicians, and Greeks (especially those settled on Pithekousai with their skills in pottery and metallurgy), Weeber holds, I think rightly, to a more traditional view that some external infiltration must have taken place that gave a radically new turn to the way of life in Etruria. Only in this way can the linguistic and religious factors be accounted for.

Secondly, there is much controversy as to how far Rome was Etruscanized and became a *Tyrrhenis polis*. Recent excavations in other Latin settlements have still not been published or digested, and, while some archeologists tend to discount the importance of Etruscan influence at Rome, it is difficult not to believe that Weeber is fundamentally right in arguing that the evidence of family names, social institutions, and religious practices indicates that the Etruscan presence in Rome was not just a passing domination but a pervasive penetration.

It is greatly to be hoped that this book will soon be revised and issued in an English translation.

R. M. OGILVIE

University of St. Andrews

J. M. BLAZQUEZ. *Economía de la Hispania Romana*. Bilbao: Ediciones "Najera." 1978. Pp. 725.

Readers led by the title to expect a systematic analysis of the Spanish economy during the Roman period may be disappointed to discover that J. M. Blazquez's work is instead a collection of essays and monographs on only certain aspects and selected periods of the economic history of the Iberian peninsula. A number of additional essays deal with interesting, but unrelated, topics such as Roman propaganda during the Julio-Claudian period, Iberian relations with Africa and the Semitic-speaking world, and the Moorish invasions of the second century.

The bulk of the work is devoted to the late Republic and the third and fourth centuries A.D. Considerable overlapping occurs in the former section where the two principal articles, "Economía de la Hispania Republicanana" and "Economía de Hispania durante la República Romana," recapitulate most of the other six essays. The portion of the book devoted to the Empire is dominated by a monograph (134 pages) on the peninsula during the third and fourth centuries.

The book's main strength is its exhaustive exposi-

tion of the available literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archeological evidence for the Iberian peninsula in the periods discussed. Unfortunately, it is a difficult work to use. There is no index, and readers must provide themselves with detailed maps of ancient and modern Spain since Blazquez's discussion is heavily topographical.

As is true of other studies of individual provinces of the Empire, *Economía de la Hispania Romana* provides a useful corrective to the tendency to see the expansion and maintenance of the Roman Empire from the narrow perspective of the city of Rome. The author's detailing of the large quantities of available evidence gives a sense of the complexity of the province's internal development. This approach counteracts the prevailing view that Rome's expansion occurred in a world neatly divided between a developed Greek east and a backward barbarian west.

Understandably, the relevance of Spain to the broader subjects of Roman imperial economic, administrative, and fiscal policy will interest most readers. Blazquez's intent, however, is more expositional than analytical, and not much space is devoted to empire-wide issues. Having demonstrated the exceptional agricultural and mineral wealth of Spain, especially the southern portions, Blazquez suggests that Roman strategic goals in the second Punic War aimed at cutting off the Carthaginians from their main sources of supplies and that Scipio's strike at Carthage was motivated by this strategy. Once the Romans accomplished this goal, Hannibal, according to Blazquez, was forced to go on the defensive in Italy. Similarly, the economic riches of Spain dictated Rome's decision to remain after the Hannibalic War, and the pursuit of precious metals occasioned, in one way or another, most of Rome's wars in the peninsula down to the time of Augustus. Baetica was colonized earliest and most profoundly because it was, economically, the most attractive part of Spain. Unlike Italy and Africa, however, latifundia were not widespread. Skipping the Principate, Blazquez surveys the third and fourth centuries in Spain in his longest essay. He concludes that the alignment of Spain on the side of Albinus against Septimius Severus was ultimately disastrous for Baetica, though not as immediately destructive as the German incursions of the third century. After this epoch many of the characteristic features of the Middle Ages began to appear in the Iberian peninsula.

These reflections of Blazquez are not, it should be emphasized, the main object of his work, though they do beg for further analysis in the wider contexts of Roman history. Van Nostrand's aphorism that "the chief item imported from Spain to Rome between 200 and 133 was experience" is still a view held by many scholars. Blazquez's discussion of the

wealth of Spain could be usefully inserted in the recently revived debate over the degree of economic motivation behind Roman imperialism. Similarly, his discussion of overpopulation and unrest in Celtiberia during the periods of Carthaginian and Roman occupation needs to be tied to the overall military and frontier policies and actions of the two powers in Spain. The absence of latifundia, the reconciliation of large export markets with the survival of small holdings (as contrasted with Africa), and the magnitude of Italian emigration, both formal and informal, should be taken into account by those interested in agrarian and demographic matters in Italy. Blazquez's interesting and wide ranging discussions also touch on Augustus's policy in Spain and the character and local impact of senatorial control of Baetica.

D. BRENDAN NAGLE
University of Southern California

ROBERT C. KNAPP. *Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206-100 B.C.* (Anejos de Hispania Antiqua, number 9.) Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid. 1977. Pp. 238. 875 ptas.

The Roman conquest of Spain was long, bloody, costly, but in the end extraordinarily successful. Unfortunately our ignorance of even basic facts after 167 B.C. (when Livy's record fails) is such that its history cannot be written. Robert C. Knapp's book (finished in 1975, published in Spain in 1977, and received here late in 1979), is the first attempt in English since 1939 to make large-scale scholarly contributions to its study. As regards Spanish topography, archeology, and scholarship, it is probably the best-informed work in this field ever written outside Spain.

It really starts from the beginning of Roman involvement and pursues several topics well past 100 B.C. Part 1 (pp. 13-57) collects and analyzes what can be known or conjectured of Rome's military and diplomatic methods. Part 2 (pp. 59-139) similarly treats the evidence on organization and administration. Part 3 (pp. 141-77) discusses Italian settlement, cultural penetration, and the spread of Roman citizenship. There are seven appendixes: three lists of Romans involved in Spain (useful, though badly organized and not wholly reliable) and four short special studies (only the last, "Pliny and the Towns of Ulterior," important); five excellent indexed maps; a bibliography; and a patchy, short index. The printing is appalling. An insert by the author blames the publisher for the "regrettable" errors, a few of which (mostly trivial) he corrects, while introducing more.

The topographical and (in part) the prosopographical sections are the most valuable. Discussion

of diplomacy is impaired by inadequate acquaintance with general scholarship on this (thus Knapp attempts [p. 44] to distinguish *deditio in fidem* from *deditio in dicionem*), but he commendably discards the orthodox scholarly model of a *lex provinciae* for each province and rejects recent attempts to deny the ancient record of an immediate division of Spain into two provinces. His grasp of the development and terminology of Roman administration is shaky in detail (for example, he implies the existence of judicial *conventus* right from 200 B.C. and shows some uncertainty over "proconsular" and "propraetorian" *imperium*), but there are many acute individual observations. The attempt to work out the total cost and profit of Roman administration during this period (pp. 165-77) is, in the state of the evidence, totally useless, and not improved by ignorance of Roman numismatics.

After setting out the massive evidence for large-scale Italian settlement (no doubt chiefly by long-term veterans staying with their families), he unfortunately follows P. A. Brunt, whose thesis on Italian demography forced him to deny such settlement both in Spain and in Africa. Knapp, having no such thesis, should, instead of struggling to explain the evidence away, have resolutely followed it to the conclusion reached by Gabba and by most scholars. Perhaps he will reconsider.

E. BADIAN
Harvard University

DAVID STOCKTON. *The Gracchi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 251. Cloth \$27.50, paper 12.95.

This is not an original book in the sense that it advocates some new thesis to interpret the general historical meaning of either or both of the Gracchi brothers. Instead, it is largely a reasoned analysis of the various reconstructions of the evidence that have been advanced to explain both individual problems as well as the overall meaning of the tribunes of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus in Roman history (p. xii). It is not clear, however, who the readers are to whom the book is directed. It begins with an elementary explanation of the Roman constitution as it existed in the second century B.C., followed by a similar exposition of the (wretched) evidence for the Gracchi at our disposal. Yet appendix 2 at the end quotes Greek and Latin extensively in a discussion of the speeches of Gaius. Obviously, beginners will make little of the latter, and advanced students will not require either the former or the latter. On balance, and in American terms, the book seems best designed to fit the needs of beginning graduate students, although undergraduates or general readers, asking for a good detailed account

of the Gracchi, can be told to skip the Greek and Latin and read the rest of the book to their profit.

One feature might be expected to give trouble, but does not. In the cases of both brothers, the problems of their legislation per se are analyzed first, then a narrative account of events follows. The anticipated repetitiousness of this organization does not occur in any obtrusive way; in fact, the presentation is both clear and economical. In this reader's opinion, the book is an excellent introduction for the "advanced beginner."

On particular points, one approves the discussion of the limits of prosopography as a key to Roman history. The analyses of the complicated motives of both brothers, scions of the highest circles of the oligarchy, in turning against it are excellent. Errors or inadvertencies seem rare; yet David Stockton seems naive in attributing the "long sight" of historians to their looking backward, "passing judgement on matters which do not impinge directly on their own personal interests" (pp. 77-78). But in ancient historical studies, where scholarly writing is polemical more than anything else, historians have a professional stake in contesting rival interpretations. Historical writers should read widely in the epistemology of history, as well as in monographic literature. Yet, to end on a positive note: Gaius "was infected with a restless, but not necessarily reprehensible, urge to arrange and organize and improve" (p. 179). Such a verdict cannot be proved or disproved, yet it seems to explain much of what actually happened.

STEWART IRVIN OOST
University of Chicago

J. P. V. D. BALSDON. *Romans and Aliens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. x, 310. \$24.00.

Books published posthumously often disappoint, for one reason or another. That is not the case here; indeed, it may be true, as is said on the blurb for a book club that has adopted this volume, that this is J. P. V. D. Balsdon's best work.

In a superficial sense, the book, filled with miscellany, is almost the kind of work usually entitled "A Companion to . . ." It discusses, with fine style and happy illustration, all the interesting and useful things that students ought to know that are not to be found in the usual textbook: the city, the classes (including slaves), freedmen, and foreigners—scores of topics. But the volume is much more than this. Balsdon has made some original contributions, and the collection, though skimpy in places, usually reflects long research. Moreover, the impression of the material somehow adds up to a cumulative whole. An underlying theme is that the decline invariably

stressed in ancient and modern studies of Rome was less comprehensive than is usually thought. It may be worse in our own time: "Our present age, unconcerned by its spiritual and moral decline, finds excitement in the technological advances of science and industry" (p. 8). Some Romans worshiped materialism too, but they were mostly members of the relatively small upper class.

The chapter titles convey the flavor of the text. The first two, "God's Own People" and "Snobbery Begins at Rome," are indicative enough. Balsdon wrote as he lectured, with careful and meticulous scholarship but also with a light touch and subtle wit. Much of the material is familiar, but Balsdon had the knack of finding something meaningful in the sources that others overlooked. Each chapter has its separate bibliography. The tremendous stream of data is supported by page after page of footnotes.

Detail in such great bulk must inevitably involve occasional errors. In chapter 9 on "Communications, Mainly Latin and Greek," Balsdon wrongly says, "Legends on the coins of the Italian insurgents in the Social War were in Latin" (p. 116). Yet the general point, the penetration of the Latin language throughout Italy, remains valid and, in fact, is shown by even earlier inscriptions. Do the scholars who argue that Jesus spoke Greek really deserve serious consideration (p. 138)? Surely it was the younger Scipio Africanus, not the elder, whom Plutarch matched with Epaminondas in the lost lives (p. 206). Infelicitous language is rare, but on the same page a confusion of pronouns makes it unclear whether a paragraph deals with Dio Chrysostom or his grandson. And it is shocking to find "sculpt" as a verb (p. 253). Perhaps an illiterate editor?

Balsdon's tilt in favor of the Romans is shown in chapters 12 and 13, entitled, respectively, "A Bad Press for Rome" (one subtitle is "Bricks to throw at the Romans") and "A Generally Good Press for Rome." The most trenchant critics of Roman society and government were the Romans themselves, the historian Tacitus, for example. The more favorable treatment came mostly from Greeks, Polybius and a long list of others. Of Diodorus Siculus, Balsdon says, "He was an alien, and evidently just as free, in a book published in Rome, to criticise aspects of Roman life as were the Romans themselves" (p. 200). A little later he adds that the Greeks who wrote these favorable things about Rome "knew from personal experience what the business of imperial administration was all about. In this respect they have an advantage over their modern critics" (p. 213).

Thus, Balsdon himself has here given the Romans "a generally good press," as in his earlier books and essays. He always took a tolerant view of

them as human beings not so very different from the rest of us.

HENRY C. BOREN
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

ANTHONY BIRLEY. *The People of Roman Britain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. 224. \$20.00.

This admirable work represents the first attempt at a comprehensive prosopography of Roman Britain, and no one is better qualified to undertake it than Anthony Birley. Every individual whose name is recorded is considered and his part in the life of the province so far as possible established. Britain is ill-documented both by literature and by epigraphy, and the fact that such inscriptions as we have are concentrated in the military area further restricts the prosopographer. As a result, although the author has sifted all the evidence, down through potters' stamps to the meanest graffito, the greater part of the book concerns Roman officials and soldiers. This is splendidly done and constitutes a major contribution to our understanding not only of Roman Britain but also of the Roman Empire as a whole. For the native population there are additional difficulties, not merely the confusion produced by the fabrication of *gentilicia* but also by the fact that most of the auxiliary units stationed in Britain (and their veterans) were originally recruited in other Celtic provinces, which makes it hard to distinguish Britons from Gauls and others. Here some suggestions may cause surprise—for example, that Tetricus (p. 93) and Senecianus (p. 99) are recognizably Celtic names, and still more that a Frumentius (p. 95) should be a German. (Axumite Christians would be astonished!) Similarly the acceptance of *Provincialis* as a cognomen for M. Didius (p. 88) must make one hesitate to accept the suggestion that Tertullus *Provincialis* (and perhaps even Anencletus, entrenched though that belief is) should be a *servus provinciae* (p. 145). And poor C. Piscius Fagus, who lost his pot if not also his life on the Porcupine Bank southwest of Ireland, is surely more likely to have adopted the name as a fisherman than as a "merchant seaman."

These, however, are very minor criticisms, made more to illustrate the scope of the work than to decry it. The only factual error that this reviewer has detected is also unimportant (some of the *negotiatores* inscriptions (pp. 126–27) are from Colijnsplaat, not Dömburg). There are very few misprints (all of them probably due to the abominable modern practice of going straight into page proof) and none of great significance, and one's only real criticism is of the incompleteness of the index of personal names. This is explained in a note (p. 217),

and the industrious reader can find them all by going to the fully documented chapter notes, but the lack of a comprehensive list makes it difficult not only to trace particular individuals but also to spot homonyms (for example, *Provincialis*) and detracts somewhat from the convenience of what is an invaluable work of reference.

A. L. F. RIVET
University of Keele

MEDIEVAL

FRANK BARLOW. *The English Church, 1066–1154*. New York: Longman. 1979. Pp. xii, 340. \$36.00.

Frank Barlow of the University of Exeter has long been one of the major contributors to our understanding of the ecclesiastical history of England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more particularly in its constitutional and administrative aspects. The book under review is a sequel to his *English Church, 1000–1066*, published in 1963. Whereas that was basically a constitutional treatment, the present work embodies a magisterial survey of the period between William of Normandy's conquest of England in 1066 and the death of Henry II in 1154. A brief introduction precedes seven chapters, dealing respectively with the church's structure, personalities and principal events, government, justice, monasticism, education, and the problem of "church and state." Then comes a summary conclusion and a useful selection of maps and diagrams.

In a sense this is a textbook, but unlike many books so labeled it is written by an expert in the field, one thoroughly prepared to take issue (in the nicest way) with the views of other scholars. Thus, of H. S. Offler's comments (*English Historical Review* 66 [1951]: 32–41) on the "libellus" *De iniusta vexatione*—an *ex parte* account of the "trial" of William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham—he remarks (p. 281 n. 46): "Most of Offler's difficulties can be explained by the faulty transmission of the manuscript and the erroneous extension of names abbreviated to initials." He is equally wary (p. 252 n. 201) about accepting some of R. W. Southern's observations on the "School of Chartres," which in their original form fell like a bomb among an unsuspecting audience of the Ecclesiastical History Society, which included the late E. F. Jacob and David Knowles. These have now been published ("Humanism and the School of Chartres" in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*). On the vexed topic of grammar schools attached to secular cathedrals, the author argues that only three—York, Salisbury, and London—can be *proved* to have existed prior to 1154 (p. 234). This particular chapter ("Schools, Education and Scholars") ranges far beyond the

confines of England. The random nature of the evidence demands judicious handling, and it is a tribute to Barlow that there emerges a remarkably evocative picture of what education meant in the twelfth century, from local children learning the alphabet, reading with the aid of such basic texts as the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, or imbibing their Donatus "on the low form" (pp. 238, 242), to migrant scholars like Robert of Béthune, an erstwhile schoolmaster who studied at Paris and Laon and later became bishop of Hereford (pp. 249-50).

In his conclusion Barlow dwells mainly on the Normans' imperialistic attitude toward the English church. The reviewer's more lasting impression is of the church's civilizing influence and of the manner in which at all levels there was an attempt to substitute law, justice, and regular procedure for brute force and ignorance.

My criticisms are minor and few. The density of the material makes for stiff reading, which is not assisted by a style somewhat lacking in liveliness. There are too many short factual sentences. It is a relief to digress in pursuit of the varying fortunes of Christina of Markyate (p. 202 ff.) or of the oblate of Watton Priory, whose adolescent prurience led to the castration of her lover and some miraculous interventions far exceeding her deserts (p. 213 ff.). For these days there are surprisingly few misprints. I noted *en passant* the following: page 75, "dissention"; page 106 note 3, "Hereford"; page 219, "Helose"; page 231 note 71, "scolastic." The publishers could well have provided a more interesting format and an attractive binding or jacket.

Students at all levels will find much of interest, and those who turn to the footnotes, a wealth of further reading.

ROY MARTIN HAINES
Dalhousie University

WILLIAM E. KAPELLE. *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. 329. \$19.00.

This is a nicely conceived and clearly written little monograph. The subject is of more than local significance, for the Anglo-Norman state fashioned in the eleventh century was the birthplace of many of today's most important political institutions. Yet it is indeed of precise, local interest. In gathering together the threads of evidence—or at least a wide skein of them—William E. Kapelle has done us all a service. In a study where every line represents a judgment about difficult evidence, the room for disagreement and criticism is considerable. This reviewer will attempt to balance the need for a brief report of the author's findings against the tempta-

tion to enter into dialogue on specific items of interpretation.

The book is divided neatly at 1066. Four chapters lead up to the conquest, while a further three describe its impact and resolution. Kapelle is writing about a period in which English sources overtake those of other countries in their richness but for an area where this is least fully evidenced. He has unearthed no new sources and provided no new conceptual framework but rather has presented us with a simple narrative. If his theme of a challenge faced and overcome is obvious, it is also basic.

We may forgive the author for not discovering new material but must censure him for overlooking existing work. Three examples may suffice. First, he does not use C. Hart's *Early Charters of Northern England* (1975). There he would have found a narrative entitled "De obsessione Dunelmi" (pp. 143-50) that would have changed his account of the quarrel of Cospatrick and Waltheof over the Earldom of Northumberland (pp. 126-27). Second, he does not do justice to the view that Snorre Sturlason's "Heimskringla" is important for the story of northern military history (although he cites Richard Glover's well-known article in his bibliography). Third, in his account of the siting of Norman castles, he pays no attention to the debate about royal geographic and strategic mastery conducted over the years by such writers as Sidney Painter, R. A. Brown, and John Beeler. In particular, he is careless in his use of a major source, Symeon of Durham. Symeon does not state, for example, that the Conqueror built a castle at Durham for Earl Waltheof in 1072 (p. 127). He states rather that Waltheof founded the castle at that date. More could be said of inadequate or careless scholarship on Kapelle's part. Our final word, however, must be one of gratitude for a need met, a job well done.

M. R. POWICKE
University of Toronto

BARBARA ENGLISH. *The Lords of Holderness, 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the University of Hull. 1979. Pp. xii, 275. \$49.50.

In this carefully researched book, Barbara English has provided a valuable addition to the growing collection of local studies for the earlier post-Conquest period (to ca. 1250) for which evidence is notoriously scanty and difficult to use. The lordship of Holderness was part of the patrimony of the counts of Aumale (in the thirteenth century, the Forz or Fortibus family), but it was always viewed and treated by them as a distinct, self-contained unit in a distinctively separate area of the English north. The book therefore has the added value not only of

dealing with a small- to mid-sized lordship but also of distinguishing the particular features of regional northern society over and against more general traits and tendencies.

The initial chapter provides a series of brief political narratives of the successive lords of Holderness down to William de Forz III (d. 1260) and his widow Isabella (d. 1293). This is followed by a series of rigorously institutional and descriptive chapters, in a descending social pattern, dealing with the administrative and the judicial organization of the lordship, knightly families and service, and a final section called "Land and People" treating agricultural communities, sheep farming, fisheries, and boroughs. The first two of the institutional chapters are the most successful. English is able to project administrative arrangements back from, and trace their origins forward to, the better-documented late thirteenth-century period, the age of Isabella de Fortibus, which forms the centerpiece of Noël Denholm-Young's classic *Seignorial Administration in England* (1937). On the judicial side she demonstrates the essential unity of the liberty, as grounded in its origins as a wapentake within Yorkshire, and shows with a good deal of specificity the workings of the privilege of return of writs. The chapter on knightly society similarly supplies useful detail on change in military service and on leading local families, in particular Fauconberg, St. Quintin, and Ros. The final chapter, although full of interesting material, is the least successful, being something of a catchall in a form reminiscent of H. C. Darby's historical geography series, albeit stretched over a period of two centuries. Not much is done with social dynamics—not that the quantity and nature of the evidence would have permitted much by way of such an approach in any event. Might it be hoped, however, that this book presages a larger, more socially oriented study of "The North" as region and as concept? Such a work would be welcome indeed, and on the basis of this book English would be well qualified to undertake it.

MICHAEL ALTSCHUL

Case Western Reserve University

JOHN M. GILBERT. *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xi, 447. \$34.50.

Medieval kings were often obsessed by the hunt. It was such an integral part of ruling-class behavior that we are not surprised when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says of William I, "he loved the stags as dearly as though he had been their father," or when Geraldus Cambrensis says of Henry II, "would to

God he had been as zealous in his devotions as he was in his sports."

Hunting was more than just leisure or food gathering. It occupies a large chapter in the history of manners, for its rituals and language became part of the process whereby the aristocracy separated itself from the many. Its effect upon medieval economic, agrarian, and legal developments are well known, as the forests and chases became preserves for animals at the cost of men and women, farms, and even villages. Its effects upon bureaucracy and local government are significant, as mores and wishes were converted, by local agents, into a policy that would generally make the sheriff of Nottingham come out ahead of Robin Hood.

All these considerations make the hunt a choice topic for national and regional studies. John M. Gilbert has explored the topic in Scotland from its formal introduction in the twelfth century to the early sixteenth. He discusses the creation of the hunting reserves and the forest law, and he elaborates, in a long section on "Institutional Analysis," on the administrative and legal complexities that grew from the efforts to preserve privilege and monopoly. A long, scholarly appendix on the Forest Laws, with a textual genealogy and a translation, complete the volume's main coverage.

Gilbert shows how the story is really one of constant struggle: varying claims and interests had to be accommodated, and eternal vigilance was the price of continuous exploitation. There was the conflict of royal interest against that of all lesser folk: the extensive creations show who was the winner here. Then there was the conflict of two principles: the right to any animal one slew (since game were *res nullius* in Roman and Carolingian law) versus the right to control what others did on one's land—trespass versus the sanctity of property. Lastly, there was the economic pressure: in a relatively infertile kingdom, profits from arable land, grazing, and timber conflicted with the self-interest of holding on to the great preserves for their intended purpose. Long-range tendencies as well as ephemeral victories are plotted for us.

Two criticisms of this learned and intensive study must be made. Scholarship on the lesser kingdoms of medieval Europe should be at some pains to relate itself to the larger, better known canvas. There are references in the book to the English and continental practices and their influence but few references to the modern scholarship that deals with the topic in other parts of Christendom. Thus, the topic in its Scottish context lacks a comparative framework: it is unnecessarily insular. Furthermore, this book is based on a very traditional Scottish doctoral dissertation. It has almost too much scholarship, that is, too much for a 200-page text to carry or for us to assimilate: 1,700 footnotes, 32 tables, 10 maps,

19 plates, 3 appendixes, and a 17-page bibliography. A simpler and less inclusive monograph might have told us more: Charles Young's recent monograph on English forest law is closer to a holistic picture. The journal article is not an endangered species, and this volume would have been improved by editorial excision. The author does have a good eye for the general (for instance, pp. 255–265 on "The economic and social impact of the hunting reserves") when the parade of facts permits.

JOEL ROSENTHAL
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

MICHEL ROUCHE. *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781: Naissance d'une région*. (Bibliothèque General.) Paris: Éditions de L'École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales; distributed by Éditions Jean Touzot, Paris. 1979. Pp. 776.

This large volume is a product of the justly famous French École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. It is not only a large volume, it is also a scholarly, ponderous one with about one-third of the book devoted to notes and bibliography. Considering that Michel Rouche is dealing with one of the most poorly documented periods in European history, one must conclude that he has exhausted the surviving written records of the time and sought out as thoroughly as possible whatever archeological evidence has been uncovered to date.

About one-third of the text of *L'Aquitaine* is devoted to establishing a political history from the time of the settlement of the Visigoths in southwestern Gaul in 418 to the coronation by Pope Hadrian of Charlemagne's son, Louis, as king of Aquitaine in 781. The guiding theme of the history is indicated by the subtitle of the book, "Naissance d'une région." Despite wide geographical and climatic differences from one part of the region to another, despite the greatly varying ethnic composition of the people, and despite broad linguistic and cultural variations in the population, Rouche argues that the historical experiences of the people of Aquitaine between the early fifth and late eighth centuries were such as to create a distinct region inhabited by a people who had emerged from the fusion of Celts, Latins, Visigoths, and Franks, with some Greek, Syrian, and Jewish admixture. The region had a strong sense of its identity and a language and culture sufficiently different from that of the rest of Francia to constitute a state with strong leanings toward independence. The time that this regional consciousness was evolving was one of supreme importance because it was also the period during which antiquity was transmitted to the Middle Ages.

Rouche's Aquitaine is an area bounded on the north and east by the Loire River (which does not reach quite as far east as the Rhone River), on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the Pyrenees Mountains. (It does not include the area along the Mediterranean, Septimania, which remained Visigothic after the Frankish conquest of Aquitaine in the early sixth century.) This large area covers nearly one-third of modern France.

The remaining portion of Rouche's work is social history of the *Annales* variety. Unfortunately, this is not a particularly successful social history. Although the region came to feel itself a distinct entity, it was composed of many smaller areas, so that in terms of social classes, land tenure, commerce, language, law, even religious saintly cults, it is impossible to arrive at generalizations that hold true for all of Aquitaine. But Rouche, who labored on this material from 1963 to 1978, has worked indefatigably in the archives and has unearthed a voluminous amount of information about life and customs in southwest France in the early Middle Ages. In spite of his efforts, our view of Aquitanian society is clear only at the top, and the lot of the little people remains obscure. The picture is nonetheless more varied than might be expected because, although the civil and ecclesiastical administrations were dominated by the powerful and influential families, commerce was not dead and communities of "oriental" merchants (Greeks, Syrians, and Jews) formed an important part of society and maintained links with other parts of the Mediterranean world.

This volume has been provided with a good index, an impressive bibliography, and a series of truly excellent maps on which a considerable amount of the evidence unearthed by Rouche has been plotted. Students of early medieval history will find this a very helpful work.

K. F. DREW
Rice University

WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 291. \$18.50.

William Chester Jordan examines Louis IX's policies from 1244 to 1270 from the viewpoint of the latter's two crusades. He contends that virtually all of Louis's public acts during 1244–48 were preparations for the crusade. Following his return in 1254, the king behaved according to an ideal that resulted from the failure of the crusade. His desire for self-purification influenced his treatment of nobles, bishops, popes, foreign princes, Jews, heretics, coinage, finance, and administrative reorganization. Louis's crusade-induced conversion compelled him to continue and expand his precrusade reforms.

Governmental institutions after his first crusade are best seen not as a development of impersonal structures but as an extension of Louis's firm hand, guided by a sincere wish to mete out Christian justice.

Jordan's analysis of Louis's administration is excellent. While his general thesis is not original, no previous historian has applied the crusade theme to Louis's reforms with as much thoroughness and persuasiveness. Without forcing the sources, Jordan uses the crusade to account for the monarch's interventions in tax collecting, temporal regalia, personnel selection, parlement, and the supervision of *baillis* and lesser officials. The author adroitly incorporates the work of others (such as Q. Griffiths) into his own conclusions. The best and most original parts of the book deal with the *enquêteurs*. Disputing earlier scholars, Jordan shows that Louis employed and monitored *enquêteurs* after 1254 to ensure that his subjects lived up to his high standard of morality. It is Louis's personal approach to government that partially explains the paradox of Louis's authoritarian rule and the relative absence of opposition to it.

The book is less satisfying when it attempts to connect Louis's administrative reforms to his ideal of kingship. The final chapter ("Most Christian King") fails to place Louis's idea of rulership into the context of mendicant spirituality (often misunderstood in the book) and crusade traditions. The book does not fulfill its promise to show how the views of contemporaries relate to Louis's notion of Christian kingship. Jordan's descriptions of how the monarchy's administration actually worked are never synthesized into the broader perspective of Capetian kingship. The important works of Buisson, Boulet-Sautel, and Congar are cited but not discussed.

The author's style is distracting. He misuses semicolons and colons. The sentence structure is often peculiar. Readers who use interlibrary loans will grumble at the absence of page numbers for the articles listed in the bibliography.

But the above criticism refers chiefly to omissions. As it stands, the book is a major contribution to our understanding of Capetian administration. More than previous critiques of Louis, Jordan's fine treatment has the merit of closely associating the king's will to the institutions under his control.

THOMAS RENNA

Saginaw Valley State College

CHRISTINE RENARDY. *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140-1350: Recherches sur sa composition et ses activités*. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège,

number 227.) Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1979. Pp. 442. 100 fr.

Of all professions in the Middle Ages the *magister*, the university graduate, is the most easily identified. Like the present-day medical doctor or Jesuit, he rarely appeared in legal and public documents without his title. The diocese of Liège, comprising the principalities of Namur, Looz, and Brabant, although producing flourishing schools in the eleventh century, was scarcely a center of learning in the central Middle Ages. The region produced only a handful of reputed intellectuals (for example, Jacques de Vitry, Siger de Brabant, Geoffrey de Fontaines) and no major writings. As municipal archivist of Liège, however, Christine Renardy possesses unsurpassed access to the diocese's documentation, from which she has been able to identify and trace the careers of eighty-nine *magistri* from 1140 to 1200 and about seven hundred from 1200 to 1350. The details of these labors will be presented in a forthcoming *Répertoire biographique*. In the present volume she offers a collective biography of the *magistri* divided into two parts. Because of the paucity of information, the first part, treating 1140-1200, can only be tentative and sketchy, but the second part (1200-1350), aspiring to quantitative techniques, presents the following portrait of the liégeois *magistri*.

Most of them were born in the diocese of Liège, the Empire, or northern France. Only by the fourteenth century did significant numbers originate from southern France and Italy, because of the aggressive policies of the Avignese papacy. They came from predominantly bourgeois, knightly, and urban patrician families, but by the end of the period an aristocratic trend can be perceived. Except for a scant fourteen, all were members of the clergy, and an overwhelming proportion were regular canons. From the beginning, Renardy assumes that all *magistri* were graduates of Paris, Bologna, and Salerno, joined from the mid-thirteenth century by new universities such as Montpellier and Orléans. In my opinion this assumption is untenable for the twelfth century, when local schools also produced *magistri*. Of those whose universities are known in the latter period, most came from Paris, followed by Bologna. Almost half studied law; the rest, arts, medicine, and theology. While some served the emperor and the princes of the region, most received employment in churches. Beginning with the post of *officialis* in 1214, the *magistri* eventually monopolized the ecclesiastical dignities by the second half of the century. In the next century the popes used liégeois positions to support their curial staff as they did throughout Christendom.

Although produced with immense labor, such common features of the liégeois *magistri* offer few

surprises. Nor do they show the full picture, because they omit the mendicant friars, who were both numerous and educated but rarely appeared in public and legal documents. Encouraged by the example of early modernists, medievalists like Renardy persist in pursuing the quest of quantitative history despite the sparseness of medieval sources. Whether their results justify the effort remains an open question.

JOHN W. BALDWIN
Johns Hopkins University

ROGER SABLONIER. *Adel im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Situation des ostschweizerischen Adels um 1300.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 66.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. 281. DM 62.

It is refreshing to read a study on a medieval aristocracy that incorporates recent methodologies and questions of interest of both German and French historians, whose regional studies have developed within almost independent scholarly traditions. Roger Sablonier combines the best of both in tracing the evolution of the aristocracy of eastern Switzerland—an area bounded by Zurich, St. Gall, and Constance—from 1200 to 1350. He concludes that the aristocracy experienced a fundamental restructuring in the late thirteenth century because of specific social, economic, and political pressures and that aristocracies on both sides of the Rhine and as far west as Picardy shared a similar pattern of evolution.

In a well-constructed argument, Sablonier proceeds from a careful discussion of methodology—the use and meaning of titles, the relation between names and actual families and their possessions, the static image of the aristocracy in earlier local studies, and the central role of genealogies in any group biography of this sort—to an analysis of individual families and social groupings and finally to an examination of social changes and their causes. Working from a list of 44 noble and 220 knight families that appeared between 1200 and 1350, he finds that both groups were more stratified internally and more porous to outside recruitment than is often imagined and that the aristocracy was restructured by two general processes. First, the knights, most of whom had unfree ancestors, adopted noble titles and came to be considered as part of the aristocracy by 1300; that is, an aristocracy defined by blood lines in 1200 had expanded by 1300 to include all feudal tenants. Second, the total number of nobles and knights fell precipitously in the late thirteenth century, primarily because of economic difficulties and inheritance practices. As substantial economic resources were transferred to the church, to towns-

men, and to some knight families, partible inheritances systematically reduced the fortunes of many nobles and knights and resulted in widespread downward social mobility. One of the few opportunities for social and economic advancement was in service to the rising Habsburg territorial state, and by 1300 an aristocracy of service consisting of individuals from both noble and knight families had coalesced to form a new elite within the aristocracy. At the comparative level, Sablonier's study suggests that the most important determinants in the evolution of medieval aristocracies were their economic resources and the power of regional territorial states.

Minor criticisms might be made of the absence of genealogical tables and index, of the very brief treatment of aristocratic revenues, and of the reliance on figures calculated from nonserial sources. But the substance of Sablonier's contribution remains; he reminds us that the fates of individual families were not necessarily identical with those of the social groups to which they belonged and that fundamental social and economic changes did occur in the thirteenth century, which too often passes as a relatively stable period for aristocracies after their formative phase in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and before the crises of the fourteenth.

THEODORE EVERGATES
Western Maryland College

ERNST SCHUBERT. *König und Reich: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 63.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. 419.

The subtitle describes this book's contents better than its title. Ernst Schubert has written a series of studies on the theory and practice of kingship in the late medieval German empire. In the first part of the book, he discusses the idea and ideal of kingship, the structure of the *curia regalis*, the king's relationship to the law, and the financial foundations of the Reich. In the second part, Schubert deals with a basic problem of the late empire: the relationship of *imperium* and *regnum*. He recounts the imperial tradition in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries and the fate of the emperor's claim to be "lord of the world" when he might have been more correctly called "rex Alamanniae." The meanings of "rich" and "chunich" are explored, and the tensions between the two concepts are probed. Finally, the role of the *Stände* and the Reichstag in the late empire is examined. Schubert appends six short studies of related topics: imperial legends, the idea of nation in the fourteenth century, and "Oberdeutsch" and "Niederdeutsch," among others.

Schubert has filled each of his studies with a

wealth of material. He has synthesized the last fifty years of German scholarship for all the topics that he treats and has read widely in the sources. Although short in length, his chapters often make significant contributions. For example, his chapter on imperial mortgages supplements Landwehr's fundamental work. Schubert has produced a guide to the ideology and structure of the late German empire that will remain the standard for many years.

Sometimes his range of topics results in shallowness and mistakes when he treads on turf less familiar to him. With the exception of German scholarship, his coverage is spotty and his touch less sure. Although he has gathered together a formidable number of texts using expressions such as "*plenitudo potestatis*," "*legibus solutus*," "*lex animata*," and "*cultor iustitiae*," he is often vague about the canon and Roman law background of these terms. At times, he does not seem to grasp how medieval lawyers understood these concepts. To take one example: his discussion of "*princeps legibus solutus*" is marred by his failure to make a fundamental distinction of definition: the maxim can mean that the prince is "above the law," but it can simply mean that the prince's legislative sovereignty is not limited by earlier legislation. In this second sense, every legislator, constitutional or not, is "*legibus solutus*." It does not necessarily define arbitrary or non-constitutional power. Further, he does not distinguish between the prince's ability to change positive law and his subjection to natural law. Every medieval lawyer agreed that the prince was bound by natural law, yet Schubert argues that the lawyers began to reject the maxim "*legibus solutus*" in the late Middle Ages partly on the basis of a text that alleges a prince is bound by natural law (p. 122, n. 17). Consequently, although Schubert has collected many examples of German kings using the same terminology with which the canonists described papal power, his explanations of these concepts are sometimes off the mark.

In spite of these shortcomings, the book is an important contribution to the history of the late medieval empire.

KENNETH PENNINGTON
Syracuse University

ULRICH REULING. *Die Kur in Deutschland und Frankreich: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des rechtsförmlichen Wahlaktes bei der Königserhebung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 64.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. 221. DM 49.

The work under review began as a dissertation that Ulrich Reuling completed in 1976-77. Its erudition is reflected in the extensive documentation and bib-

liography (pp. 210-21). Unfortunately, an index of persons and places is absent, and one wonders why such an important tool in a historical analysis was omitted.

Three large sections comprise the body of the book. In the first two, Reuling discusses the German and French royal election processes in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In order to evaluate Reuling's thesis, one must keep in mind that the *Kur* is only a portion of the election, namely, the actual vote. The entire process began with the deliberations of the important nobles of the realm as to who should be chosen, and ended with the act of paying homage. It was possible that the latter took at least a year or more, since the candidate had to secure the oath of allegiance from his subjects on a journey throughout the realm. Reuling maintains that the establishment of the Salian dynasty with the election of Konrad II in 1024 was crucial as far as the German election of kings was concerned. Prior to 1024, a king proclaimed his oldest son as heir, and the nobles simply agreed with his choice by an oral acclamation, followed by the coronation of the heir.

In the case of Konrad II, who was one of two major candidates, it became important for someone to exercise the *prima vox*, a task that naturally fell to the "*Reichskanzler*," who at the time happened to be the archbishop of Mainz. Thus, a precedent was established, and it was eventually in the archdiocese of Mainz that the elections were held and thereafter the archbishop who gave the "*Kurspruch*" or *prima vox*.

Because of these precedents the German kingship remained elective, a fact clearly discernible with the deposition of Henry IV (1076) and the election of the antiking, Rudolf of Rheinfelden.

As far as France is concerned, Reuling attempts to overthrow the well-known Ulrich Stutz (1910) theory. Stutz had claimed that the election process of 987 and the elevation of Hugh Capet had served the German nobles as precedent. This Reuling rejects since he feels that Hugh Capet could not legally proclaim himself because he was the major candidate and asked the archbishop of Reims to exercise the *prima vox*, a most unusual procedure. However, at the election of Philip I (1059), the then archbishop of Reims, Gervasius, attempted to establish a definite *prima sedis* and *vox* position and copied the German rules and customs of 1024 in his so-called *Memoriale*. In spite of this, the French crown became hereditary; the kings proclaimed their sons as *rex designatus* and the archbishop of Reims simply performed the religious aspects of the coronation. Thus, France evolved dynastic patterns, while Germany did not.

Reuling's arguments whether the German nobles copied the French, or the other way around, are somewhat weak. After all, both Reims and Mainz

were considered by most nobles and the papacy as *prima sedis* in their respective kingdoms, and the documentary evidence does not clearly point one way or the other.

The last chapter begins with the effects of the investiture controversy on the German *Kur*. Reuling finds that the question of choice became a crucial element for the future and that the role of Mainz was clearly recognizable in the selection of Friedrich Barbarossa in 1152. Since the participation of the minor nobles and "populus" (*Gefolge*) became less significant, a "Reichsfürstenstand" was discernible with the selection of Otto IV (1208), and in time a public proclamation was considered sufficient to legalize the choice of the *Kur*. Furthermore, the candidates considered themselves as *rex*, with all legal rights, as soon as the *regem eligitur* had taken place and before the other ceremonies, such as *acclamatur*, *benedicitur*, and *coronatur*, had been performed. All this led the way for the establishment, in the fourteenth century, of the German "Kurkollegium" or Seven Prince Electors, for which we already have an excellent study by Mitteis, and Reuling offers no new insights to this topic.

Throughout the volume, Reuling is careful to emphasize the legal aspects of the election processes in both Germany and France, and it is a pity that reviews such as this, with a minimum of allotted space, do not permit a deeper analysis of this work. The book is well organized, very readable, and comprises an important contribution to the still necessary and ongoing research about royal elections in the Middle Ages.

TETA E. MOEHS

Institute for Research in History

IVAN BOZHILOV. *Anonimăt na Khaze: Bălgaria i Vizantiia na dolni Dunav v kraia na X vek* ["L'Anonyme de Hase": Bulgaria and Byzantium on the Lower Danube at the End of the Tenth Century]. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite. 1979. Pp. 220. 2.30 lv.

In 1819, as notes to his edition of Leo the Deacon, Charles-Benoit Hase published three fragments by an anonymous author from, according to Hase, the tenth or eleventh century. In them a Byzantine official describes his alliance with one group of unnamed barbarians against other barbarians somewhere near the Dniepr River. Since 1819 scholars have debated who these barbarians were, where exactly they lived, and when these events occurred.

Recently Ihor Ševčenko (in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* [1971]) concluded the text was a forgery perpetrated by Hase. Now Ivan Bozhilov, one of Bulgaria's leading medievalists, has published the text with a detailed commentary attempting to date

events and identify peoples and places. He believes the text is authentic.

Bozhilov concludes that the barbarian "emperor" north of the Danube with whom the anonymous author makes an alliance was the Bulgarian ruler Samuel (976–1014). Bozhilov treats Ševčenko's thesis only in an appendix. (For an English translation of this, see *Byzantino Bulgarica*, 5 [1978]: 245–59.) Though he meets certain of Ševčenko's objections, he ignores many others. Thus, whether or not the text is authentic is still unresolved. Clearly scholars should not make use of any information found therein until its authenticity is demonstrated. However, supporting authenticity, in my opinion, is the text's vagueness. Why would a forger not present a more important and interesting text and provide specific information to demonstrate whatever cause he sought to advance?

Granting authenticity, I also doubt Bozhilov's conclusion that a Byzantine official would ally with Samuel, a major Byzantine enemy. My own, admitted superficial, study of the text suggests it concerns Sviatoslav of Kiev's invasion (967–71) of Bulgaria. Sviatoslav's men would, then, be the ravaging barbarians of Fragment II, who caused the Byzantine official threatened by them to think—as the Byzantines actually did—of allying with the Bulgarian ruler (Peter or Boris II, who succeeded Peter during 967) against the Kievans. Peter held territory north of the Danube and his imperial title was recognized by Byzantium. However, before anything can be done with the text (including my Sviatoslav hypothesis), it must be determined whether or not the text is authentic; if it is a forgery all these other issues disappear.

Regardless of the text's authenticity, Bozhilov's thorough and scholarly commentary on the peoples and history of the region north of the Danube contains much of value. My main criticism of the commentary is its lack of a map.

JOHN V. A. FINE, JR.

University of Michigan

CLIVE FOSS. *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 218. \$34.50.

Ephesus was a flourishing commercial center of the ancient world, famous for its temple of Artemis (Diana) and revered by Christians because of the visit of St. Paul and the longer stays of St. John and of the Seven Holy Sleepers. Its history in antiquity is well known. What happened to the city after that? This is what Clive Foss sets out to recount, and he recounts it extremely well. While making use of written sources, he relies chiefly on archeological evidence and also on personal observation. Many of

the excellent photographs in the book were taken by him.

After the late third century, the history of Ephesus and the structure of the book fall neatly into three periods: late antiquity, Byzantine, Turkish. As the excavations make clear, Ephesus continued to be a large and prosperous city. It was the site of one ecumenical council and of another that began as such. It was prominent in both civil and ecclesiastical spheres. Suddenly, however, ruin fell upon the city in the wake of the Persian invasions in 614. Ephesus devolved into a small fortified town, and, as its harbor silted up, it lost its importance as a port. The seven centuries of Byzantine rule were undistinguished, although Ephesus had some importance as a provincial capital. In 1304 the Turks moved in, making it the capital of their emirate of Aydin, and it again became a busy port, a commercial center, and a pirate base, known, because of its connection with St. John, as Theologo, Alto-luogo, or Ayasuluk. Its prosperity continued after the Ottoman conquest of 1425, but then declined until, by the nineteenth century, it was almost deserted. Now known as Selçuk, it has recovered some of its former importance.

The story of Ephesus is well told and well illustrated in this book, which should be of interest to scholars in several disciplines. One hesitates to criticize a work of this quality, but a good map of the area would have been very helpful to the reader. There are some typographical errors, and, in note 82 on page 163, the more recent edition should be cited: *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970): 243-65. The relatively slim volume is attractively presented. The notes and bibliography seem complete, and there is a good index. All told, it is an interesting and exemplary piece of scholarship.

GEORGE T. DENNIS
Catholic University of America

MODERN EUROPE

ROBERT WOHL. *The Generation of 1914*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. ix, 307. \$17.50.

Robert Wohl has written a remarkable comparative account of the intellectual impact of the First World War in five European countries. His study of "the generation of 1914" combines collective biography with intellectual history. The book presents both a narrative of the experiences of the Great War generation's educated middle-class elite and an analysis of the concept of generations as undertaken by several intellectuals in France, Germany, England, Spain, and Italy. As a "study of mentalities," Wohl's book recounts the individual and collective stories of intellectuals, most of whom are characterized as literary intellectuals, who consciously

created an image of themselves, or who were identified by others, as belonging to the generation of 1914.

The source material for the book has been drawn from a wide range of literary and scholarly sources as well as personal papers and interviews. In probing the contents of this material, Wohl seeks to penetrate the "poetic and political imagery" and the "propositions of social theories" with the purpose of determining which factors accounted for the emergence of the young intellectuals and what made possible the life experiences that inspired their literary and theoretical productions. Through this approach Wohl undertakes the task of sketching individual portraits of the intellectuals who embodied the regenerative "spirit" of this period and of sketching collective portraits of an important era in twentieth-century European society and history, in an effort to "rescue the generation of 1914 from the shadowland of myth and to restore it to the realm of history" (p. 2).

Wohl studies the careers and the writings of European intellectuals born between 1880 and 1900, tracing their development through the experienced effects of the war to the postwar period of the 1930s. He characterizes "the generation of 1914" as a specific instance of a generational idea—that of social or historical generations. Wohl contends that the notion of the "discontinuity of age-groups" was central to the generational ideas of certain of these writers and has a tendency to represent their generation as "unique, sacrificed and lost." Before the Great War youth began to organize and collectively to challenge adult authority, thereby evoking the dichotomy between the older generation and "youth." At the outbreak of the war, these young intellectuals perceived themselves as sharing a common destiny—that of national regeneration and of renewing its spiritual resources. Several of them perceived the war as promising to bring about desired changes in the future. During the first few years following the war, however, the returning young combatants were disillusioned and disappointed. The changes they had envisioned were not realized. The cities and villages to which they had returned in 1919 were different from those they had left in 1914. For the young veterans, a contemporary recalled in 1930, "disillusion came in with peace, not with war; peace at first was the futile state" (pp. 109, 225). Many of these intellectuals therefore were convinced that the world of their childhood was dead and that a new postwar world was being born.

Wohl portrays the most representative members of the generation of 1914 as individuals searching to accommodate their literary and theoretical ideals to the practical necessities of life. He concludes that a tremendous gap remained between society as dreamed by intellectuals and society as lived.

This is an imaginative and stimulating book. It rests on a solid mastery of historical literature and offers an analysis of "the generation of 1914" that is perceptive and persuasive.

OLIVER W. HOLMES
Wesleyan University

CHARLES CRUICKSHANK. *Deception in World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. 248. \$13.95.

Although this book is a comparatively minor work on the topic of military and wartime diplomatic deceptions and although the several parts are strung together like beads rather than having a consistently independent thesis, it does demonstrate that there are tricks to the trade. Charles Cruickshank shows that the Allies in the Second World War made many foul tips, hints, and suggestions—some of them very hazardous—to the enemy. Most of them are not, however, revealed here for the first time, claims in the introduction and on the dust jacket to the contrary notwithstanding.

Grand stratagems, the objective of which would be the turning of strategic flanks, either military or psychological or both, are not the author's principal preoccupation but rather operational deception and cover-up, including camouflage. Each campaign fought or planned by the Allies either jointly or separately—the war against Japan is not included—seems detached from the rest, and there is missing a cohesive element or substance that would give deception an independent status or quality, if only to convince persons not generally interested in the inner problems of the military profession that stratagems are as much a permanent feature, a *constant*, of warfare as combat itself. Without a doubt, the book is well written. It has a journalistic flair for movement, flowing without floating off the ground. Yet *Deception in World War II* might have included cover operations in the war against Japan or Japan's own most strategic deception operation on the psychological-political level—the Japanese peace mission to Washington in late 1941—which the author nowhere mentions.

Chapters such as "Deceiving the Invader," "Deception in the Desert," "Deceptive Operations, 1943," "The Overall Deception Plan, 1944," and "German Deception" pretty much tell the story. Still, without meaning to labor the point, the author never really deals with the *inside* of these operations, or of any others he handles, in order to reveal their really intriguing parts, how they worked, and just how they were planned or how they looked as planned. For example, Cruickshank says that "the notional Fourth British Army had been brought from Scotland" (p. 180) while the invasion of Nor-

mandy was in progress, but he does not describe for the nontrained reader how a "notional" division—it could be a corps, an army, or even a group of armies, as in the case of the twelfth and first army groups of the American armed forces—was, in fact, brought down. Moreover, at this late date these operations are nothing new. They have been adequately described in other monographs.

Apart from all that, this commentator is drawn to the conclusion, much against his free will but not against his better judgment, that the inability of this book to stand up to a work like *Bodyguard of Lies*, for example, is due in part to its too heavy reliance on the *highest* primary sources (such as "Air Ministry Correspondence," "War Cabinet Minutes," "Military Headquarters Papers, SHAEF," "Department of State," "Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff," and the like) and not enough, evidently, on the field operational ones—of the units, in particular, that operated the "notions." If Cruickshank did use them, he must have decided to pass them over or cover them up, according to the more limited, but less interesting, purpose he had set for himself.

Good as far as it goes, it is not good enough, inasmuch as there is missing a *spirit*, if that is the right word for it in the matter of so hard-nosed a military theme.

ALBERT NORMAN
Norwich University

D. M. PALLISER. *Tudor York*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 327. \$32.50.

York was the traditional provincial capital of northern England until the Industrial Revolution and one of the country's largest cities. D. M. Palliser's excellent study begins with the city's regional role, its topography, and housing and describes its relationship with the state chronologically, moving from disorder and conservatism earlier in the century to acquiescence in the Elizabethan establishment. He describes the rather static municipal constitution and in a particularly useful chapter analyzes the nature of the ruling elite. The central section is concerned with economic issues—population size (about eight thousand in 1548 and eleven thousand by 1600, though the sources for York demography are more uncertain than most), epidemics, migration, and social structure are prominent themes. Freeman's records reveal an economy with a modest industrial element but strength in shop-keeping and service trades; commerce depended less on overseas trade *via* Hull than on interregional traffic by road and river. An effective chapter outlines the religious history of York, especially the im-

pect of the Reformation on a city stuffed with ecclesiastical institutions.

Very relevant to the continuing debate on the extent of urban "decay" at this time are the chapters that consider two distinct phases in the general history of York. The first, dated 1460–1560, was marked by depression and depopulation caused by the migration of most of the textile industry and the loss of much foreign trade. The author sees this phase continuing until 1560, but there does seem to be evidence of an upswing after the 1520s, masked by severe epidemics in the 1550s that were demographic rather than economic disasters. Palliser maintains a most judicious attitude to his evidence, distinguishing carefully between exaggerated self-interest and genuine complaint. The phase of recovery ran from 1560 into the seventeenth century. Elizabethan York found a new strength in its role as an administrative, social, and shopping center, and population, though perhaps not quite prosperity, returned to its old level. Despite the change and uncertainty of this century, the author rightly stresses the essential stability of society and the continuity discernible beneath the turmoil.

Palliser can spring few surprises on us, with substantial studies of his own and others on various aspects of York's history already in print; he works the separate elements into an admirably well-balanced and convincing whole, characterized by clarity of thought and writing and precision in the verification of detailed fact. The attempt to treat the subject both topically and chronologically leads to some unavoidable repetition, and many of the topics discussed need to be pursued by the serious enquirer back to the specialist's works and the author's dissertation: some readers will welcome the detailed references, but others might have preferred more of the detail to have been incorporated in a book that ranged less widely. Here is a welcome addition to the small number of model studies of early modern towns. It will be a standard work for urban historians and should supply valuable material for many other sixteenth-century specialists.

ALAN D. DYER

University College of North Wales

JOHN BELLAMY. *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction*. (Studies in Social History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1979. Pp. 305. \$15.00.

"Treason" or "traitor" in various grammatical usages appear 345 times in the plays and poems of the immortal bard; the only works in which neither of the terms can be found are *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Twelfth Night*. Admittedly, exactly half of the occurrences are in the nine historical plays, from *Richard II* to *Henry VIII*,

and in a number of Shakespeare's works in which the terms are used jocularly or figuratively (though one of the most hackneyed references, "I speak no treason," is from *Romeo and Juliet*, act 3, scene 5). Faced with terms of such common coin in Tudor England, in an age suckled on Macbeth's lament that "treason has done his worst" and the image of uneasy heads under usurped crowns, the historian of sixteenth-century treason has his work cut out for him. John Bellamy makes a fine try, but he is not quite "tickled with good success." It is not for want of research; there are no significant sources for Tudor treason (save, perhaps, literary and polemical works) that he does not command. This is admirable because until Bellamy searched the King's Bench materials they had not yielded their secrets.

The shortcomings of this introduction to the Tudor law of treason grow from the complexities of the subject. Treason, more specifically high treason, was a crime at law, with origins in common law—as Bellamy demonstrated in his earlier book, *The Law of Treason in the Later Middle Ages* (1970)—and development by statute. Under the Tudors, statutory efflorescence was prodigal, and although the author meticulously dissects the statutes that at various times comprised Tudor treason law, the two chapters devoted to "The Scope of Treason" lack a systematic categorization of the offenses and clear exposition of the often subtle distinctions among them. (Incidentally, 28 Henry VIII c. 9 is *not* one of the treason statutes as indicated on page 63 where it is an obvious misprint for 28 Henry VIII c. 7.) The author also fails to state, as he must, that high treason was distinguished from all other crimes against the state and individuals by its penalties—drawing, hanging, quartering; forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands and tenements; and corruption of blood—and not much else. An unfortunate consequence of this failing is that "misdeeds touching on treason" slips into "treason" (pp. 183–87), whereas the crimes actually treated are sedition and some embryonic subversions (the latter remain only a term of art in English law). Maintaining the distinction would also have avoided the misinformed and misleading point about the ineffectiveness of "conciliar proceedings" and "why no treason trials were staged under them" (p. 266 n. 1)—the King's Council, or more accurately, the Star Chamber had no jurisdiction in treason because it could not touch life or limb.

In the later chapters, when he turns to procedure and punishment, Bellamy slights the political context for all Tudor treason trials, whether of queens and great officers or seminarians and rebels. He attempts generalizations as to the justness of the treason laws and their enforcement by relying on generalizations about Tudor policies rather than the specifics of time and circumstances, the perceived

threat of the offences, and the danger posed by the offenders. This deficiency is compounded by a tendency to "try" the cases again, making large and as yet still unsupported assumptions about rules of evidence, the role of regal interest in the causes, and the function of the sixteenth-century jury. Too favorable a conclusion as to Tudor justice in treason cases is drawn, in part, from the wretched few cases of acquittal (the only notable one being that of Nicholas Throckmorton under Mary). Moreover, much of the discrete information, all of it valuable, provided in these chapters would have the appearance of greater reliability if the author demonstrated a broader grasp of sixteenth-century law. "Possessions" is a poor shortcut for the proper formula, goods and chattels, lands and tenements; "forfeiture" with respect to felony should not be used where escheat is meant; commissions of oyer and terminer and their operation are clearer than the treatment of them in chapter 3 would indicate; the use of torture and the development of pretrial examination receive more accurate treatment in two recent books by John Langbein (*Torture and the Law of Proof* [1977] and *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance* [1974]).

These criticisms voiced, it would be both unjust and ungracious not to acknowledge how useful this introduction to the Tudor law of treason is. It lays open the subject as nothing else before has, it is a genuine contribution to a still-neglected era in English legal history, and it invites further work. For years to come, it will repay close study. Every scholar of Tudor England will have recourse to it: "all the gift doth stretch itself as 'tis received" (*All's Well*, act 2, scene 1).

THOMAS G. BARNES
University of California,
Berkeley

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG. *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1977. Pp. ix, 379. \$34.95.

In the years 1529 to 1545 the English Parliament met sixteen times, virtually once a year, and filled the statute book with an unprecedented spate of legislation. Some of these acts dealt with the religious revolution that was being promoted by the king, but a great many others reflected the far-reaching plans of Thomas Cromwell and his collaborators. Altogether, the parliamentary achievement of these years marks a milestone in the history of the institution. In an earlier volume Stanford E. Lehmberg examined in close detail the history of the parliament that sat eight times between 1529 and 1536 (*The Reformation Parliament, 1529-36* [1970]). In this

work he continues his study through the remaining four parliaments elected in the years 1536 to 1547; they met for nine active sessions. Not surprisingly, much of their business was connected with the continuing problems of religious alteration, but the bulk of social and economic legislation was little diminished even after the disappearance of Cromwell in 1540.

Lehmberg has been meticulous in his research and has sought every fragment of evidence that he could uncover. The results of his labors are both tantalizing and satisfying. All too often we have a glimpse of what lies beneath the formal actions of the houses, just enough to suggest the realities of the power struggle at court or the aspirations of the country but not sufficient to allow us to confirm our guesses. Nevertheless, the author is able to give a convincing sense of the large directions in which events moved. Cromwell's continued management, both of elections and of legislation, is quite visible. More surprising is the continued flow of new legislation in the early 1540s after the removal of his directing hand. That governmental—that is, conciliar—impetus lay behind much of the legislation is apparent, but it is also clear that there was a counterthrust of opinion from the floor of the houses that often led to significant compromise. What is most startling is the complete absence of resistance to the extremely heavy taxation of the war years in the forties. The contrast with the massive (and successful) taxpayers' resistance in the 1520s stands out, and no easy explanation suggests itself.

Lehmberg's careful examination of the large body of private acts is particularly valuable since it gives us a much better sense of the actual functioning of the houses and a clearer vision of the way in which contemporaries regarded the parliamentary institution. The importance of Parliament's activities to the healthy functioning of the busy Tudor state stands out as does the fruitful collaboration between the crown and the county elites, on whose shoulders rested responsibility for the implementation of the measures devised at Westminster.

The author's careful attention to the details of procedure and of convention enables him to display an institution still in the making. Its habits are far from fixed; there is still experimentation and variation and an underlying uncertainty about the nature and functions in a time of radical change. The historian of these years is not blessed with the more abundant materials available for the Elizabethan era, but in many ways Lehmberg's restrained account of a story that can be told only imperfectly is more revealing of the quotidian character of the Tudor Parliament than the lively volumes of Neale's parliamentary studies.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY
Harvard University

ROSEMARY O'DAY. *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642*. Leicester: Leicester University Press; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xvi, 272. \$30.00.

Before the Reformation, Rosemary O'Day argues, England had no clerical profession in the modern sense of the term. Instead, there was a motley collection of graduate administrators and academics who happened to be in orders, largely nongraduate rectors and vicars serving parochial cures, and a host of ill-educated curates and men in minor orders who never held benefices of their own. Although bound together by a common dedication to celibacy and by the traditional conception of the clergy as a mediating priesthood, they lacked both a uniform career pattern and a shared background of professional training. The Reformation, however, led to a rather different and more unified conception of the clergy's function in society. Clergymen at all levels were now expected to be highly trained members of a pastoral ministry, a professional vanguard qualified to preach, teach, and interpret what the laity could only read. Through the efforts of reforming bishops, and through a tremendous expansion in higher education, this goal was at least partially achieved. By the 1640s, most clergymen were university graduates pursuing pastoral careers, and the clergy had become a highly trained profession with a stronger sense of vocational unity.

Although the author's case for professional consolidation is on the whole persuasive, it is probably a bit overstated. The clergy's continued cultivation of their glebe lands, together with the end of clerical celibacy, undoubtedly blurred the distinction between clerics and laymen, while Puritanism and a growing inequality in clerical incomes tended to divide the clergy from within. Even if in most respects the clergy now formed a modern profession, they were much less consolidated, socially and ideologically, than O'Day generally implies. Certainly the author goes too far in describing the seventeenth-century clergy as "one social group" (p. 189), when in practice there were still enormous variations in clerical life styles—variations that tended to coincide with the clergy's varied family backgrounds. More seriously, the author does not show us exactly what the clergy learned when they flocked to the universities or whether their newly won degrees actually made them more effective preachers and pastors. Additional research is clearly needed on the curriculum of England's early modern colleges.

The study is quite valuable, however, in documenting the ways in which a transformation of the clergy was at least attempted. In this regard, O'Day provides much useful information on the reforming activities of the Marian exiles on Elizabeth's episco-

pal bench, on the encouragement they and others gave to prophesyings as a means of furthering the clergy's learning, and on the stricter standards that were eventually applied to candidates for holy orders. She also fully investigates the extent to which reforms were impeded by an antiquated patronage system and by the crown's religious and political conservatism. Her findings may offer few genuine surprises, but they do deepen our understanding of the English Church and its struggle to adapt itself to the Reformation.

JOHN H. PRUETT
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

B. G. BLACKWOOD. *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60*. (Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Third Series, number 25.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, for the Chetham Society; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1978. Pp. xiii, 184. \$25.00.

B. G. Blackwood has written an extremely well-documented, quantitative study of Lancashire's gentry, a very heterogeneous group. (The book contains 979 notes, 56 tables, and 4 appendixes.) Although the focus is on the 774 gentry families of 1642, Blackwood ranges over the whole seventeenth century. He retains a sense of perspective by frequently noting similarities and differences between the gentry of Lancashire and of other counties. Actually, Blackwood has superbly synthesized the state of our current knowledge on the entire English gentry during the seventeenth century.

Only a minority of Lancashire gentry families took sides during the Civil War. Royalist gentry outnumbered Parliamentary gentry about two to one. Compared to Royalist gentry, Parliamentary gentry were newer (postmedieval), more socially mobile, less wealthy, and more active in official capacities. Blackwood is refreshingly unique in that he avoids exaggerating minor and statistically insignificant differences, which the above were, between Parliamentary and Royalist gentry. In Lancashire only two major differences divided the gentry: education and religion. Parliamentary gentry were better educated, and most Royalist gentry were Catholic while most Parliamentary gentry were Puritan. Blackwood's contribution to the history of the Great Rebellion is to point out that religion, not economics, was the more divisive factor in Lancashire.

Those seeking evidence for a rising or declining gentry as a major cause of revolution may be disappointed. Both groups represented a minority of the gentry. And only 4 percent more of those rising sup-

ported Parliament than supported the king, and only 10 percent more of those declining or in financial difficulty supported the king.

Did the revolution lead to great social change? Political power shifted only slightly, and there was little redistribution of property. Blackwood argues that minor social changes, such as some increased participation by nongentry in local government, might also have occurred if the Royalists had won the Civil War. Slightly more than half of both Parliamentary and Royalist gentry declined between 1660 and 1695. The most important cause for the decline of Parliamentary gentry was exclusion from power after the Restoration, and for decline of Royalist gentry it was the lack of male heirs.

An invaluable by-product of Blackwood's tome is his inclusion of suggestions about which documents to consult and how to analyze them in order to determine social structure. Unquestionably, Blackwood has set the standard by which studies of the gentry of other counties will be judged. Rare are similarly sized books with as much data so concisely, lucidly, and persuasively presented.

WALTER J. KING
Upper Iowa University

H. C. TOMLINSON. *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the Later Stuarts*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series, number 15.) London: Royal Historical Society. 1979. Pp. xiii, 268. \$40.80.

Early modern bureaucracy was an untidy blend of public and personal interest: appointment secured by patronage and purchase; use of personal servants and deputies; conflict of interest when officers supplied the goods they requisitioned; inadequate means of financing. Nonetheless it worked, and why it worked relates to the functions it fulfilled in England, providing offices and income to members of the political elite as well as carrying out government policy. H. C. Tomlinson has written a meticulous study of the ordnance office under the later Stuarts that addresses the question of how the department worked if not the way it related to the society it served.

In the later Stuart period, earlier practices in the ordnance office of family service, pluralism, and patronage continued. But major changes occurred. Life tenure, which was so conspicuous in early seventeenth-century government and proved so detrimental to reform under the early Stuarts, changed in the 1670s to office holding at pleasure. Salaries that began to replace traditional fees in the Cromwellian period were ended at the Restoration but reinstituted in the later 1660s. Purchase of office declined. Masters of the Ordnance subject to parlia-

mentary pressure rotated in office, but positions in the middle and lower ranks were increasingly stable as private servants became public officials and many of the technical offices were filled with qualified engineers. In short, the later Stuart ordnance office became increasingly professionalized. Tomlinson points out that most of the principal officers in the period were younger sons of the gentry and more than half of the chief officers had parliamentary connections.

Despite complaints by contemporaries and later historians that the ordnance office was corrupt, Tomlinson convinces the reader that confusion in command, lack of technology, and inadequacy of credit contributed greatly to the department's inability to fulfill its orders. As the bureaucracy expanded under the pressures of continuing warfare, the relation of departments became blurred. The manufacture of cannons, small arms, and gunpowder required lengthy processes that lagged behind military needs. After the Glorious Revolution, Parliament kept the ordnance office on a very tight budget, inadequate, Tomlinson argues, to the needs of the wars in which England engaged itself.

If there is a caveat about this carefully researched book, it is that it does not raise questions that go beyond the office itself. Why did the bureaucracy become more professional in the late seventeenth century? Although recent work on Colbert suggests that he too had to work within the limits of early modern bureaucracy, to what extent did English administrators try to emulate the French? Or did strategies of the early seventeenth century and the Cromwellian period shape later administrative practices? What was the complex interrelationship of war with the development and structure of bureaucracy? How did the connections of the officers with Parliament and the landed aristocracy relate to the politics of the period? Tomlinson has nonetheless provided a very useful picture of the work of the ordnance office and the pressures with which it contended in late Stuart government.

LINDA LEVY PECK
Purdue University

EVELINE CRUICKSHANKS. *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1979. Pp. vi, 166. \$27.00.

In *Political Untouchables* Eveline Cruickshanks makes the case as eloquently as she can for identifying the Tory Party as Jacobite between 1715 and 1745. For those who know her chapter in the History of Parliament volumes directed by Romney Sedgwick, this will come as no surprise. The prospect of a Jacobite threat as a military challenge to the Hanoverians is one matter, the extent to which the Jacobites dominated the Tories another. Here Cruick-

shanks is contested by B. W. Hill (1976) and most other scholars of the period who are disinclined to accept that the party rank and file were committed Jacobites. Moreover, Cruickshanks (pp. 26ff.) maintains that the Tories (Jacobites) refused to cooperate with the opposition Whigs at crucial moments, thus saving Walpole, while Hill contends (pp. 227–28) that in the final analysis it was the opposition Whigs who would not make common cause with the Tories when it could mean the destruction of a Whig government, albeit one led by Walpole.

There is no question that many Tories and even some Whigs professed an attachment to the exiled Stuarts. To translate this verbal flirtation with the Jacobite cause into avowed support for military action against George I or George II is another matter. Here a natural skepticism must prevail. The actual number of those who would even commit themselves in writing as revealed by Cruickshanks's indefatigable labors is not great. Moreover, none of these were prepared to act without direct military support from France. There is the rub. Inasmuch as that military support was either not forthcoming or on the several occasions when it was planned the invasion was aborted, the sentiments of the English Tories were not really put to the test. Certainly the two uprisings of 1715 and 1745 did not reveal widespread support for the Jacobite cause in England. The issue of military assistance is critical. This was clearly recognized by the governments of George I and George II, for there were so few standing troops in Britain that a well-organized invasion force could easily overwhelm their defenses, however loyal the people.

Cruickshanks has employed some interesting new material, notably the diary of Dudley Ryder, the attorney general, to illustrate Walpole's own concern. It seems to have been real enough. The fact that the prevailing sentiment of the electorate was Tory rather than Whig is also undeniable. But even Cruickshanks must admit: "How widespread was the wish for a restoration at this time [1745] is not a question that, on the face of it, can ever be answered" (p. 45).

Cruickshanks has performed a useful service in identifying those Tories with Jacobite sympathies and chronicling their flirtations, their expressions of support, and their activities on behalf of the Pretenders. She also explains reasonably how Tories, banned from public office for several generations by Hanoverian sovereigns, might naturally seek favor from the only alternative source, the Pretender. But to brand the whole Tory Party as Jacobite on the basis of protestations without substance and negative evidence (pp. 45–46) strains the evidence too far. In the final analysis Cruickshanks herself is too good a scholar to maintain that.

HENRY L. SNYDER
Louisiana State University

FRANKLIN WICKWIRE and MARY WICKWIRE. *Cornwallis: The Imperial Years*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 340. \$16.50.

With this volume Franklin Wickwire and Mary Wickwire conclude their study of Cornwallis, which they began a decade ago with *Cornwallis: The American Adventure* (1970). We now have for the first time a complete account of the career of this curious and interesting figure. The authors have chosen a rather traditional "life and times" approach to their subject and make little attempt at the now fashionable probing of the psyche. There is, however, a tantalizing hint of stress and complexity underlying the stolid exterior in the way Cornwallis pined for his Suffolk estate whenever he was abroad but was invariably restless to be away again once actually there.

During the years covered by this volume Cornwallis filled a number of important appointments. The two most significant were governor general of India (1786–93) and lord lieutenant of Ireland (1798–1800)—striking testimony to the fact that the political world never allowed the memory of Yorktown to shake its confidence in him. That confidence was not based on his abilities—the authors bluntly rate his brains as second class—but rather on his character. He was a Victorian before the fact, devoted to duty, crown, and empire and much given to expressing himself on those subjects with a truly Curzonian ponderousness. Cornwallis, in fact, foreshadowed the proconsular era to come when gentlemen amateurs, "all-rounders," presided with justice, firmness, and detached complacency over those the empire was called upon to rule. Much of the success of the "Cornwallis reforms" in India (success, incidentally, much less complete than the authors are disposed to allow) was due to Cornwallis's good luck in finding like-minded proto-Victorians in the ranks of the East India Company's civil administration—men like John Shore, Charles Grant, and Jonathan Duncan. They provided much of the drive, and most of the ideas, behind the governor general's reforms, and they remained concerned with Indian administration and its improvement after Cornwallis had moved on to other things. It is interesting that where Cornwallis's style did not evoke similar answering echoes—his dealings with the officer corps of the company's army or, later, with the ascendancy in Ireland are cases in point—his success was minimal.

Cornwallis's imperial career, especially its Indian chapter, is a revealing symptom of the shifting attitudes that were about to transform the colorful, buccaneering mercantile empire of the eighteenth century into the aloof, high-minded, bureaucratic structure over which his imperial successors presided. The Wickwires have given us a very good case study of this sea change in the way the British

viewed their overseas possessions, a useful contribution to the literature on the subject even if at times it does seem a bit marmoreal.

RAYMOND CALLAHAN
University of Delaware

CLIVE EMSLEY. *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1979. Pp. viii, 216. \$19.50.

The years from 1793 to 1815 are crucial in shaping modern British society. Yet the domestic history of Britain during the wars with France at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries has been a neglected subject. When historians have dealt with these years they have usually focused on the impact of the Industrial Revolution. Clive Emsley provides a fresh perspective: to him the wars themselves supply the key to understanding important changes in this period.

It is tempting to argue with Emsley's contention that Britain's wars with revolutionary and Napoleonic France provided more of a "common experience" for the British than did the Industrial Revolution during the same years. But such argument is fruitless, for, as this book clearly if unintentionally demonstrates, it is impossible to separate the effects of war and economic change. They are hopelessly intertwined. Still, even if Emsley fails to show "how far changing attitudes may be attributed, at least partly, to the wars" (p. 4), he has written a valuable book.

Emsley has drawn rich material from government documents, newspapers, novels, caricatures, and especially from local record offices. His research is prodigious, and he has used it well. The writing is clear, the examples well chosen and illuminating. In only 182 pages he ranges over an astounding variety of subjects. He is concerned with the response of the central government, with the demands war placed on local administration, with recruiting for army, navy, and militia, with the fluctuations in the economy, with Martello Towers and the impact of taxation, with lower-class unrest and middle-class organizations, with patriotism and propaganda, with Ireland, indeed, with everything from the collection of statistics to the threat of revolution. Every reader will object that some pet subject has been ignored. There is little here, for example, on women, or on the dissenters. But what is remarkable is that Emsley manages to discuss so much so well in such a brief book.

Still, the central problem of measuring the effects of the wars remains. And while Emsley does establish that these wars were different, more nearly "total" than earlier eighteenth-century struggles, what is surprising is how little long-term impact such a major conflict produced. Some administrative re-

form was forced on the national government, though perhaps no more than would have occurred in peacetime. Local government, despite the unprecedented tasks assigned it during the wars, quickly reverted to "its easy going eighteenth century pattern" (p. 178). Emsley provides interesting evidence on the rising consciousness of both working and middle classes, but whether this resulted directly from the wars remains unproven.

D. W. Brogan's famous comment on Jane Austen notwithstanding, the French wars did affect the lives of Britons of all classes. How much basic change, in attitudes or institutions, they produced is another question. This question, despite Emsley's admirable effort, remains unanswered.

JAMES L. MCKELVEY
University of Connecticut

MAXINE BERG. *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815-1848*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 379. \$35.00.

This is an ambitious book. Early industrial machinery and the origins of political economy are hard topics to relate. Maxine Berg tries to do this and argues that political economy was a product of the machine age. While the desirability of machinery was being debated, the discipline of political economy was being formed.

A down-to-earth subject such as technology and a highly abstract one such as political economy are difficult to reconcile. It is the chief merit of Berg's book that this assignment has been accomplished in a generally successful fashion. It is no easy task to deal with characters as different as the subtle David Ricardo and the nearly illiterate George Stephenson. In this respect, Berg's book is vital and breaks new ground.

Berg is at her best when dealing with political economy. The short chapter on the radicals is her worst since much of it is devoted to the socialist, Robert Owen, and it does not consider most of the major figures in the radical political movement. Because she sees William Cobbett as a radical, Berg is uncomfortable with his views on machinery; but when we consider Cobbett as a utopian reactionary, his attitude toward machinery becomes intelligible. Similarly, a person who is not mentioned in the book, John Cartwright, was able to combine an appreciation of machinery with a sturdy middle-of-the-road political radicalism. Berg has a shaky grasp of radical and working-class history, and it leads her to misspell consistently the name of Gravener Henson. Also, the two last chapters in the book on social reformers and Engels and J. S. Mill are not as detailed as they should be in the light of their importance to her argument. The book badly needs a good concluding chapter, which should

summarize a work that deals with issues as complex and wide ranging as this one.

It is impossible to give Berg credit for completely succeeding in her effort. But on her behalf I am happy to say that she has set herself a difficult task for a historian born in 1950. The book has developed from an Oxford doctoral thesis, and it is refreshing to find a young historian who is not afraid to tackle the big questions. There is much that she does not yet know about late Hanoverian and early Victorian history, but her book deserves an alpha for ambition, even if it rates a less high mark for accomplishment. As Robert Browning said, a man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what's a heaven for?

JOHN W. OSBORNE
Rutgers University,
University College

NORMAN GASH. *Aristocracy and People: Britain, 1815-1865*. (The New History of England.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. 375. \$20.00.

This is one in a current series, "The New History of England," edited by Norman Gash and A. G. Dickens. This volume is a substantial work of scholarship that attempts to synthesize the recent contributions to the study of the early nineteenth century. Norman Gash reinterprets the period of the Industrial Revolution by giving more adequate attention to the growth in population, the rise of cities, and the economic difficulties attending the wide fluctuations in the business cycle. Heretofore these subjects have been subordinate to industrialism and the rise of the factory system, an interpretation that disregarded the continuing predominance of agriculture.

Norman Gash's new synthesis is a challenge to the older interpretations that stress social conflict and the class struggle, which were supposed to have characterized the period of the Industrial Revolution. Gash denies the existence of the "two nations"—the rich and the poor—as depicted in Disraeli's novel *Sybil*. Instead of this stark distinction between two hostile classes Gash thinks "An immense and complex gradation of classes stretched from the very rich to the very poor" (p. 2). Gash contends that social divisions were vertical, rather than horizontal, running downward through the rich and poor alike. The historical gulf separating Anglicans from Dissenters, he thinks, was greater than any division separating social classes. Rather than celebrate the triumph of the middle classes, Gash features "the success of the aristocracy and the gentry in retaining both the substance of their traditional political power and the social deference of other influential classes" (p. 8). The inherent social

solidarity, Gash argues, saved England from the revolutions that occurred on the Continent in 1830 and 1848.

The author has organized his complex materials into two introductory analytical chapters, seven chronological chapters, one chapter on war and foreign policy, and a final summary chapter and conclusion. The two general introductory chapters should be required reading for students of American history because they so clearly describe the social and economic conditions of the people, their government, and their religion. Although most Americans know the general features of the central government and the parliamentary system, they inadequately comprehend the complexities of local government as conducted by parish officials and the justices of the peace. Gash not only treats amply the system of local government but also describes clearly the organization of religion, explaining the decline of the established church and the rise of the dissenting denominations. This careful study will surely become required reading for students of English history and will displace some of the previous accounts of the period that lack Gash's sympathetic understanding of the whole of British society.

R. G. COWHERD
Lehigh University

MICHAEL DUREY. *The Return of the Plague: British Society and the Cholera, 1831-2*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan or Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. 269. \$37.50.

Despite its title, this is a calm and unemphatic survey of the immediate impact of the first Asian cholera epidemic in Britain in 1831-32. Michael Durey's approach typifies a peculiarly British way of handling the subject. From the informed, measured contemporary narratives by Gaultier, Greenhow, and Shapter to the admirable modern studies by R. A. Lewis (1952), Norman Longmate (1966), and R. J. Morris (1976), the accent has been on the stability and resilience of British society; by contrast, French writing on the subject is replete with bizarre alarms, excursions, and forecasts—unfulfilled—of national doom. Of course the cholera in Britain was much less destructive, and it engendered much less fear, misery, and violence than in France, Hungary, and Russia. Nonetheless, it killed about thirty-one thousand people in Britain during the year beginning October 1831.

Many of Durey's findings about the spread of the disease, its devastating impact on small communities, and the chicanery of local mercantile interests in suppressing reports of outbreaks and, in seaports especially, of resisting quarantine are familiar from the work of Longmate and Morris. But

Durey's attempts to test French theories about cholera as a cause of unrest and the assumed relationship between the cholera and the Reform Bill agitation provide new insights. He argues persuasively that cholera scares had little to do with the reform agitations because the cholera twice abated just when the agitations became fiercest, while the radicals failed to give a political thrust to the anxieties about cholera among the middling and working classes. He shows, too, that cholera had no apparent links in 1831-32 with industrial struggles. Hence Durey implicitly rejects, so far as Britain is concerned, Louis Chevalier's hypothesis about cholera inducing political turbulence among the dangerous classes. Such unrest as did develop arose from fears about body snatching and the Anatomy Act rather than from cholera. Durey's case is convincing for 1831-32, but one wonders about longer-term effects, particularly in relation to the popular opposition to the New Poor Law in the mid-1830s.

Durey also has a fresh approach to the medical men and their treatments. He shows why intravenous saline therapy was resorted to so hesitantly, and he exonerates the surgeons of overzealous blood letting by lancet, although he ignores the likelihood that this procedure, amid the filth that accompanied cholera, must have transmitted serious cross-infections. He raises but unfortunately does not develop the larger issue of governments having to act on expert advice when the experts lack the solutions and have an interest in disguising the results of their advice and in shifting the blame. But perhaps this legerdemain is a precondition of social resilience.

F. B. SMITH

Australian National University

JOHN M. EYLER. *Victorian Social Medicine: The Ideas and Methods of William Farr*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 262. \$19.50.

The subtitle of this book accurately describes its contents, for it is, first and foremost, a study of the thinking and methods of the British government statistician and social thinker, William Farr. Born in 1807 and trained for medical practice, Farr taught himself elementary mathematics and statistics and, in 1839, went to work in the recently created General Register Office, where he remained until his resignation in 1880. John M. Eyler's study is not biography but intellectual history, the exploration of Farr's ideas and his contributions to the sanitarian movement and to the emerging science of social statistics.

Eyler devotes one chapter of his work to a description of the state of statistics in the 1830s, when Farr entered this field of endeavor. He then focuses his lens more closely on the General Register Office

and the character of official records of birth and death in the early Victorian years. The remainder of the study explores Farr's thinking in detail. Eyler pays special attention to several components of Farr's work: the importance of the life table and actuarial methods in Farr's statistical analyses; Farr's medical ideas, especially his theories of disease; his treatment of environmental factors in morbidity and mortality; and his role in sanitary reform in the army and hospitals. Integral to Eyler's treatment is the way Farr brought together ideas about medicine, social science, and social policy.

Eyler argues convincingly for a vision of Farr as a proponent of an objective statistical and social science. In so doing, he offers a useful corrective to the view that early Victorian statisticians were merely reform propagandists or self-serving bureaucrats, as suggested in M. J. Cullen's *Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain* (1975). Perhaps in reaction against what he sees as Cullen's reductionism, Eyler underplays the importance of the social and institutional environment in which Farr moved. Attentive, for example, to Farr's medical theories, Eyler seems to underestimate the importance of the rifts and rivalries in the medico-professional world that might have influenced Farr's ideas and shaped his experience as a general practitioner-turned-bureaucrat dealing with the titans of the Victorian medical establishment.

Because of Eyler's meticulous research and his detailed exploration of Farr's assumptions as well as his statistical methods, his work should provide a useful guide to scholars working with Farr's voluminous publications and the records of the General Register Office. (The usefulness of this work would have been enhanced by including a guide to the charts and graphs reproduced in the book and by a more thorough index.) Readers will also find in Farr's story an important chapter in the history of medical statistics, Victorian public health, and the development of the social sciences in Britain.

M. JEANNE PETERSON
*Indiana University,
Bloomington*

A. J. YOUNGSON. *The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1979. Pp. 237. \$22.50.

Despite the implications of its title, this is, in fact, a study of the reception of anesthesia and antisepsis in England and Scotland, ca. 1846-80. While these innovations are hardly new historical materials, A. J. Youngson is correct in recognizing that there are no other short comparative histories that promise broader generalizations about the process of innovation in medicine. His book is short and clearly

written. The sampling of early British opinions and arguments about anesthesia and antiseptics drawn from the medical press—mainly *The Lancet*—is well chosen and usually adequately explained. This survey of published medical opinion is the strongest part of the text.

As the author moves away from surgical procedures and medical polemics, however, his account weakens. His interpretation ignores several important recent historical studies of the Victorian medical profession and its institutions. Youngson also shows a regrettable lack of sympathy with past biological and medical theory and with what he sees as the inability of Victorian medical men to “think scientifically.” He continues: “One wonders sometimes if many of them thought at all” (p. 17). His account is the least convincing in generalizing about the relationship of science to medical innovation. Anesthesia seems a poor choice because, as the author himself explains, this innovation involved no theoretical change. Victorians had no knowledge of how or why anesthetic agents produced their physiological effects, and the early development of anesthesia was largely a matter of empirical tinkering in surgical and obstetric practice.

The advent of antiseptics is a much more appropriate case study because, as Youngson quite properly insists, the successful use of antiseptics required a fundamental conceptual change, nothing less than the acceptance of the germ theory of disease. Even though he gives considerable attention to the reception of Lister’s methods, the author does not adequately explore either the process by which this intellectual change was effected or the nature of that change. We are told little about the previous medical theories of inflammation, although at least one of the spokesmen Youngson quotes refers to the contrast of Hunter’s and Lister’s views on this subject (p. 222). Youngson also treats the dominant contagionist, miasmatic, and chemical theories of diseases cursorily.

In his final chapter Youngson proposes a scheme or model, drawn from his two case studies, to explain the reception of medical innovation. Of the ten key factors he identifies, only two, he concludes, are primarily scientific. The others are social or cultural. Despite this realization, the author has chosen an approach that severely limits his ability to analyze those forces not addressed directly in the Victorian medical literature. A striking illustration is Youngson’s discussion of the significant fact that greater resistance to anesthesia was encountered in obstetrics than in surgery. A “miscellaneous assortment of medical, sociological, and ethical and religious objections” is blamed for the lag in obstetrics. The suggestion is raised that Victorian attitudes toward women might have been the crux of the matter (p. 215), but in a few sentences this important issue is allowed to slip away unexplored.

The work also displays evidence of careless editing: nineteenth-century events are occasionally transported into the twentieth century (pp. 64, 75), and words are senselessly repeated in quotation (p. 195). Misstatements of fact, such as the century in which the stethoscope appeared (p. 19) or the name of the originator of cellular pathology (p. 20), may perhaps be explained similarly.

JOHN M. EYLER
University of Minnesota,
Twin Cities

TONY MASON. *Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press or Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1980. Pp. x, 278. \$36.25.

In the occupational table on page 93 the author heads the skilled-worker column with the trade of mason. This book justifies such an apparent case of egotism! One reason for this being the best published work on English soccer is that Tony Mason has made extensive use of previously underused source material. For a start he has ploughed through the sporting press, a time-consuming and frequently boring task: how many pages had he to turn before tedium was alleviated by the Lancashire cup-final referee who officiated beneath a raised umbrella or by the advertisement for a professional who could play music as well as soccer? Another mainly untapped source was the shareholders’ and directors’ lists of clubs that adopted company status. Mason uses these effectively to examine the occupational background of those who owned and controlled professional teams. (The same files at Companies House, however, also hold many annual reports and financial statements that he virtually ignores.) Although access was granted to the records of the Football Association, the Football League, and the Professional Footballers Association, the clubs themselves proved difficult to get into. Nevertheless, Mason was able to obtain data from Derby County and from Aston Villa, possibly the most successful of the pre-1915 clubs.

Mason blends this material into a highly readable history covering such aspects as the origin and development of professional clubs; the players, including an original section on schoolboy soccer; and the size, composition, and behavior of soccer crowds. He also produces a useful survey of the sporting press. Primarily, however, he is concerned with the degree to which soccer was a working-class game. His task is not easy. Apart from the injury list at the Ibrox disaster—and this was in Scotland—he was unable to improve on the many contemporary observations that the spectators were mainly working class. As for players, he discovered the occupations of only 165 professionals, though this limited

sample was dominated by skilled workingmen. His analysis of shareholders reveals that the middle class was in the fore but that a significant proportion of shares was held by workingmen. Here Mason's presentation hampers his discussion: a table dealing with one club, an unsuccessful one at that, and a narrative mentioning some others is a less-than-perfect substitute for a table dealing with all clubs. Turning to the power structure in soccer, he shows that club directors, like the Football Association Council, were clearly middle class, though he highlights a possible dichotomy in their attitude toward professional soccer.

Finally, I have two minor quibbles. First, photographs and maps are left to stand by themselves with little reference in the text. Second, Mason is somewhat dismissive of theoreticians without justifying his stance, though perhaps his empirical study par excellence is sufficient grounds.

WRAY VAMPLEW

Flinders University of South Australia

F. D. DOW. *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xii, 361. \$37.50.

F. D. Dow has provided us with a detailed narrative of the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland from the conquest following 1651 to the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The narrative fleshes out the picture created three quarters of a century ago by such distinguished scholars as Gardiner, Firth, Terry, and Douglas. Like these earlier scholars, Dow's viewpoint (though not her sympathies) is that of the army and the English authorities. Again like these scholars she approaches the Cromwellians not as religious radicals or even as social revolutionaries but as administrators and soldiers.

Not surprisingly in these circumstances, Dow does nothing to alter the long-established view of the Cromwellian experience in Scotland. The English forces initially expected to establish the Commonwealth in Scotland by freeing the commoners from the nobility, the greater gentry, and the ministers. This policy failed completely, and its most visible result was to drive financially strapped gentlemen into revolt with Glencairn. Subsequently, less radical policies were pursued by Monk and Broghill, which produced an accommodation with many of the traditional elites. Significant elements within these elites became increasingly involved—with the army—in a system of local and central administration that at times worked remarkably effectively. At the same time efforts to establish the Gillespie wing of the divided kirk consistently failed, but by the latter half of the decade the government found itself courted by all factions while becoming the captive

of none. The ultimate testimony to Cromwellian success was, ironically, Scotland's stability just before and during Monk's march south into the disintegrating English republic.

Now all of this is very familiar ground indeed—and ground from which Dow can never bring herself to depart. She never wonders why the covenant was so centrally important to Scottish saints, in marked contrast to the English saints who were their conquerors. She never wonders how Scotsmen understood the meaning of their massive misfortunes, although they certainly spent a lot of time thinking and talking about it. Nor does she ever ask how Englishmen interpreted their stupendous success. Where in the world, we might wonder, did they come up with the idea that the first task of the army was the liberation of the Scottish commons? If the aspirations of the Cromwellians in Scotland emerge only in the most elementary way, those of the Scottish Cromwellians barely emerge at all. It is regrettable that Dow did not consult the Linlithgow manuscripts and James Hope's correspondence in London and Edinburgh: if nothing else the material indicates that the Scottish role in "settling the judicatures" was rather greater than Dow suggests. The mind of Warriston remains as elusive to Dow as it was to his editors early in this century. Argyll is as much an enigma as he was to scholars seventy-five years ago, and we must await Edward Cowan for a serious, modern study of the great marquis. The story repeats itself with Jaffray, Gillespie, Strachan, Kerr, Rutherford, and so many of the figures of the age. We have the bare events, but we are far from the world of either conqueror or conquered, covenanter or collaborator. *Cromwellian Scotland* offers a meticulous and competent narrative, but it does little of moment to carry us beyond the great pioneers.

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON
New York University

ALAN B. CAMPBELL. *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions, 1775-1874*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xi, 354. \$45.00.

This book is the most detailed social history of workers in a single British industry to be written so far by one of a group of able young British labor historians who were trained in the 1970s at the Centre for the Study of Social History at the University of Warwick in England. Alan B. Campbell's argument, briefly stated, is that the history of coal-mining unionism in western Scotland from 1775 to 1874 can best be seen in terms of the rise and fall of the philosophy and work habits of what he calls the independent collier. This phase began with the

Emancipation Act of 1799, which delivered Scottish miners from their neo-feudal status of "degraded slaves" under the pre-existing system; it ended in the 1870s when the policies associated with the "honorable men" position, which the miners had built up, became intellectually bankrupt as well as impossible to enforce in a rapidly changing, capital-intensive industry. This enables the author to show us the need to view the miner not as an unskilled, brutish proletarian, besotted by drink and isolated from all humanizing influences—a vision commonly held of him by middle-class opinion in the nineteenth century—but as a proud, highly skilled worker practicing an ancient craft and struggling to defend his dignity and workplace autonomy in the face of an increasingly systematized, machine-oriented, and bureaucratic form of enterprise. This central aspect of the author's argument is admirably and convincingly conveyed as he describes for us the separate contracts into which each collier entered with the mineowner, his hiring of his own underground helpers, and his refusal to accept workplace discipline. Admirable, too, is the way in which Campbell explains the collapse of this independent tradition, which resulted from—among other things—the impractical use of selective strikes by British National Miners Association President Alexander MacDonald and his excessive reliance on the employers' goodwill in the depression of the mid-1870s. The careful analysis of wage rates and intelligent use of census materials to give us a statistical portrait of several of the mining villages around Glasgow, are also to be commended.

This last section of the study, however, points to some faults. Campbell uses a comparative analysis of two mining and iron-making towns near Glasgow, Coatbridge—with its rapid growth and its large influx of Irish—and Larkhall—with its fewer immigrants, slower growth, and hence more stable union—to make several of his points. Here, a somewhat deeper, community-oriented analysis of friendly societies, leisure pursuits, diet, housing, and other extra-workplace activities and of the physical and geological attributes of the mining seams themselves (which profoundly affected work habits and wage levels) would have enlivened the narrative as well as strengthened the author's case.

For American readers the most suggestive parts of Campbell's book will probably be (1) those that concern the inhibiting effects of religious and ethnic differences on class formation, which are usually thought of as an American but not a British phenomenon; (2) the analogy between MacDonaldism and the philosophy of the Knights of Labor; and (3) the comparative significance of the rural ties that many Lanarkshire miners retained when they moved into mining towns, especially when viewed in the context of U.S. homestead legislation and the

migration of many Scottish miners to the American Midwest after the Civil War. But even if they confine themselves to the trade union portions of this book, readers will find it a more sophisticated piece of analysis than any yet written on the American coalmining industry, with the possible exception of Katherine Harvey's work on the Maryland miners, who also numbered some Scottish immigrants among them.

JOHN H. M. LASLETT
University of California,
Los Angeles

NORMAN MURRAY. *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790–1850: A Social History*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers; distributed by P. D. Meany, Port Credit, Ontario. 1978. Pp. viii, 269. \$36.00.

Contemporary accounts and historical interpretations of the Industrial Revolution in Britain have traditionally portrayed the hand loom weavers as victims of inevitable economic forces, whose imprudent choices led to impoverishment, machine breaking, and alcoholism. In the present study, Norman Murray draws on records from local archives and weavers' societies as well as the usual parliamentary reports to specify a variety in the weavers' lives and labor obscured by general narratives. Whether the Industrial Revolution in Scotland is explained as the product of a breakthrough in one sector or development across a broad front of the economy, the textile industry must be considered crucial in the process.

Murray demonstrates that, during the early stages of transformation, hand loom weavers played a vital industrial role. They adopted new techniques and organizational forms that increased productivity. During the "Golden Age" of the hand loom trade, 1790 to 1812, hand loom weavers had a major impact on the local and national economies because their money and real wages increased as their numbers did. Falling profits and failure of the first hand loom weavers' strike in 1812 marked the beginning of a period of fluctuating trade and generally falling wages for the weavers. Although workers continued to enter the hand loom industry, after 1812 the weavers became less significant for their purchasing power than for their efforts to survive, attempts at unionism, and assimilation of radicalism.

Murray's research is thorough and his handling of evidence judicious. He avoids the optimistic bias of Duncan Bythell's *The Hand Loom Weavers: A Study of the English Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution* (1969). But Murray's book lacks a cogent interpretive or comparative framework and consequently does not define its place in the histo-

riography of the Industrial Revolution. He eschews any direct reference to the standard-of-living debate on the English working class during industrialization. In fact, he refers to the hand loom weavers in England as "elsewhere." Still, he discusses the questions important to that debate. Was there really a Golden Age for the hand loom weaver? Why did workers continue to enter the industry after weavers' wages began to fall? Was it possible for the spouse and children to add to the family income by weaving? Was the hand loom weaver's poverty a function of income level or imprudent budgeting? Although Murray's history is balanced, he leaves no doubt that the hand loom weavers' displacement and disappearance were accompanied by primary poverty and paradox.

The story of the hand loom weaver is pervaded by historical irony: the weavers' very adaptiveness contributed to their decline. The weavers' efforts to cope with falling wages by working longer hours or adding the labor of their family only contributed to overstocking and pushed piece rates down further. Their attempts to control entry to the hand loom trade was imitated by the power loom operatives; when the hand loom weavers tried to transfer to the power loom, the way was blocked. Their efforts to unionize were hindered not only by the courts and middle-class press but also by the dispersed and heterogeneous organization of the trade that had allowed them to survive early challenges. Murray's measured judgments and wide scholarship, indicated in the chapter notes and full bibliography, add immensely to our understanding of workers' adaptiveness to changes in their industry, life, and culture.

GERRY C. GUNNIN
Oklahoma Baptist University

DONALD HARMAN AKENSON. *Between Two Revolutions: Islandmagee, County Antrim, 1798–1920*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1979. Pp. 221. \$17.50.

Donald Harman Akenson's book is written in a spirit of self-criticism. He believes that he and other professional Irish historians have disastrously neglected Irish local history in favor of an over-politicized "national" perspective. He has picked a somewhat isolated, largely Presbyterian Ulster community as a corrective. The author succeeds completely in his main objective. This book is a triumphant riposte to the millenarian version of nineteenth-century Irish history.

Much of the book is taken up with the problem that has plagued professional historians for years: the evolution of the Ulster Presbyterian community from its significant commitment to the ideals of the revolutionary United Irishmen in 1798 to the anti-Irish nationalist, pro-British Empire political stance

of 1886. Akenson gives us a fascinating study of one William McClelland who, at twenty-two years old, led the rising in 1798 and then, after a period abroad, returned to become a member of the Islandmagee Yeomanry and generally a substantial, respectable figure in the community until his death in 1859.

Akenson acknowledges, however, that such a widespread shift of allegiance by a large group requires more than a personal biographic explanation. Most explanations of the behavior of Ulster Protestants in general introduce various factors: the general phenomenon of the uneven development of Irish capitalism, the growth of Belfast, and the rise of Orangeism and evangelical religion. Akenson accepts much of this but argues that his small community's evolution must be explained in a different way. Akenson claims that these influences played little role in Islandmagee. His thesis is that in 1798, as in 1886–1921, the Islanders were above all defending the integrity of the Ulster Scots regional culture against incursions by external agencies.

There is much that is attractive in Akenson's argument. His authoritative account of the local economy is a further bonus. Yet, for all that, it is not fully convincing. There is a danger too that much of the exercise is simply knocking down straw men—for example, the discussion of landlord absenteeism. This leads to a neglect of the real questions: it is not surprising that Presbyterian tenant farmers did not join the Fenian-inspired Land League, but what was their relationship to the revival of a specifically Ulster (more openly moderate and constitutional) tenant-right radical tradition provoked by the Land League movement in 1879–82? Akenson tells us nothing on this score. Yet this was a critical period in the formation of two opposing national allegiances in Ireland.

Nor is the author's dismissal of broader explanations entirely satisfactory. Belfast's prosperity undoubtedly improved the fortunes of its immediate agricultural hinterland. Akenson's account of the local Orange Order is suspiciously apolitical and anodyne. In short, in their new-found enthusiasm for Irish local history, Irish scholars are in danger of producing a *depoliticized social history* and thus leaving many of the really important questions unanswered.

PAUL BEW
Queen's University of Belfast

SAMUEL CLARK. *Social Origins of the Irish Land War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 418. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$8.95.

In examining the Irish Land War of the late 1870s and early 1880s from a sociological perspective, em-

phasizing particularly mobilization theory, Samuel Clark disagrees with James S. Donnelly, Jr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork* (1975), and Joseph Lee, *The Modernization of Irish Society, 1848-1914* (1973), who argue that rising expectations inspired the Land League.

Contrasting pre- and post-Famine Irish agitations against British colonialism, Clark identifies the urban middle class and the Catholic clergy as the nucleus of early national movements such as Catholic Emancipation and Repeal. With the exception of the antislavery effort, agrarian protests were local and fragmented. Following the Famine, national schools, railroads, newspapers, towns, and a livestock agrarian economy resulted in national economic and cultural integration. This new situation, coupled with the Famine-related decline in the number of agricultural laborers, coalesced the interests of large and small tenant farmers, creating a new challenging collectivity. The agricultural depression of the late 1870s mobilized this collectivity and, for the first time, deeply involved the economically underdeveloped west of Ireland in a national movement.

Because of their kinship and credit ties with farmers, shopkeepers, some of whom had Fenian associations, played an important leadership role in the National Land League and became more significant than priests. The influence of the town and large farmer elements in the Land League kept it from antiurbanism, which has been so common in agrarian radicalism outside of Ireland, and cultivated an alliance with Parnellite nationalism. The challenging collectivity did not destroy landlordism but did disable it, preparing the way for peasant proprietorship. In the wake of the 1881 Land Act, Parnell enlisted the challenging collectivity as the core of Home Rule nationalism. It has continued as an influential element in Irish politics.

Sociological models illuminate aspects of the Irish historical process, but they also narrow the vision. The challenging collectivity thesis supplements rather than invalidates rising expectations as a source of the Land War. Paul Bew's, *Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82* (1979) reveals tensions and conflicts between large and small farmers that Clark overlooks. Thomas N. Brown's *Irish-American Nationalism* (1966) suggests that New Departure nationalism might have been more important than the agricultural depression in mobilizing the new challenging collectivity.

Despite some of the limitations that his methodology imposes, Clark's book is a major contribution to the literature of the Irish Land Question. Solidly researched, exceptionally well written and organized, it punctures many myths and intelligently and perceptively presents and analyzes a vast

amount of new information on a rapidly changing rural Ireland.

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY
Loyola University,
Chicago

N. M. SUTHERLAND. *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 394. \$25.00.

N. M. Sutherland has numerous publications on aspects of French history during the Reformation to her credit. Her stated purpose in writing the present book is to examine "the relations between the Protestants, the Catholics, and the crown in sixteenth-century France" (p. ix). She has chosen to do this largely by focusing on the royal edicts relating to the Protestants from 1525 to 1598, using archival and printed sources. The result is an account of royal religious policy in the context of political circumstances at home and abroad, leading to the uncontroversial conclusion that all the French kings of the period were less concerned with doctrinal questions than with the problem of maintaining the authority and *bonne police* of the crown in a religiously divided kingdom.

Although the basic story is a familiar one, it has not often been told in English. Sutherland's version brings the old classics up to date, adds some new insights, and incorporates much recent work done in France. Since any narrative of conflicting interests, personalities, and diplomatic negotiations is necessarily complex, it could be wished that Sutherland's prose were less dense and that she had been more mindful of nonspecialist readers.

Among the particularly useful parts of the book are the chapter elucidating the sometimes misunderstood religious policy of François I, the chapter detailing the development of the conspiracy of Amboise, the sections dealing with the French Protestant-Netherlands connection, and the analysis of Henri IV's difficulties with his former coreligionists. It is also noteworthy that Catherine de Medici appears throughout the book in a sympathetic light as a *politique* working for peace where possible: a reassessment of Catherine that we could have expected from Sutherland, who has defused the myth of the "wicked Italian queen" in a bibliographical article in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 (1978).

The edicts of religion issued by the French crown between 1525 and 1598 are listed, briefly summarized, and explained in the appendix. Considering that many of them are not easily accessible to students, it is regrettable that at least short selections from the texts themselves were not included. This may have been a publisher's decision for reasons of

economy. There are, however, copious footnotes and a full bibliography of sources and secondary works.

RUTH KLEINMAN
Brooklyn College,
City University of New York

LUCIANO GUERCI. *Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni: Sparta, Atene e i "philosophes" nella Francia del Settecento.* (La Storia e le Idee. Esperienze, number 51.) Naples: Guida Editori. 1979. Pp. 279. L. 8,500.

DANIELE MENOZZI. *Lecture politiche di Gesù: Dall'Antico Régime alla Rivoluzione.* (Istituto per le Scienze Religiose di Bologna. Testi e Ricerche di Scienze Religiose, number 15.) Brescia: Paideia Editrice. 1979. Pp. 262. L. 8,000.

Both of these works by Italian scholars dealing with eighteenth-century French thought are clear, thoroughly researched, and well organized. Moreover, both confirm Croce's dictum that all history is contemporary. Either of these books is profitable by itself, but the two are most illuminating when read together.

Acknowledging his debt to the scholarship of Venturi and Momigliano, Luciano Guerci takes as his point of departure a distinction that Benjamin Constant made in the early nineteenth century between ancient liberty (typical of small states, devoted to warfare, based upon total equality, essentially collective, antithetical to commerce, and often held to have been perfected by Lycurgus) and modern freedom (found in larger countries, generally pacific, based upon equal rights and unequal fortunes, dedicated to the private liberty of the individual, thoroughly commercial, and sometimes held to have been anticipated by the institutions of Solon). Guerci sets the true beginning of his study at mid-century, when two authors who did much to enliven the quarrel between the "ancients" and the "moderns" had an immense impact: Montesquieu, who suggested that the "virtue" of ancient republics had little or no relevance to the contemporary world, and Rousseau, whose writings helped to create the "myth of Sparta." Guerci deliberately says relatively little about these two and concentrates instead on the arguments between the champions and critics of Laconia down to the eve of the Revolution, when new developments gave a different urgency to the dispute. Lacedaemonophiles such as Mably, Helvétius, or Jaucourt were often vehement critics of monarchical society. Hating inequality, they appealed to the leveling tendencies in the legislation of Lycurgus (usually ignoring the condition of the Helots!); suspicious of luxury and economic expansion, they praised the proverbial austerity of the Lacedaemonians; detesting political

instability and mistrusting the fickleness of the common people as much as the haughtiness of the optimates, they valued the "balanced" regime that Lycurgus had established.

The critics of Sparta were generally proponents of economic growth rather than of austere virtue smacking of monasticism, of individual rather than collective freedom, and of culture rather than military prowess. Some, such as the Physiocrats, Voltaire, and Condillac, appealed to the model of Attica and praised Solon as an enlightened pragmatist. Some modernist writings, notably Robinet's *Dictionnaire universel* (1777-83), denied the applicability of ancient republican principles to contemporary events and sought the best example of a commonwealth in North America rather than Greece. Still, the debate between the Spartan "ancients" and the Athenian "moderns" was lively in 1789.

Daniele Menozzi addresses, in a similar fashion, the way in which eighteenth-century Frenchmen interpreted Jesus to suit their ideas and how those ideas, in turn, were shaped by opinions about him. Beginning with Enlightenment circles, Menozzi investigates Diderot's and Boulanger's opinion that Jesus was a "seditious" protophilosophe, the argument of Voltaire that he was an exponent of toleration, the tendency of Rousseau to see Jesus as an earlier Jean-Jacques, and the communist interpretation (long found among millenarians) of Meslier. French Catholicism was divided between those who preached an obedient and beneficent Jesus and philosophic Christians like Turgot who saw in his teachings a confirmation of their own values. In the early days of the Revolution, Jesus was depicted as a "patriot," although later the refractory clergy often proclaimed a monarchical Christ, while radical works like Maréchal's *Almanach des républicains* (1793) portrayed the "sans-culotte of Nazareth." Needless to say, Napoleon's rise to power meant official encouragement for exhortations to see Jesus as the obedient one who had told his followers to give Caesar all things of this world.

Peter Gay rightly called attention to the importance of pagan antiquity for the Enlightenment. It is no less essential, however, to remember that an often sympathetic appreciation of Christian antiquity was a most significant component of eighteenth-century thought, not least among the philosophes. Both Guerci and Menozzi brilliantly show the interplay of interpretations of the past, ideas and conflicts of the present, and programs for action in the future. Together, the twentieth-century Italian authors shed much light on eighteenth-century France.

DAVID YOUNG
Central Missouri State University

HAROLD T. PARKER. *The Bureau of Commerce in 1781 and Its Policies With Respect to French Industry*. (The Bureau of Manufactures During the French Revolution and Under Napoleon.) Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 206. \$14.95.

This is the first volume of a planned multivolume study of the Bureau of Manufactures during the French Revolution and under Napoleon I. This initial study is devoted to its predecessor under the *ancien régime*, the Bureau of Commerce. The title indicates 1781 as the focal point of the study, but the policies of Jean-Baptiste Colbert are discussed as well as the persistence of those policies in the eighteenth century.

Harold T. Parker begins with a description of the organization and the work of the bureau in 1781 and introduces the four intendants of commerce and their views and policies. Colbertist mercantilism had become a serious hindrance to industrial expansion by the mid-eighteenth century, and it came under attack by the proponents of free trade, notably Vincent de Gournay and the Physiocratic school. But the Bureau of Commerce, influenced by the pragmatic outlook of the director general of finances, Jacques Necker, adopted an "interim paradigm between mercantilism and laissez-faire" (p. 31). The remainder of the book is a detailed description of the working out of this "middle way." The bureau encouraged industrial expansion by preventing combinations of workers, by providing loans and subsidies to innovating enterprises, and even by granting monopolies that encouraged rather than thwarted expansion. The bureau sought to eliminate internal trade barriers, to enlist the aid of scientists, and to encourage new inventions and more efficient techniques. A lengthy chapter investigates the application of these policies to each of six major industries: the textile, metallurgical, glass and pottery, chemical, paper, and leather industries.

What is of particular value in this study is Parker's diligent exploration of about ninety cartons in the F¹² series ("Commerce and Industry") at the Archives Nationales. He finds that "the bureau tended to develop policies in response to particular industrial necessities and opportunities rather than from broad-gauged theoretical considerations" (p. 160). Thus we are led beyond the clichés so often used in discussions of economic policy (mercantilism, laissez-faire), and we can see how the bureau grappled with concrete situations. And yet, Parker is not unconcerned about the problem of interpretation. In the final chapter he observes that the trend in the century was inexorably toward individualism and freedom. "Economic and social reality was moving, but the bureau was moving with it in general policies, in industrial strategies, and in individual encouragements" (p. 189). In a broader per-

spective, Parker is interested in the problem of continuity and change in the institutions of the *ancien régime* and the Revolution. The history of a bureau is a suitable framework for illuminating that problem.

This work is certainly a welcome contribution to our knowledge of French administrative history in the eighteenth century. Scholars in the field will look forward to the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

ROBERT D. HARRIS
University of Idaho

DAVID P. JORDAN. *The King's Trial: The French Revolution vs. Louis XVI*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xx, 275. \$14.95.

David P. Jordan's agreeably written, attractively illustrated, thoroughly indexed, and meticulously printed volume tells the scholarly reader virtually nothing new about the overthrow, imprisonment, trial, and execution of Louis XVI. The disappointment is all the greater because the author has devoted considerable effort to mastering the enormous number of printed sources dealing with the critical period of the French Revolution between August 10, 1792, and January 21, 1793.

In his preface Jordan describes how, during a stay in Paris, he came across a copy of Albert Soboul's *Le Procès de Louis XVI* and how, fascinated by the subject, he determined to write a book about it. More specifically, he wanted to examine the members of the National Convention "who grappled with the enormous questions of sovereignty, regicide, and revolution." They were, he declares, "men with something important to say and they said it in the most compelling language I had ever read. History . . . had contrived to make an ideal subject for a book; and yet there were no books devoted to the history of the trial and death of the king" (pp. xii-xiii).

The author's intent is certainly legitimate, but his methods raise some objections. Jordan has deliberately attempted what he calls an "old-fashioned book," "a narrative history of the kind that has fallen out of favor with historians," one intended to "tell an important story and . . . to tell it with some concern for style" (p. xiv). Modeling his study on Garrett Mattingly's *The Armada*, Jordan has crafted a narrative that stresses drama, emphasizes personalities, and employs epigrammatic and chronological chapter headings (for example, "The King Must Die: The Manège, January 18-20, 1793"). Unlike Mattingly, however, Jordan has discovered nothing new in the archives. Rather, he is content to rework and elaborate upon the printed sources (newspa-

pers, pamphlets, correspondence, speeches, memoirs) in retelling the story of Louis XVI's final days. The author has disdained footnotes, claiming that "any student of the French Revolution would be familiar with the sources for the trial" and that notes "would only interrupt the narrative flow" (p. xiv). The popular reader may rejoice, but the critic will find it difficult to check the references, which are clustered by chapter at the end of the volume.

Certainly the narrative does flow swiftly and makes effective use of contemporary sources to convey a sense of atmosphere and to delineate personality. Jordan's portraits of the fallen king, his defender DeSèze, and members of the Convention are incisive. Occasionally, the scholarly reader will discover pieces of unfamiliar information, but these tend to be *petite histoire* such as the routine of the royal family during their captivity in the Temple. Wider questions, such as public opinion in the provinces about events in Paris, are neglected. Moreover, there are some curious lapses in the author's knowledge. When Jordan indicates that no important regicide is honored with the name of a Parisian street, he ignores the Rue Danton on the Left Bank. Although he attended a memorial mass at the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois on January 21, 1973, he seems unaware of the Chapelle Expiatoire, built to commemorate the martyred Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

However literate *The King's Trial* may be, scholars interested in the quarrel between Girondins and Montagnards or in voting patterns in the Convention are better advised to refer directly to two of Jordan's sources—M. J. Sydenham's *The Girondins* and Alison Patrick's *The Men of the First French Republic*. For their part, popular readers will find Saul Padover's *The Life and Death of Louis XVI*, which Jordan appears not to know, just as exciting a guide through the cobblestone streets leading to the scaffold where the guillotine stands waiting.

JAMES FRIGUGLIETTI
Eastern Montana College

FRANÇOIS GENDRON. *La Jeunesse Dorée: Épisodes de la Révolution française*. Preface by ALBERT SOBOUL. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec. 1979. Pp. xiv, 446.

In this detailed narrative of reactionary politics in Paris after Robespierre's fall, François Gendron fleshes out and documents the long-standing views of "classic revolutionary historiography." His research was designed to correct or substantiate the first-person accounts that have long shaped our understanding of this important subject. Among other things, Gendron treats the eruption of anti-Jacobin streetfighting; the war to mobilize respectable opin-

ion against terrorists that was waged in newspapers, pamphlets, and theaters; and the confrontations between an increasingly desperate and hungry populace and a raucous and insolent "gilded youth." The culminating episodes in this agonized phase of the French Revolution are re-examined from the other side of the barricades. First came the popular insurrections of *germinal-prairial* Year III (previously chronicled from the sans-culotte viewpoint by Kare Tonnesson, among others), in which the *jeunesse dorée* served as an inept and vengeful auxiliary of the Convention. A few months later, in the rebellion of *vendémiaire* Year IV, these *muscadins* turned against the Convention, which was belatedly attempting to halt the reaction and stabilize the polity by perpetuating itself in office. Assessing to what extent the *jeunesse dorée* bullied the Convention as opposed to being manipulated by Thermidorian deputies for their own ends, Gendron's nuanced conclusion cannot be summarized in a line or two, except to say that the role of the *jeunesse* was indeed potent. Here is one catch label that was no myth.

Like Tonnesson, Gendron tells the story with a loving attention to detail, undaunted by the complexity of dealing with over twelve hundred individuals (to judge by the index) and with all forty-eight Paris sections (despite Gendron's demonstration that the weight of reaction lay in the Right Bank's western districts). Specialists will long mine this erudite book for illustrative material, and perhaps only they can appreciate the extraordinary labors that went into it. For in the absence of any ready-made files devoted to the *jeunesse dorée*, Gendron had recourse to the massive alphabetical files of the Convention's Committee of General Security (whose history, incidentally, has never been written). In this repository for the arrests and interrogations of both the Terror in the Year II and the repression of left and then right in the Year III, there are "36,000 dossiers, stored in 348 cartons, which we have gone through one by one"—not to mention police constables' reports and section papers elsewhere!

How distressing that such scholarly zeal is so narrowly focused. Surely the main justification for going over ground already worked by Tonnesson is to see the right more clearly. But, wrapping himself too tightly in the mantle of "classic revolutionary historiography," Gendron is prone to the faults that certain revisionists—with unfair exaggeration—attribute to that tradition. Above all there is an inappropriate partisanship. To be sure, positive sympathy is often a great asset, as in Richard Cobb's decidedly partisan, passionate, and evocative *Les Armées révolutionnaires*. But extreme hostility is another matter. Gendron repeatedly indulges the temptation to excoriate these unappealing and occasionally repellent *muscadins*. Obviously no one

would expect a historian today to celebrate the *jeunesse dorée* or even to forgive them. Surely one might hope to understand them.

This is largely a vain hope in Gendron's work, the more so because of his tenacious adherence to a narrative mode and his penchant to orchestrate sequences of inevitable events. He should instead have emulated Albert Soboul's example in part 2 of *Les sans-culottes parisiens*, in which a memorable analytic portrait of sans-culotte militants is drawn with emphasis on the relation of their social background to their political style and on their motivations and aspirations. Gendron instead gives us one-dimensional villains.

Perhaps one problem is that there is no firm social base on which to peg such analysis. As the book progresses, the social axis shifts from classic strata of the bourgeoisie (the professions, mercantile community, finance, arts and letters, public administration) to a vague amalgam of those strata with various types of *petits bourgeois* who seem scarcely distinguishable from a list of sans-culotte artisans and shopkeepers. In any case, quantifying occupational groupings in this period is extremely tricky, and Gendron has enough individual case studies to evoke a feel for this rightist youth. But he tells us precious little about their motivations and aspirations, where they came from or what happened to them subsequently, or what they wished for France or for themselves. He ought to have dealt more fully with the problem of generations (which he rejects as a tenable hypothesis at one point but implicitly puts forward elsewhere) and with draft evasion. Most fundamentally, we are not told to what extent these militants were the relatives of the Terror's victims and thus engaged in a settling of accounts that was not entirely odious. In short, the *muscadins* ought to be seen in their own right—just as Lefebvre saw the peasants and as Soboul and others have studied the sans-culottes.

ISSER WOLOCH
Columbia University

JEAN FAURY. *Cléricalisme et anticléricalisme dans le Tarn (1848-1900)*. (Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, series A, number 41.) Toulouse: Service des Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. 1980. Pp. 532. 170 fr.

Jean Faury's *thèse de doctorat* provides reinforcement for the view of Yves-Marie Hilaire and Eugen Weber that the anticlerical issue in nineteenth-century France was critical on the local level and much more than a political gambit. This examination of the Tarn, a particularly suitable department for study because it produced Jean Jaurès and Emile Combes while retaining a high level of religious

practice, begins with the Second Republic, which generated the Falloux Law, and ends with the denouement of the Dreyfus affair, which led to the abrogation of the 1801 Concordat.

Faury rejects as misleading the traditional view that clericalism stimulated an opposing anticlericalism. Instead, he describes the evolution of two competing conceptions of society after 1815. The Catholic Church recalled the excesses committed against it during the Revolution and attempted to prevent their recurrence by tapping every possible source of support. The church founded schools, promoted mass pilgrimages, exploited the popular press, multiplied forms of public piety and social work, and supported the election of political candidates congenial to it. Simultaneously, a social theory that called for the reduction of the influence of religion was developing with its roots in the Enlightenment and the results of the Revolution. The refusal of either side to comprehend the fears of the other or to compromise led to a radicalization of each. The battle lines formed between the unyielding clericalism of the parish priests and the militantly anticlerical freemasons.

The confrontation had political implications, as the church supported royalism while the anticlericals backed republicans and, ultimately, socialists. By the end of the century, however, there was a dissociation of religion and politics. Religious practice remained high, but the electoral influence of the church disappeared. At the time of the most vehement anticlericalism in politics on the national level, the clash in the Tarn had been determined, with neither side a clear victor.

Faury sustains his argument well and claims to base it on research in the departmental archives of the Tarn, the Archives Nationales, the papers of the archiepiscopal diocese of Albi, the records of freemasonry's Grand Orient, and the popular press. To verify this research is impossible because of the unpardonable decision of the publisher to eliminate a detailed list of archival and manuscript sources and almost every footnote.

BENJAMIN F. MARTIN
West Virginia Wesleyan College

ALAIN CORBIN. *Les filles de nocé: Misère sexuelle et prostitution (19^e et 20^e siècles)*. (Collection Historique.) Paris: Aubier Montaigne. 1978. Pp. 571.

To most historians of nineteenth-century France, the word "prostitute" conjures up images from the century's imaginative literature—*Fantine*, *Carmen*, *Gervaise*, *Nana*, *la dame aux camélias*—and perhaps some impressions from the chroniclers of society and *mœurs* such as Restif de la Bretonne, the Goncourt brothers, Maxime du Camp, and de Mau-

passant. Although recognized as an important social fact or evil, nineteenth-century French prostitution has lacked systematic and scholarly study. Alain Corbin's contribution, the work of an *historien de métier*, rests on extensive primary and secondary publications as well as unpublished public health records and police reports from Paris and other parts of France. The volume focuses primarily on the first four decades of the Third Republic but spans the broader period from the Restoration to the Gaullist epoch.

During the nineteenth century, prostitution seems to have been accepted by most individuals—at least most men—as necessary and useful but sometimes socially inconvenient. Thus the Restoration and the July Monarchy sought to enclose the prostitute in a series of concealed places—*maison de tolérance*, hospital, prison—making her available to her clientele and the regulatory arm of the state but not easily visible to polite society. From the 1880s, private groups and some republicans began to argue for the abolition of the system of regulation, while other public figures expressed growing concern over an alleged spread of venereal disease and argued for more control rather than less.

Some women registered with the authorities, which meant periodic sanitary examinations and less police harassment, but many sought to retain a primary identity as domestics and shop clerks, claiming that they resorted to soliciting only to meet unusual expenses. Corbin argues that the needs of men who patronized prostitutes changed during the century from a "seminal drain" to an experience in "seduction." The generalization may hold for some of the wealthier clients he describes, but it is hard to understand how a hasty coupling in the back room of a tavern could sustain even the fiction of "seduction" or "romance."

The Marxists were wrong in accusing the bourgeoisie of deflowering the daughters of the working class. Young women who worked as prostitutes had almost always lost their virginity to partners of the same social rank. On the other hand, the clients of prostitutes were often of a higher social and economic station than the women who served them, and middle-class values, such as postponement of marriage, certainly contributed to the need for prostitution.

Feminists and others may well be unhappy about Corbin's failure to criticize the exploitation of one sex by another. Accepting moral neutrality as the historian's proper posture, one would still have liked greater curiosity about the psychological aspects of prostitution. For example, Corbin mentions that married men may have chosen sexual intercourse with prostitutes as relief from the practice of coitus interruptus in the marital bed. The idea is intriguing, but Corbin declines to pursue it. Another

subject left unexplored is that of female homosexuality among prostitutes. Corbin alleges that nineteenth-century men felt great anxiety at the possibility of *tribadisme*—a conclusion that sounds plausible but is neither developed nor well documented.

Occasionally Corbin's *esprit de classement* becomes difficult to support, as in a chapter describing the categories of *demi-mondaine*, *femmes galantes*, *soupeuses de restaurant de nuit*, *femmes d'attente*, and *filles entretenues*. Since all these women were engaged in providing sexual services for money, the attention given to establishing their categories seems misplaced. Corbin's volume would have profited from reduced length, good scholarship being not inconsistent with economy of thought and language. These criticisms noted, however, the work deserves attention as a thorough exploration of a subject previously left to fiction, polemic, and *la petite histoire*.

JAMES F. TRAER
Adrian College

PAUL MAZGAJ. *The Action Française and Revolutionary Syndicalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. ix, 281. \$19.00.

This book deals with the interaction between the syndicalist left and the royalist right between the Dreyfus affair and World War I. It challenges pro-syndicalist historiography that contrasts the professional Socialist politician, corrupted by careerism and proximity to the bourgeoisie, to the incorruptible worker-militant, divorced from the parliamentary arena. In detailing the "seamier side of heroic syndicalism," Paul Mazgaj exposes the "neo-Machiavellianism" of certain syndicalist leaders who, disdaining "petit bourgeois moral considerations," anticipated the revolutionary left's denunciation of Social Democrats as "social fascists" during the 1930s. Syndicalist leaders like Emile Janvion, Francis Delaisi, and—for a time—Gustave Hervé were willing to ally with the royalist *Action Française* (AF) in an attempt to drive a wedge between the Dreyfusard alliance of liberals, socialists, and moderate syndicalists.

Between 1906 and 1912 French syndicalism suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the Clemenceau ministry that left the movement in disarray. Some "desperate revolutionaries" came to feel that the royalists could be of service and that the republic was a worse enemy of the worker than the monarchy. This coincided with a crisis within the AF where Maurras needed to placate the impatient youth of the *Camelots du roi* who took his talk of a coup d'état seriously. In 1911 they were excited by the prospect of a revolutionary left-right coalition based on antisemitism that would, they hoped, destroy their common enemy, the republic.

Contacts were established between the AF and certain syndicalist ultras, some of whom accepted royalist money. For a time, Hervé's *Guerre sociale* and Janvion's *Terre libre* newspapers echoed royalist condemnations of the Dreyfusard alliance and launched antisemitic campaigns accusing Rothschild of betraying the workers and *L'Humanité* of doing the same because of Jewish financing.

Unfortunately, Mazgaj's account is very slippery, repeatedly insinuating far more than it proves. Basically, we learn a good deal about a handful of syndicalist renegades but little about the syndicalist response as a whole or about the response of workers themselves. We are told that Maurras "counted on" help from the revolutionary left (p. 93) and that, by the summer of 1910, Janvion "had some cause to feel optimistic" (p. 128)—as if substantial syndicalist collaboration (never forthcoming) were really expected. It may be that many workers were indeed antisemitic, or potentially so, but no numerical evidence is ever given. Mazgaj asserts that young royalists were "serious" (p. 54) and "sincere" (p. 170) in their commitment to a proworker social policy without proving it; rank opportunism seems a much likelier explanation. The AF may have opposed the "stodgy conservatism" of the parliamentary right but only its political not its economic conservatism (Mazgaj suggests it was both). An inattentive reader might be misled by the way Mazgaj slides back and forth between monarchist hopes for an opening to the left (pp. 141–42) and what actually happened. Misleading, too, is the citing of one hyperbolic soul in 1911 who contended that "the fashion is no longer with the principles of 1789 but with the acts of violence of the C.G.T. and the Camelots du roi" (p. 150). It was certainly not the "fashion" with the overwhelming majority of the French electorate. Nor does Mazgaj's convoluted language—Socialists were "not immune from the contagion of suspicion" (p. 162) of being antisemitic—prove that they *were* antisemitic.

Mazgaj seldom dwells on his own evidence when it contradicts his image of syndicalism as a potentially corrupt mass movement. We learn in passing, for example, that a major antisemitic "workers rally" of the era had to be held in the Latin Quarter to ensure a decent crowd (of bourgeois students and royalists?), that in 1911 the Socialist party congress declared it would "never compromise itself with the antisemitic slime," that syndicalists who considered entering into relations with the AF "were not disposed to be candid even with other militants," and that the AF's Léon Daudet confessed that attempts at proselytizing workers met with only "modest" success (pp. 157–58, 161, 218, 144). When, in 1909, the AF's Maurice Pujo claimed the left's revolutionaries were "on our side," syndicalist Victor Méric replied contemptuously "Tu parles" and pointed

out that his followers opposed the republic "on different grounds and with opposite aims" (p. 101).

For Mazgaj, nevertheless, the possibility of royalist nationalism and revolutionary syndicalism combining on the basis of popular resentment against the Jew was a very "real" one before 1912 (when the debate over the three-year military draft law split them irretrievably). Had this "enormous potential" been realized, the "conventional wisdom" that royalists and syndicalists could never unite on a positive program would have been disproven. But Mazgaj, despite his readiness to disprove, his meticulous research into police and press reports, and his ingenious writing style, leaves that conventional wisdom largely unscathed.

ROBERT SOUCY
Oberlin College

WILLIAM D. IRVINE. *French Conservatism in Crisis: The Republican Federation of France in the 1930s*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1979. Pp. xx, 256. \$17.50.

Descended from the right-wing of the *progressistes*, the Republican Federation remained "the largest and most important French conservative party" in the 1920s–30s under the leadership of Lorrainer Louis Marin, whose papers constitute a major source for this book. As William D. Irvine describes it, the party consisted of *modérés* and *notables*, with few *militants*, and its deputies were less *ministérable* with each passing year. That structure worked until the crises of the 1930s. As *modérés*, Republican Federation deputies were Catholic, socially and economically conservative, ardently nationalistic, and committed to the principles of the Third Republic if that meant the republic of Méline. As *notables* they came from both industrial wealth (for example, François de Wendel) as well as the landed and titled variety (for example, eleven counts, five marquises, four barons, two dukes, and one prince). As the book's excellent maps demonstrate, they were strongest in the classic regions of the French right: the northeast, the west, the well-to-do *arrondissements* of Paris, and the southern edge of the Massif Central. *Militants* were rarely needed to win elections in such areas where traditional voters looked to their *notables* for leadership. In turn, Federation *notables* disdained mass politics and seldom needed or heeded the *militants* in the party. Irvine is to be applauded for rescuing such dull *modérés* from oblivion, since *enragés* such as Barrès, Doriot, Drieu, Maurras, and the like are clearly much more fun.

What makes these *modérés* interesting and what makes Irvine's book especially useful are the Republican Federation's changing beliefs and action in the face of the antiparliamentary leagues of "the

so-called 'new' Right," the Popular Front, and the advance of Hitler's Germany. To those events, "the Federation's response was that of a threatened and frightened elite, searching desperately for some way to restore social and political stability." "As a result of the Popular Front, the Republican Federation evolved in a direction that would have horrified the founders of the party." This new direction turned the Federation from its alliance with the democratic center to a flirtation with the leagues of the "new" Right." It also led the Federation from its traditional hostility to Germany to appeasement of Hitler's Reich.

Having no allies or militants of its own and perceiving imminent revolution in the Popular Front, the "old" right Republican Federation turned to the militants of the "new" right, notably the *Jeunesses Patriotes* and the *Croix de Feu*. Irvine makes clear that the Federation's leaders ran the 80,000-member *Jeunesses Patriotes*, that ties with the *Croix de Feu* were close, "that violent street demonstrations were not at all foreign to the mentality of some in the Federation," and that the Federation's program and beliefs were almost identical with those of the leagues. The only requirement for cooperation was the "docile acceptance" by the leagues "of the Federation's political leadership" and the division of labor between the streets and the parliament. Only when the leagues abandoned their "docile acceptance" and allotted place in the division of labor by converting themselves from paramilitary leagues into political parties did the *notables* of the Federation become alarmed, especially when it and de la Rocque's *Parti Social Français* competed for the same voters.

In foreign policy, the Federation's new direction led it to appeasement, of course. Irvine follows Charles Michaud closely in pointing out that most Federation members came to appeasement by following Louis Marin's "conditional nationalism" while a minority adhered to a "resigned nationalism." Irvine adds two more ingredients to this familiar story. One is that Marin's anti-*munichois* reputation is ill founded. More important is the relationship of appeasement to domestic politics. "The Republican Federation abandoned its unbending nationalism from fear of the social and political consequences of the Popular Front. Although fear of war or fear of losing played a part in the determination of the party's attitude . . . the major determinant was the fear of revolution" [emphasis added].

If Irvine's solidly researched and conceptualized book has a fault, it is in erring on the side of caution. The author does not push as far as his evidence seems to have allowed the link between "old" right conservatives and "new" right fascists. Even in his persistent use of "new" right instead of "fascism," Irvine blurs the message of his excellent

book. Perhaps he did not want to become embroiled in the continuing debate over defining "fascism," but most readers will find that he writes about the coming together of conservatives and fascists just the same. The book will give little comfort to those who insist either on the "foreign" or the left-wing origins of French fascism. Rather, it demonstrates the ease with which French conservatives, fearful of the Popular Front, abandoned democratic practice to associate themselves with what one customarily calls "fascism."

C. STEWART DOTY
University of Maine,
Orono

JEFFERY A. GUNSBURG. *Divided and Conquered: The French High Command and the Defeat of the West, 1940*. (Contributions in Military History, number 18.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. Pp. xxiii, 303. \$25.00.

J.-B. Duroselle chose Montesquieu to close his recent book *La Décadence*: regimes typically collapse from a multitude of general causes; accordingly, when one is removed by a single battle, it is because underlying causes have left that regime vulnerable to a single blow. Jeffery A. Gunsburg is wary of Montesquieu and of Duroselle's thesis of decadence in prewar France. The collapse of France is to be explained in large measure by the battle of May 1940. To the extent that general causes are to be invoked at all, it should be in the recognition that this was an Allied defeat for which some peculiar French malady offers inadequate explanation.

According to Gunsburg, France was not badly prepared for war. Its defense experts understood blitzkrieg tactics, the perilous course of Belgian policy, and the potential hazards of the Ardennes sector. French war materiel was greater in numbers and quality than traditional views have allowed and French doctrine on the use of armored forces and aircraft was not that far removed from the German. Finally, the Dyle Plan, with its Breda variant, boldly addressed the conditions of an allied war in which Dutch, Belgian, British, and French troops would fight on a common front that had to accord with their respective national interests. The risks entailed by General Gamelin's plan were not prompted by senility but by a desire to forge an effective military coalition.

This is not the first time such views have been advanced, but those sympathetic to Gunsburg's central thesis will welcome his contribution to the debate on 1940. Noteworthy is his extensive documentation from the French army and air archives, which have long been closed to researchers. Indeed, the special conditions of his access to these

documents may explain his failure to provide series or carton references—a drawback for other scholars.

Despite the broader historiographical context into which it deserves to be placed, this book is primarily an exercise in military history; over a third of it addresses the days from 10 to 21 May. As such, it will be a treat for campaign specialists. Others, however, might prefer more guidance and reflective comment. More effort might have been made to show where and to what extent the new archival material substantially alters previous interpretations of the French war effort; this dimension is incompletely filled by the very brief bibliographical essay. Similarly, one might welcome instruction on how the enigmatic but central figure of Gamelin, that so often indecisive man, ever steered himself to the risk-plagued option of the Breda maneuver. Finally, the reader may be perplexed by a conclusion that places ultimate responsibility for the collapse not on the generals, with whom the book is concerned, but on the civilian leaders, with whom it is not. Montesquieu, it seems, has a lingering presence.

ROBERT J. YOUNG
University of Winnipeg

HELEN NADER. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 275. \$19.50.

Family history and prosopography, central to understanding medieval Europe, have been sadly neglected in Spain. Helen Nader has rummaged through the impressive documentary remains of Castile's celebrated Mendoza clan and presented both a panoramic family history and a broadly ranging reassessment of late medieval Spain: the role of the baronial class as repository for creative literature and art, the tainted pseudomodernism of their *letrado* supplanters, the meaning of the Renaissance for Spanish culture and society, and the roots of that religiosity that gave Renaissance Spain the Inquisition and the Morisco tragedy. Ultimately *The Mendoza Family* studies the choice of self-images by succeeding generations of the medieval establishment. Nader brings fresh, erudite, ringingly expressed perceptions. She re-sites the medieval problematic, rejecting received interpretations. Her work is revisionist and is bound to be, in whole and in part, controversial.

The standard view sees the corrupt feudal *caballeros* replaced in state administration in the 1480s by a university-trained meritocracy who then guided Spain into Renaissance classical humanism and the modern state. Nader opposes to this a much earlier Renaissance, more humane and truly Spanish, illustrated by the major Mendoza figures. The

post-Black Death century saw the triumph of an upwardly mobile new aristocracy, in mutually beneficial partnership with the illegitimate Trastamar dynasty—pragmatic, tolerant, cultivated, relatively peaceful. Their households were the educational and scholarly focuses, and their historical writings (Latin influenced but always vernacular) expressed their naturalistic-humanistic views of man and state. Their values, techniques, and behavior identify them with their contemporaries of Renaissance Florence; their wider world tied directly into the cultivation at papal Avignon. Supporting the throne, amassing estates and honors, and extending the clan, the Mendozas helped lead the “true” Renaissance. Ferdinand and Isabella ushered in an antipathetic stratum: the “lettered” university-trained bureaucrat, who was fully Latinate, imitative, and alien in inspiration; inflexibly theological, Scholastic, and Roman Law in fundamental outlook; medieval-providentialist despite the armor of Cicero; and reformist, authoritarian, and intolerant. The “Caballero Renaissance,” in stasis after 1450, conspired in its own defeat. The Mendozas became dispersed, eclectic, devotional, and architectural rather than literary; their leaders were too traditional to operate effectively in the new power balance and program.

An abstract summary does not do justice to this interlocking set of theses: the focus remains on Mendoza eminences such as Diego Hurtado, Pedro López de Ayala, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Santillana, and “The Great Cardinal.” An unexpectedly rich treatment features conquered Granada's Captain-General Tendilla, last paladin of the Mendozas' consistent intellectual and career patterns. Because this work is done on so broad a canvas, sometimes in primary colors, one is tempted to quarrel with details or emphases or officiously to intrude supplementary bibliography like José Szmolka Clare's articles around the Tendilla correspondence in *Andalucía medieval* (1978). This would be a pity. In the tradition of the burgeoning American school of medieval Spanish history, Nader's is a distinguished contribution. Solidly based on family archives and the plethora of pertinent publications, *The Mendoza Family* fascinates as pioneering dynastic chronicle and challenges as historiography.

ROBERT I. BURNS
University of California,
Los Angeles

FRANCISCO CHACÓN JIMÉNEZ. *Murcia en la centuria del quinientos*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia. 1979. Pp. 534.

Francisco Chacón Jiménez has deliberately fashioned his study of sixteenth-century Murcia to con-

form to the *Annales* style of regional history. His model is Bartolomé Bennassar's *Valladolid au Siècle d'Or*. He therefore incorporates into his book a massive amount of information, much of which is quantitative. He ranges over various topics from physical and human geography, demography, and wage and price movements to local feasts and festivals. These he allots to one of three almost predictable sections: "Man and his Environment," "Economic Life," and "Social Relations and City Government." His intent is to sew these fragments together in an effort to create a "total history."

His book is also designed to afford a new and different perspective on the socioeconomic history of sixteenth-century Spain. The view from Murcia—a medium-size city located in the extreme southeast of Spain with a population of some 15,000 in 1591—is a view from a city that was fundamentally agrarian. Half of its working population was directly involved in agricultural production. Moreover, the agriculture of Murcia was highly specialized. Most of the land was devoted to the cultivation of the mulberry, and the principal commodity produced and exported was raw silk. As a consequence, it was also a dependent economy. Murcia had very little secondary industry; hence its purpose was to feed into the more developed, urban, manufacturing economies of Granada and Toledo. In addition, since it was virtually a monoculture, it relied for subsistence on grain imports from La Mancha, Andalusia, and Valencia, or even from abroad. These dependencies appear to have made life relatively expensive but not unduly precarious. The author finds that the city and its region escaped the severe economic and demographic crisis that afflicted most of Castile in the 1590s.

This finding underlines once again the marked regional variations in economic performance that typified early modern European societies. This important conclusion complements a host of other interesting observations. For these and for its descriptive detail, this book makes a useful contribution to sixteenth-century Spanish studies; it has several major defects, however. By its failure to meet Bennassar's exacting standards, it proves that "total history" must be more than the sum of its parts, more than an aggregation of fact. By its failure to address the most significant historical questions relating to Murcia's economic development, it emphasizes how important it is for historians to select their chronology wisely. Murcia and its region underwent a significant structural change sometime between the late fourteenth century and the mid-sixteenth century when it was transformed from a mixed agricultural economy to a highly specialized one. It became a kind of "colonial" economy that, by the late sixteenth century, relied heavily on a kind of colonial labor force. *Morisco* laborers, many of them re-

cent immigrants after the Revolt of the Alpujarras, were crucial to silk production, but these were the very *moriscos* expelled from Spain in 1609. Because Chacón Jiménez concentrates almost exclusively on the second half of the sixteenth century, he fails either to elucidate the mechanics of this structural change or to determine the consequences of the expulsion. It is as if he has conceived of an interesting plot and assembled a strong cast of characters but failed to write the dramatic narrative his material requires.

CHARLES J. JAGO
McMaster University

V. VÁZQUEZ DE PRADA, editor. *Historia Económica y Social de España*. Volume 3, *Los Siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros. 1978. Pp. 756.

It has been over twenty years since Jaime Vicens Vives and his students attempted a comprehensive review of the research on Spanish economic and social history in the Habsburg era. Stimulated in part by their enthusiasm, scholars have since told us a great deal more, and we have needed for some time a new analysis of this literature like the one that V. Vázquez de Prada has now published.

The author is a distinguished economic historian who has done important work on Spanish commercial relations with the Low Countries and on Spanish industry. He is completely familiar with the contemporary investigation of all aspects of the economy and society of Habsburg Spain, and he does an excellent job of summarizing clearly the results. Both students who want a guide to this complex body of research and accomplished scholars seeking to identify important topics for further study can turn to this book with profit. As the author notes, Castile dominates his presentation because that kingdom has received the most study, but Vázquez is successful in highlighting the important variations among the major regions of Spain. The carefully selected illustrations not only reveal a great deal about the physical resources, technology, social conditions, and culture but also provide a good orientation to the types of documents available.

Although the individual chapters are generally good, the overall organization of the book creates genuine barriers for understanding Habsburg Spain. Because Vázquez believes government action decisively shaped economic and social developments, he begins with a section on the political-administrative framework and on the state treasury. This order is questionable even if one accepts his thesis since, without a concrete examination of the physical resources, technology, and transportation

system available to Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is impossible to evaluate claims made for the impact of taxation or other government policies. Yet the reader is not given this essential information until the second half of the book. The third and final part on the economy begins with chapters on economic policy and thought even though the government never had a genuine economic policy and the theoretical economists had no significant influence. Discussion of population levels also precedes, and is isolated from, information about the resources to support them (in section 2 on population and society).

Although a short review is no place to argue the point, the book in fact contains good evidence that, except for seventeenth-century currency manipulation that is the subject of an excellent chapter near the end of the text, government financial actions were not usually a decisive factor in Spanish economic and social developments but merely responses to changes motivated by other forces. Vázquez's organization as well as a somewhat anachronistic treatment of Spain within its modern geographical framework without sufficient reference to its intimate connections to America, Italy, and the Low Countries makes it impossible for the author to argue effectively for his general thesis. Unfortunately, this lack of forceful argument weakens the book's ability to motivate the exciting new research that early modern Spanish history merits.

J. B. OWENS

Idaho State University

MIGUEL ARTOLA *et al.* *Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943*. Volume 1, *El estado y los ferrocarriles*. (Servicio de Estudios del Banco de España.) Madrid: Banco de España. 1979. Pp. 458.

RAFAEL ANES and PEDRO TEDDE. *Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943*. Volume 2, *Los ferrocarriles y la economía*. (Servicio de Estudios del Banco de España.) Madrid: Banco de España. 1978. Pp. 562. 500 ptas.

Railroad history is fast becoming one of the most active fields in Spanish economic historiography. The debate is lively and the research is unearthing much new material. In December 1979 the Spanish State Railway Company (RENFE) sponsored an international conference on European railroad history where many interesting papers were read (among them some by contributors to the volumes under review) and some general conclusions that apply across political borders emerged.

Los ferrocarriles en España is one by-product of this recent surge in institutional interest in Spanish railroad history. The work of a team of six distinguished researchers under the direction of Miguel

Artola, it has been sponsored and published by the Bank of Spain. As everywhere else, railroad history in Spain is a field full of controversy, and the authors of this work have not tried to avoid debate. Rather, as the conclusions make clear, the purpose of the book has been to test "a certain number of propositions that could be considered as generally admitted ideas" (p. 515). In fact, while doing so, the authors have written the most up-to-date history of the Spanish railroads. As to the testing itself, the results are not clear, and the debate will no doubt continue.

The first volume comprises three main contributions. The first, by Diego Mateo, is a study of early state policies relating to the railroads from the early blueprints in the 1830s to 1877, when the second general railway law was issued. This is a fine piece of political and institutional history, narrative rather than demonstrative. The second contribution, by R. Cordero and F. Menendez is rather difficult to characterize: it tries to be a "technical" work, dealing with such topics as "the rationality of the network," "the locomotive as a vaporizing artifact," or "the locomotive as a vehicle." In fact, the most interesting and controversial section is the one dealing with the rationality of the network layout. The layout, unmistakably radial with Madrid at its center, has been criticized, mostly by Catalan writers, as inefficient and politically motivated. Cordero and Menendez set out to test this statement, something that is impossible without further specification since, as the authors admit at the outset, the consumer's optimum is not the same as the operator's and neither of them coincides with the builder's. One might add that the state's optimum may differ from all the others. Another hopeless task they undertake is that of convincing the reader that the decision to build the network with a wider gauge than the European standard, and to stick to it to this day, was a wise decision. They overestimate the costs of converting, and the cost of changing trains at the French border for passengers and merchandise is hardly mentioned, let alone measured. The work, however, is full of interesting historical and technical information.

The third contribution, by Miguel Artola, deals with "the action of the state." It synthesizes the relationship between the state and the railroad companies during the time period covered by the book. As a summary, this essay has merit, but it fails in that most of its key statements remain undemonstrated. For instance, the first chapter, which deals with the contribution of the state to the building of the lines, is based upon the premise that "the mobilization of savings to be invested in the building of railroads is only possible through the mediation of the state" (p. 345). This is a strong statement that seems to be offered as an axiom; it may very

possibly be true, but the problem of railroad finance has many very controversial aspects that should have been discussed. In this connection, one also misses a little effort at comparative history: there is hardly any mention in this essay of the state policies of other European countries, whose results might help us understand the Spanish case and whose methods may have been imitated or rejected by the Spanish authorities. Elsewhere Artola tries to estimate the returns obtained by the state from the railroads; but this very interesting exercise is marred because the author, in obtaining a total figure for accumulated tax receipts, fails to deflate and lumps together pesetas of 1880 with pesetas of 1935. The wide price fluctuations that intervened, especially in a country whose monetary standard was entirely fiduciary, make Artola's final figure almost meaningless.

There is a third serious problem with Artola's essay, that of repetition. The way this book was conceived, it was difficult to avoid some overlapping, but the problem is most evident in this piece, which reiterates topics covered by parts of all the other essays. All this, however, should not make us forget the merits of this contribution: a thorough scholarship in the use of sources (but not of bibliography; Artola does not cite any non-Spanish books, only one book published after 1936, and less than half a dozen in all); a courageous attempt at quantification and synthesis on many topics; and some useful and original analyses, such as the one on rate policies and the already mentioned one on the state's gains from the railroads.

The second volume is composed of two works (plus the general conclusions), one by Pedro Tedde on the history of the two main railroad companies and the other by Rafael Anes on the relationship between the railroads and the economy. Both cover the period from roughly 1855 to 1936.

Tedde's work, in addition to narrating the economic history of the two largest companies (Norte and MZA), sets out to explain the paradox of the extremely low profitability of Spanish railroads. The paradox lies in the fact that the physical characteristics of the Iberian peninsula made transportation a serious economic bottleneck that only the railroad could break. Unlike the United States or England, Spain had no viable waterway network that could compete with the railroads. How can one then explain the chronic liquidity problems of the companies and the extremely low yield of their shares? Tedde's explanation is a circumstantial one: the problems of the companies were the result of a succession of economic and political events largely beyond their control: the agricultural depression of the 1880s and 1890s, the depreciation of the peseta during the 1890s, and cost inflation after 1910. Therefore, the network that, aside from a few short

lines, was started in 1855 with state support became increasingly dependent upon government subsidies and was finally nationalized in 1942 when it became clear that the companies were unable to rebuild and repair the damage caused by the civil war.

This explanation may not convince everybody, but Tedde makes a good case for it. He offers a masterly narrative and a cogent economic explanation for the need of the two companies to expand and absorb smaller networks: expansion helped reduce average costs. In practice, however, this rational policy proved disastrous, especially to Norte, because the financial effort they had to make to purchase the smaller companies saddled them with an unmanageable bonded debt that their meager profits could not fully repay. So we are back where we started: if they were performing such a crucial task, why were their profits so low? Other possible, simpler explanations, such as bad management, bad planning, or bad government policies have not been fully tested. But these disagreements in no way diminish the value of Tedde's work, which is excellent. It covers many other important topics, especially company finances, with brilliance and ingenuity.

In his section on the interrelationship between the railroads and the economy, Anes attempts to establish the backward and forward linkages of the railroads: the companies sold passenger and merchandise transportation and bought coal and iron. Anes has measured the transportation output of the three largest companies (Norte, MZA, and the Andalusian company, a distant third), related this output to the other variables in the economy, and used railroad services as an indicator of overall economic activity. The results are interesting and, fortunately, offer no great surprises in either the broad cyclical fluctuations or the structural patterns; the Spanish economy was predominantly rural until the mid-twentieth century, and the composition of merchandise transported confirms this. As to the backward linkages of the railroads, Anes estimates that, by the early twentieth century, they consumed about one-third of the Spanish output of coal and iron. Anes's work is less controversial, simpler, and more straightforward than Tedde's. It ranks comparably in quality; it is obvious that they have collaborated closely.

In summary, these are useful volumes that greatly advance our knowledge of the history of Spanish railroads and economy. The first volume is more of a mixed bag while the second, more straightforward economic history, seems to this reviewer the better of the two. In any case, this is far from the last word on the topic; it is at best a partial and provisional synthesis. Few of the most fashionable issues, such as the question of social

are mentioned; many of the problems posed are not solved. For the time being, however, it is indispensable for anyone interested in the topic of Spanish railroads.

The book includes a detailed index, three statistical appendixes, and several illustrations.

GABRIEL TORTELLA

*University of Pittsburgh and
University of Valencia*

CAROLYN P. BOYD. *Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. xvii, 376. \$24.00.

This work illuminates one of the most complex periods in modern Spanish history, that of the breakdown of parliamentary government from the crisis of 1917 to Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923. Carolyn P. Boyd has wisely selected to concentrate on the most manageable of the many causes contributing to the breakdown: relations between the civilian governments and the army. The result is a clear and reasoned analysis of both civilian and military institutions that adds greatly to our understanding of the period.

Traditionally, historians have viewed the Spanish army's intervention in domestic politics—both in 1923 and 1936—as the result of the civilian governments' inability to provide effective stability. In fact, as Boyd points out, the army and the civilian politicians were closely involved with each other from the time of the 1876 Restoration settlement that had supposedly ended nineteenth-century praetorianism. After 1900, the politicians used the army to maintain themselves in power during domestic crises and to achieve foreign policy successes to gain popular support. Furthermore, the governments undermined army professionalism by politicizing promotions. But, as Spanish society modernized, this close relationship was both intensified and threatened by the growth of the bourgeoisie and the urban working class.

When World War I broke out, Spain could not take sides because the army was viewed as too weak. This perception, along with economic dislocations, worker unrest, and Catalan regionalism, produced the crisis of 1917 when junior army officers formed professional organizations to secure concessions. The government weathered the crisis, but, with the postwar breakdown of order in Barcelona and the military defeat at Anual in Morocco in 1921, a new crisis was created: the middle class deserted the regime. Boyd shows how the regime tried to regain confidence by strengthening its bonds with the army, but, when popular opinion opposed this move, the government turned against the army. The officers responded with Primo's coup, and the

regime then found itself without popular support: "Put in the simplest terms, the parties of the parliamentary monarchy created the praetorian army that later destroyed them" (p. xii).

Boyd describes the army structure and budget battles, the pressures on officers, and the army's attempts to avoid the politicization that made it a convenient substitute target for proletarian attacks. The army rejected its role as an instrument for solving domestic problems, but, because of its weaknesses, the size of the officer corps, and generally poor economic position, the military leaders came to see intervention in political affairs as the most obvious solution to their problems.

Boyd's careful discussion of these issues, her fine handling of sources, and her sound analysis make this study indispensable for understanding Spanish civil-military relations.

JOSE M. SANCHEZ

St. Louis University

LOUIS STEIN. *Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 306. \$20.00.

The last fifty years have produced (and are still producing) many millions of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world. Among these were the tens of thousands of Spaniards (both civilian and military) that in 1939 fled before the northward sweep of the victorious armies of Nationalist Spain. Although the refugees of the Spanish Popular Front were to be scattered from Russia to Central and South America, Louis Stein concentrates on the largest group, which fled into and remained in France. This is the story of these Spaniards from their arrival through World War II and its aftermath.

Drawing from the writings of the communists, anarchists, and other Popular Front leaders, a sympathetic left-wing press of France, a hostile and suspicious right-wing press, and personal interviews, the author paints a vivid picture of the shabby treatment of the Spaniards by their reluctant hosts. Then not many months later, with the outbreak of the Second World War, thousands of the former Spanish soldiers were formed into Spanish units of the French Army, Foreign Legion, and labor battalions to be used in various regions of France, including the front facing Germany and Belgium. These Spaniards fought from the Arctic in Norway through the fall of France. Some were evacuated at Dunkirk. Others were overrun by the Germans and impressed into the Todt Organization or sent to concentration camps.

Many of the Spaniards in unoccupied France were sent to German forced labor camps; some re-

turned to Spain to face criminal charges. But others were formed into resistance units. After the German invasion of Russia, thousands more swelled the partisan groups of France where they proved themselves apt in sabotage and assassination. Contact with the British Special Operations Executive (S.O.E.) is mentioned but not explored. It is doubtful if this is possible. It is estimated that 60,000 Spanish guerrillas operated in France. Other thousands formed Spanish units in the reborn French Army. Some landed in Normandy in August 1944 and fought in the dash through France to be the first troops to enter Paris. From there the Spaniards continued to Strasbourg, across the Rhine, and on to Berchtesgaden.

For the former Spanish Popular Front soldiers, the period of 1945-46 is described as one of "euphoria," but the period of 1949-56 and the Nationalist rapprochement with the West is viewed as a period of "stalemate, reversal, and final betrayal." Acts of violence and terror committed in Spain during the 1950s and 1960s by forces based in France are hardly examined. The work is an interesting addition to the library of the Spanish conflict and its consequences as well as a little-known aspect of World War II. Stein might have added that while these Spaniards were fighting in Germany other Spaniards were fighting the Russians in Berlin.

RAYMOND L. PROCTOR
University of Idaho

L. DE JONG. *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War]. Volume 9, *London*. In two parts. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, for the Rijks-instituut voor Oorlogsdokumentatie, Amsterdam. 1979. Pp. x, 752; vii, 753-1,584.

This magisterial study of the Netherlands in the most recent world war has reached a crucial point with this ninth volume (in two separate books). L. de Jong dedicates these 1,584 pages to the Dutch government-in-exile in London and its role in mounting a war effort for the Allies and developing a relationship with the occupied homeland. The end result is probably the most imposing, thoroughly documented, and interesting portrait of one of the lesser nation-states run over by Hitler and of its governmental activities abroad from May 1940 to June 1944.

The strengths of these volumes are in the non-political and diplomatic area: the Dutch contributions to Allied war making, the loss of the Dutch East Indies, and communications, propaganda, and espionage-intelligence operations. Admitting that the total Dutch assistance to the war mobilization was minor, de Jong nevertheless examines finely the rebuilding process of the army and navy and the

construction of an air arm, mostly through British help and financing and U.S. training sites. He insists that the part played by the Dutch merchant fleet became a major contribution in the significant Allied movement of materiel. His engrossing depiction of Dutch involvement in South Asia against Japan is highlighted by Dutch lack of preparation and mistakes. There are no new findings here, but de Jong succeeds in filling in the gaps through laborious research in the state archives. For specialists on the war, occupied territories, and dislodged governments, the author is most valuable for his information and insight into London-Netherlands relationships. The S.O.E.-Dutch connection with its "Englandspiel" focal point is made tragically clear, illustrating early failures at coordination and cooperation. The section on the C.I.O. (Intelligence) under van't Sant further shows the difficulties of joint operations. Yet de Jong details the use of radio for propaganda and its effectiveness and the fruitful post-1943 establishment of ties with the Dutch resistance. The posture and actions of London on the question of Jews are treated in detail, and this part of the series becomes a valuable addition to our comprehension of the unique Dutch responses in this area.

The management of foreign policy by the Dutch in London and questions of politics are certainly addressed but often with disappointing brevity or strange simplicity. The issues of the first prime minister, de Geer (a collaborator), the political place of Queen Wilhelmina, Gerbrandy's accommodating cabinet politics, and van Kleffens's involvement in Benelux diplomacy are not convincingly covered in detail. Given its historic role in later European integration, this last-mentioned defect is striking. Perhaps least complete is a definition and elaboration of the Dutch government's role in nonmilitary Atlantic cooperation. Certainly the Anglo-American nexus of power and policy making is emphasized, but the interaction among the Dutch and their friends (on postwar reconstruction, a customs union, and colonies questions) is severely limited by space. The next volumes, however, may fill in some of these voids.

In conclusion, these books are indispensable tools for the historians of World War II and most related questions. Along with Werner Warmbrunn's study of Dutch life on the continent, de Jong's remarkable contribution deserves careful attention. If every nation had its de Jong, our knowledge and understanding of that war era would be marked by more books of real value and distinction.

PIERRE-HENRI LAURENT
Tufts University

LEO TANDRUP. *Mod triumf eller tragedie: En politisk-diplomatisk studie over forløbet af den dansk-svenske magtkamp*

fra Kalmarkrigen til Kejserkrigen. volume 1, *Scenen og de agerende. Tiden fra 1612 til 1621*; volume 2, *Tiden fra 1621 til 1625* [Toward Triumph or Tragedy: A Political-Diplomatic Study of the Course of the Danish-Swedish Power Struggle from the War of Kalmar to the Imperial War. Volume 1, Scenes and Actors, 1612–21; volume 2, 1621–25]. Summary in English. (Skrifter Udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, number 35.) Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus. 1979. Pp. 510; 573. 216.45 KR.

Toward Triumph or Tragedy is a study of the political, diplomatic struggle for power between Denmark and Sweden from 1612 to 1625. There is no way the fourteen-page summary in English, nor this review, can do justice to this detailed piece of research and analysis. More the shame, because it deals with two of the leading participants in the Thirty Years' War who ultimately sank to the level of third-rate powers.

The title tells the story. Christian IV's entry into the Imperial Wars was to be a triumph but became a tragedy. Leo Tandrup explains why. He prefaces his "Konklusion" with a statement by George F. Kennan: "History does not forgive us our national mistakes because they are explicable in terms of our domestic politics. . . . A nation which excuses its own failures by the sacred untouchableness of its own habits can excuse itself into complete disaster" (vol. 2, p. 517). The "sacred untouchableness" was the insistence of the Danish aristocratic council that their monarch, Christian IV (1588–1648), not be allowed to establish a strong and independent foreign policy. Since this would threaten their own hegemony in Danish society, they refused to fund military measures necessary for the security of the kingdom. "The severely restricted support which the Council gave the royal Swedish and German policy in the years leading up to the Imperial War impeded Christian in the pursuit of a consistent activist policy, which could have prevented Sweden from making such crucial gains in the eastern Baltic, and at the same time could have secured Christian a positive sphere of influence in northern Germany. But for the Council the immediate interest of the Estate (Aristocracy) weighed more heavily than the future security of the nation. Largely for this reason the Council strongly opposed the Imperial War, which Christian was forced to engage in at a time when circumstances, after all, could have been better" (vol. 2, p. 543).

Denmark's defeat by the Imperial forces not only thrust Sweden into the leadership of the Protestant League and caused the defeat of the Catholic armies but also enabled Sweden to consolidate its eastern Baltic possessions as a prelude to the dismemberment of Denmark in 1645 and 1658. If the title of this work means anything, Tandrup sees this

as a tragedy. Judging from the Swedish experience as a great power, one wonders how much longer Denmark might have postponed a tragedy.

Beyond its thoroughness, there are several other virtues to this work. It is the first to integrate the domestic scene in Denmark with foreign affairs. Much attention is given to the internal and external economic conflicts in Denmark and Sweden as well as between them, ranging from the northern tip of the Scandinavian peninsula to the southern shores of the Baltic. The reader also gets the long view of the Danish-Swedish struggle for control of the North and the Baltic.

Of special interest in volume 1 is the historiographic chapter covering both Danish and Swedish studies and a chapter that analyzes the "principal actors" and the basis for their policies. The volumes are handsomely bound, well illustrated, and each has both a personal name and place name index. Learn to read Danish!

PLAYFORD V. THORSON
University of North Dakota

MICHAEL ROBERTS. *The Swedish Imperial Experience, 1560–1718*. (The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University of Belfast, 1977.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 156. \$17.95.

The numerous and interesting aspects of Swedish empire building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been competently investigated before. Without adding to our information, Michael Roberts now presents a masterly, most readable new summary and analysis. He contrasts the views of the older Swedish historians who speak of an "empire for defense" with those of the "new school" who emphasize the economic-military causations and implications. Certainly dangers threatened Sweden from the side of Denmark, Poland, and Russia; yet personal ambitions of the Swedish rulers, temptations created by an existing power vacuum, economic advantages for a state playing increasingly the role of entrepreneur, territorial conquests luring a nobility that at home was losing its rights vis-à-vis the throne—all these factors may overshadow the role that "defense" played. Sweden's ambitions could, however, be realized only if "war fed on itself"—which it did.

Roberts deals further with the modernization of Sweden's military administration and tactical innovations, with its entrepreneurs, lawyers, and clergy, and with its "mystique." He emphasizes that Sweden's reputation for a political system that provided for the "freedom" of its people and for a measure of representative institutions aided in achieving its goals. Peculiarly, in this connection Roberts puts

no accent on religion, as if Lutheranism was not a prime force helping Sweden in its bid for power.

Roberts then investigates the effects of Swedish rule—insignificant in Germany, considerable in Livonia and Ingermanland, dangerous for Sweden's neighbors, and incisive for the Swedes themselves. One of the most important consequences was the long, disruptive struggle for the *reduktion* of the estates in Sweden and Livonia.

Roberts suggests that the "empire" was held together chiefly by commerce and the military, less by law, and certainly not by tradition. Perhaps the energy of the kings, the greed of the nobles, and the weakness and discord of the neighbors merit more emphasis, especially since, according to him, trade was no success, conquests did not serve defense but constituted a liability, power and prestige were at best temporary achievements, naval control of the Baltic was never gained, and financial health, especially during peacetime, was endangered. Indeed, not even the conqueror himself gained major lasting benefits.

Some objections to Roberts's presentation result from his using almost exclusively Swedish materials. Statements that most of the war booty flowed back into the local economies or that Swedish rule contrasted with "oppressive" conditions elsewhere (the word "oppressive" is overly used) are questionable. The role of the Finns in the armies (and their reputation for magical powers) is not mentioned, nor is the lasting memory of the brutality of the armies. (For centuries afterward, parents used the cry, "The Swedes are coming!" to scare naughty children.) Yet, the presentation is lucid, convincing, a tribute to the author, and a gain for the student of European history.

There is no index, bibliography, or maps.

WALTHER KIRCHNER
University of Düsseldorf

GERHARD SCHORMANN. *Hexenprozesse in Nordwestdeutschland*. (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, number 87.) Hildesheim: August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1977. Pp. viii, 182. DM 40.

This study pulls together a remarkably complex body of information from the archives of the entire region of northwestern Germany, including Lower Saxony, Bremen, Oldenburg, Schaumburg, the Westphalian territories, and a host of cities as well. So difficult was this work of assemblage that a large portion of the book is given over to outlining what can (and often cannot) be known about the witch trials throughout this area. At this level of detail, Gerhard Schormann corrects numerous false conclusions that have flourished like hardy perennials

from the days of Soldan to our own. He demonstrates, for example, that the legendary savagery of Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel has been grossly exaggerated. Unfortunately, Schormann is content to leave this analysis without pushing for more general conclusions, noting only that witchcraft trials tended to become more severe as one moved westward from Lower Saxony into Westphalia and that Westphalian trials also involved large numbers of men.

Another peculiarity of Schormann's study is that his thought is so dominated by a theological definition of witchcraft (apostasy, pact with the devil) that he regularly distinguishes "true" witchcraft trials from trials for mere sorcery. This distinction has been common enough in the historical literature of the last one hundred years, but the research of Norman Cohn, Richard Kieckhefer, and Robert Muchembled have pretty well proved that the real distinction is between learned conceptions of witchcraft as diabolism and popular notions of witchcraft as harmful magic. As a result, Schormann does not connect his study to the growing literature on popular culture, although his study of legal consilia does contribute to our understanding of what can be called the imperialism of the learned.

Schormann also looks for periodic patterns among the chaos of his data and finds three peak periods of witch hunting: 1590, 1630, and 1655. The important task remains of making sense of such patterns in Germany as a whole, and indeed throughout Europe. Schormann presents an excellent section on legal procedures in northwestern Germany, again destroying a number of commonly held assumptions. In a final section he also comments on the most commonly defended general explanations for the phenomenon of witchcraft trials. By now it is no surprise that Schormann finds them all wanting, at least when applied to his region. It is an effective work of demolition, one that reminds us how much of the past is still a mystery.

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT
University of Virginia

PAUL GOTTFRIED. *Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria*. New York: Fordham University Press. 1979. Pp. 176. \$22.50.

Reading this book reminded me of a wisecrack that used to circulate among visitors to Munich concerning the *Feldhermhalle*, the pantheon of the military leaders of Bavaria, which stands in the center of the city displaying statues of Tilly and Wrede. There have been only two Bavarian heroes, it was whispered maliciously, and of these one was not a Bavarian, while the other was not a hero. This mild but unkind joke suddenly popped into my head as I

thought about the romantic conservatives whom Paul Gottfried describes. On the face of it, Bavaria does not appear to have been one of the great centers of romanticism, artistically or philosophically. Not only is it hard to think of a leading figure in painting, music, or literature who was born there, but even among the conservative social theorists the big names all came from other countries. De Maistre was a Savoyard, Haller a Swiss, Müller a Prussian. The Bavarian romantic philosophers were, most of them, second-raters, so that the author has reinforced his book with thinkers who were half-Bavarian or non-Bavarian, half-romantic or even nonromantic. Baader and Döllinger were natives of Bavaria, Görres and Schelling at least lived there, and Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel were total strangers. Similarly, it is hard to think of Ludwig I, that royal good-time Charlie with his palaces and mistresses, as a serious romantic figure. What we have here, then, is an analysis of a group of Central European philosophers and the impact of their ideas on a state that was an intellectual backwater.

But if the thinkers described in this book are generally minor, the author describes them with sympathy, intelligence, and literary grace, perhaps greater than they deserve. He has squeezed every bit of significance out of them, really more than they possess. He deals first with the religious revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the age of Montgelas, the portents of romanticism, and the Catholic renewal under Ludwig I. Then comes an analysis of the dominant ideas of the romantic conservatives, their quest for historic origins, the eschatology implicit in their teachings, and their war against liberalism. The author examines their intellectual positions perceptively and persuasively. He rejects the view, under sharp attack from many other writers, that romantic conservatism was only a defensive and unimaginative response to the assault against feudal institutions. He denies, as most scholars now deny, that it must bear major responsibility for the irrational cults and totalitarian movements of the twentieth century. The importance he attaches to what the romantics had to say about the problems of modern society, on the other hand, may be a little excessive. As he himself concedes, "there is an obvious gulf between their fire-eating rhetoric . . . and the academic and journalistic quarrels by which they hoped to advance 'the truly living, the eternal, and the good'" (p. 148). The contribution of this book lies basically in enhancing our understanding of romanticism by examining the effect of its ideas on one small corner of Central Europe.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980. Pp. ix, 381. \$29.95.

In 1868, when Matthew Arnold wanted to convey to his English readers the peculiar virtues of German higher education, he quoted a recent pamphlet on the subject by Heinrich von Sybel. The German university, Sybel wrote, enables a student to "qualify himself, through the strict service of science, to be of avail in the service of his country." Service to science *and* to the nation—here, in a phrase, is the source of the German university's great achievements and of its most persistent problems.

Charles E. McClelland's book traces the historical development of these achievements and problems, from the first stirrings of educational reform in the eighteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War. McClelland begins with a brief description of the universities' dilapidated condition around 1700 and then shows how Göttingen emerged as a new model of educational excellence; the next section concerns the revolutionary era and the establishment of the University of Berlin; from there we turn to the exciting period between the onset of reaction in 1819 and the *Reichsgründung*, with particular emphasis on the growth of a "research ethic" and of professorial prestige and political influence; finally, there is a long section on the imperial universities, which combined impressive material growth with a decline in academic autonomy and a lamentable narrowing of the professoriate's political vision. McClelland tells the complex story with great skill; his control of the literature is impressive; the writing is always clear and often graceful. Readers will, I think, be especially grateful for the information provided on the size and composition of professoriate and student body, the financial condition of universities, and the changing patterns of academic interest.

Three essential themes emerge from McClelland's analysis. First, the bureaucratic state played a fundamental and usually decisive role in the evolution of universities. Second, the universities' most characteristic social function was their role in the affirmation of elites, a process that provided limited opportunities for some new groups but usually favored those already well established in the economic or status hierarchies. Third, although the universities certainly contributed to the growth of German political power and material prosperity, their relationship to "modernization" was always complicated and problematic. This was true of Göttingen in the eighteenth century, where scholarly accomplishments were combined with an emphasis on teaching courtly skills, and of Berlin in the nine-

teenth, where progressive reformers insisted on the importance of neoclassical ideas in the formation of a *Bildungs* elite.

Since McClelland must build on the foundation of existing scholarship, his account is sometimes uneven. We learn more about a few, well-known universities than about the majority of lesser ones. There is less information than one would like about the peculiar problems and accomplishments of natural science as an academic enterprise. And the treatment of some subjects, most notably the evolution of *Bildung* as ideal and ideology, seems elusive and incomplete. But these are the unavoidable flaws of a work that concerns itself with a subject as broad and rich as McClelland's. They do not detract from the service he has rendered to historians of Germany and of higher education by providing a guide to the current state of our knowledge and by pointing us toward the questions that remain to be addressed.

JAMES J. SHEEHAN
Stanford University

PETER JOERISSEN. *Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland, 1871–1918*. (Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte, number 10.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1979. Pp. xi, 424. DM 68.

Among the many recent efforts to analyze the educational philosophies and practices of German schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this revised and shortened doctoral dissertation offers a very informative and suggestive approach to a relatively neglected topic. Peter Joerissen has sought to integrate a vast amount of polemical essays, ministerial investigations, and decrees as well as recent general historical interpretations into a single analysis of art education and the development of popular esthetic theory in imperial Germany. Although his efforts are understandably fragmented by the nature of such a study, and this detailed monograph falls short of its goal, it makes a valiant attempt at describing the relationships between art as a subject of instruction, the expectations of educational theorists for a heightened awareness of esthetic standards, and the intense, competitive, nationalistic world of imperial Prussia.

Joerissen, following an unfortunate tradition of other German histories of education, offers a largely Prusso-centric narrative. That other regions of Germany, notably Württemberg, Baden, and Bavaria, had alternative traditions in art education or differing educational philosophies about the proper role of drawing instruction in the public primary and secondary school systems should have been taken into account. Despite its details, his study will re-

quire other supplementary analyses before we can understand the entire Germanic orientation to this topic.

Within his narrative of Prussian administration, Joerissen jumps back and forth from the *Volksschule* to the secondary schools, often with very little clarification for the reader and without clear chronological development. Many Prussian *Volksschulen* and higher schools alike had instruction in drawing, both creative and mechanical, long before its formal, mandatory introduction into the curriculum in 1872 with the Falk Laws. The author could have offered at least a summary of the earlier efforts—none less than Heinrich Pestalozzi and Adolph Diesterweg endorsed the need for the development of a child's esthetic sense and hand-eye coordination. Joerissen's evidence seems to indicate that art was to serve patriotic pride and economic gain: many Prussians were ashamed at the relatively poor taste in form and design on display in German products at the international expositions. Further, drawing education "must have a substantially moderating influence on the vulgar customs of the present day" (p. 28), according to one antisocialist educator writing in 1879. This would indicate that political ideology and education for social control also entered this area of the curriculum.

The monograph contains twenty-four illustrations from contemporary drawing lesson books, a very full bibliography, and extraordinarily detailed footnotes. Had the author integrated his research into the general framework of educational experiences in imperial Germany, the work would have been definitive. As it now stands, it is a thorough description of the administrative goals and conflicts in the teaching of drawing in the Prussian public schools. Whether these goals were actually accomplished beyond the administrative decrees and the ambitions of the idealistic theoreticians remains to be investigated.

DOUGLAS R. SKOPP
State University of New York,
Plattsburgh

TONI PIERENKEMPER. *Die westfälischen Schwerindustriellen, 1852–1913: Soziale Struktur und unternehmerischer Erfolg*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 36.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. xi, 268. DM 58.

This investigation of Ruhr industrialists tabulates evidence on the careers of 248 entrepreneurs in mining and in iron- and steelmaking. Toni Pierenkemper chose these 248 from 857 entrepreneurs active during the period 1852 to 1913 because he found adequate information on them. Although claiming

that they constitute a fairly good sample of heavy industrialists in the Westphalian Ruhr, he notes that men from larger, mixed coal-mining and metal-producing firms are heavily overrepresented. The geographical boundaries of his study follow, certainly for the sake of convenience, political boundaries: he omits the western end of the Ruhr district (the end that includes Essen, Mühlheim, Oberhausen, and Duisburg) because it belonged to the Rhineland province of Prussia. Pierenkemper's sources consist almost exclusively of published works containing information on the industrialists or their firms: registers, statistical surveys, business periodicals, *Festschriften* issued by the firms, and biographical entries in reference works.

His findings will sound familiar to historians of modern Germany: most Ruhr industrialists came from the upper social and economic strata, were well educated, and were born in the district or in neighboring areas. One conclusion runs counter to a common assertion of popular and scholarly literature: Pierenkemper has uncovered little evidence that entrepreneurs had their origins among artisans and craftsmen, but his monograph is too limited in scope, method, and sources for us to dismiss as mere myth the persistent tale of the craftsman who became an industrialist during the early phases of industrialization. Pierenkemper suggests that merchant and entrepreneurial families supplied most of the entrepreneurs. He speculates that the wealthy and socially well situated had better access to the capital market than craftsmen and artisans. Before we can do much with this idea, we need additional research on the Ruhr and other areas undergoing and completing basic industrialization. Pierenkemper's book provides little evidence for his suggestion that favorable social origins were more important to the founding of an enterprise than to its survival.

Most of the last third of the book is devoted to the characteristics of the successful entrepreneur. Critical to Pierenkemper's definition of success is the survival of the man's firm. As in the earlier chapters, he concedes cheerfully that his criteria pose serious problems, but in this instance he slights the difficulties: we need more knowledge of the relationships among firms; we need more research into German business history before we can virtually equate the disappearance of a firm with the failure of an industrialist, especially during the era of cartelization and concentration that began in the 1870s. Pierenkemper's endeavor to define his crucial terms in such a way as to facilitate the collection of quantifiable data occasionally becomes self-defeating, as another example also brings out: what he has to tell us about the politics of the industrialists is vague except for a tantalizingly brief presentation of some readily accessible, quantifiable information

indicating that many were active in communal politics and industry associations.

Model building derived from the literature on the functions of managers and entrepreneurs dominates Pierenkemper's work and circumscribes his findings. Although modest, his contribution to historical inquiry is very welcome. It is to be hoped that he and others will unearth more material on such important questions as the social origins and situation of German industrialists in the nineteenth century.

WALTER STRUVE
City College,
City University of New York

OTTO BORST. *Schule des Schwabenlands: Geschichte der Universität Stuttgart*. (Die Universität Stuttgart, number 1.) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1979. Pp. 510. DM 48.

This chatty, semipopular history of the technical university at Stuttgart traces the development of the institution from its founding as a *Gewerbeschule* in 1829, through its emergence as one of the leading *technische Hochschulen* of Germany by the 1890s, and then in increasingly less detail down to the present. Otto Borst's work is the only general history of the institution, and its strengths lie in the author's strong sense for local color and the vividness of his character sketches. As a scholarly source the work has liabilities. It rarely attempts to portray the Stuttgart polytechnic against the general development of similar institutions across Germany; it shows minimal concern with some of the larger historiographical questions raised in other recent literature on universities and technical schools; and it is less than systematic in its accounts of issues like funding, enrollments, and curricula. Historians will find the book a readable introduction to a previously little-known institution but of little theoretical significance to the historiography of higher learning in Germany.

R. STEVEN TURNER
University of New Brunswick

KENNETH R. CALKINS. *Hugo Haase: Democrat and Revolutionary*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press. 1979. Pp. x, 254. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$7.50.

This is the first substantial biography of the co-chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany from 1911 to 1916 and founder and leader of the schismatic Independent Social Democratic Party from 1917 until his assassination late in 1919.

With the Haase papers a casualty of the Nazi period, Kenneth R. Calkins has relied principally upon party and Reichstag debates, the papers and memoirs of Haase's associates, and the selection of letters and speeches published more than fifty years ago by Haase's son, Ernst, to illuminate his subject's mature political ideas and career. Hence a scant fifteen pages are devoted to the first forty-seven years of Haase's life. The result is a useful political biography, but one that conveys only an indistinct image of Haase the man.

Calkins's findings confirm previous judgments by historians of the German left. A self-effacing and unambitious man of high ethical ideals, Haase strove mightily for party unity whenever that could be squared with his Marxist conscience. In the short run, at least, that made him an appropriate leader of German Social Democracy at a time when it was becoming polarized between a growing reformist faction and a revolutionary opposition. Next to Karl Kautsky the most prominent spokesman for a declining centrist group that sought to reconcile gradualists and radicals, Haase found himself in a still more difficult position once the issue of supporting Germany's policies in World War I drove the two factions further apart. Haase's growing conviction that the Kaiser and his generals were fighting an imperialist war and were therefore unwilling to settle for a compromise peace finally overrode his devotion to socialist unity and impelled him to join like-minded comrades in breaking party discipline. As leader of the Independents, however, Haase once again found his capacity for conciliation and diplomacy strained to the limit; the new party, united in its opposition to the war, was divided in nearly everything else. Its subsequent disintegration probably would have occurred even if the assassin's bullet had not found its mark.

There is much to recommend Calkins's view of Haase as a fundamentally tragic figure. He devoted his life to promoting socialism, democracy, and justice, only to see them deeply compromised by a series of disasters over which he had little or no control. But Calkins presents more evidence than he acknowledges of Haase's incapacity for practical politics. Although Haase was no dogmatic Marxist, his political and ethical absolutism contributed to the catastrophic radicalization of the Social Democratic left and to the hopeless revolt of the radicals against Friedrich Ebert's postwar provisional government. His last-minute efforts to avoid violence could not halt the train of events he himself had helped set in motion. It may be that Haase's legal defense of workers and party activists accused of political crimes—a dimension of his career to which Calkins devotes little attention—made a more significant positive contribution to the history of Ger-

man socialism than anything he did as a party leader.

DONALD L. NIEWYK
Southern Methodist University

REINHARD SCHIFFERS. *Der Hauptausschuss des Deutschen Reichstags, 1915–1918: Formen und Bereiche der Kooperation zwischen Parlament und Regierung.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien, number 67.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1979. Pp. 305. DM 68.

Among the factors furthering the establishment of parliamentary government in Germany during the First World War was the work undertaken by parliamentary committees. The changing rights, functions, and increasing influence of the main parliamentary committee, the *Hauptausschuss* or budget committee, have been examined for the first time by Reinhard Schiffers. He demonstrates how that committee overcame constitutional restrictions and served as the main counterweight to the military leaders by 1917. Relying heavily on the documentary editions of the *Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus* (Bonn), such as the editions that presented the minutes of the interparty caucus meetings from 1917 to 1918, Schiffers uses the twenty thousand pages of unpublished minutes of the budget committee to show more fully than previously how interparty cooperation emerged, how the government responded to parliamentary pressures, how crucial precise information was to committee actions, and how parts of the Weimar parliamentary system were laid down by the end of the imperial era.

The two-part study centers on the constitutional, organizational, and personal factors determining the relations between the *Hauptausschuss* and the government as well as the areas of cooperation and conflict between them. Although this thematic approach results in some overlap and in a rather dull text, the author competently brings forth the parameters and factors affecting the potential of the committee's influence. In particular, he shows how the constitutional limits—meeting only when the Reichstag was in session, restrictions on discussion of foreign affairs, restrictions on reviewing military matters—were slowly eroded. Especially interesting and noteworthy is the discussion on the problem of confidentiality versus publicity; the government would share information only if it were treated as secret, whereas the committee members were also under obligations and pressures from their parties and constituents to publicize issues.

Although the study contains few startling conclusions, it does bring forth some new information

and ideas. By November 1916, Schiffers demonstrates, the *Hauptausschuss* had become a "relatively independent instrument" as a parliamentary watchdog over government (p. 259). In this role, as well as the attempt during 1917 to influence and to control military policy, the bourgeois parties took the lead. Similarly, it was not the Social Democrats who effectively employed the threat of withholding budgetary or fiscal support in order to widen the committee's powers. Schiffers shows that the *Hauptausschuss* became a substitute for meetings of parliament per se by 1916 and in some instances a means by which to circumvent calling parliament together. In addition, he convincingly illustrates that the major political parties cooperated through this committee well before the creation of the interparty caucus in 1917; indeed, this committee served as another instrument to integrate political opponents of the Kaiserreich. The consequences for the Weimar Republic were evident in that the constitution of 1919 provided for committees with similar rights, which continued the wartime work of the *Hauptausschuss*.

D. K. BUSE

Laurentian University

HERMANN J. RUPIEPER. *The Cuno Government and Reparations, 1922-1923: Politics and Economics*. (Studies in Contemporary History, number 1.) Boston: Martinus Nijhoff. 1979. Pp. viii, 289. \$24.30.

Walther Rathenau, responsible for reparations in the preceding government, said he was the first of those who had to plunge into the trench so that others could get across. Assassins left him there, dead. Hermann J. Rupieper's account suggests that Wilhelm Cuno, chancellor of Germany from November 1922 to August 1923, served his country similarly, although without the style or martyrdom. Rupieper has added the final and essential link to the detailed narrative of the period begun by Ernst Laubach in *Die Politik der Kabinette Wirth, 1921-1922* (1968).

The monograph efficiently carries out its objective, as stated in the "Conclusions," of "analyz[ing] decision-making processes during a crucial period of the Weimar Republic" (p. 255). Rupieper has mastered the archival sources and shaped the anarchic events into meaningful proportions. But this is not quite what his subtitle had promised, since he has ventured only a short distance into economics. He could better have illuminated German policy with a close analysis of the national income, budget, indebtedness, balance of payments, and rate of inflation—the acute economic problems demanding Cuno's decisions.

Rupieper's study, however, has many more strengths than shortcomings, and its dense factual-

ity documents the objective difficulties the Cuno government faced and puts to the test a new wave of Franco-American scholarship that includes the work of Denise Artaud, Jacques Bariéty, Georges Soutou, Sally Marks, Stephen A. Schuker, Charles S. Maier, Walter A. McDougall, and Marc Trachtenberg. Hard-working and adventurously heuristic, these latter have raised up masses of new research and such large ideas as France's role on the Rhine, European peace and integration, and the burgeoning of new social hierarchies. Setting their standard by their views of these phenomena, the new historians see reparations as scaled down to secondary magnitude, well within Germany's capacity to pay and unpaid only because of a lack of good will. Yet like Rupieper, whose solid but modest monograph their conceptions would overwhelm, these scholars have failed to produce the requisite economic-mathematical demonstration. The reciprocal testing of the opposed theses promises to continue as other work is done.

As to the specifics of the reparations problem, Rupieper shows, contrary to historians like Erich Eyck who have emphasized the Cuno government's "business ministry" character, that its policy was the logical extension of his predecessor's. Joseph Wirth, Rathenau's chief, had entered office in May 1921 as an exponent of fulfillment but was unable to maintain even the pretense of it by August 1922, when he halted cash payments. Rupieper sees Cuno carrying on in the same way, trying to keep the economy from collapsing and passively waiting for the Allies to soften the rigors of their measures. Relief required a painful catharsis, which included the Ruhr occupation, resistance that was, in fact, more than passive, and the destruction of the mark. The effect was to wear down German recalcitrance, French aggressiveness (and the franc), English patience, and American reluctance to associate itself with European tribulations. With the promise of what became the Dawes Plan, Gustav Stresemann could scramble across the trench on Rathenau's and Cuno's shoulders and lead Germany into the—deceptively—better years of the 1920s.

DAVID FELIX

Bronx Community College,
City University of New York

HERBERT HÖMIG. *Das preussische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Series B: Forschungen, number 28.) Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag. 1979. Pp. xlvii, 336. DM 68.

Nearly fifty years have now passed since the collapse of Germany's Weimar Republic. Since then we have learned much about that republic. The pe-

culiar character of the revolution that gave it birth, the careers and personalities of many of its political leaders, and the final stages of its dissolution are among the major topics that have been studied extensively. Less well known, however, is the Weimar Republic's history at the regional or state level. Herbert Hömig's *Das Preussische Zentrum* seeks partially to fill this gap by providing a political narrative of the Catholic Center Party in Prussia between 1918 and 1933.

Writing within the framework of traditional political history, Hömig meticulously describes the Center's role in the formation and persistence of the Weimar Coalition (an alliance comprising the Center, Socialist, and Democratic Parties) in the Prussian Landtag. A basic factor contributing to the Prussian Center's preference for the Socialists over the conservative German Nationalists, Hömig claims, was the Roman Catholic demand for parity with other confessional groups in the allocation of civil service appointments. This demand threatened the entrenched Protestant, monarchical, and conservative elements in the Prussian bureaucracy and precluded any form of working relationship between the Center and the political right. Cooperation with the Socialists, on the other hand, had its advantages. According to Hömig, the elimination of much of the anti-Catholic discrimination within the Prussian civil service and, above all, the conclusion in 1929 of a Concordat between Prussia and the Holy See represented the undeniable success of this policy.

But the very success of this policy, Hömig argues, bestowed a tragic legacy on political Catholicism in Prussia. When Nazi successes in the state elections of April 1932 and Chancellor Franz von Papen's coup three months later against the Prussian government destroyed the parliamentary basis of the Weimar Coalition in the Landtag, the Center, in a grotesquely misguided attempt to tame the Nazis, employed the old and familiar methods of cooperation that had proven so successful with the Socialists. These efforts, Hömig maintains, only exacerbated the Center's internal strife, intensified demands for an even closer accommodation with the Nazis, and contributed to the party's ignominious collapse in 1933.

For all the importance Hömig attaches to these internal conflicts, he unfortunately does not make them an integral part of his discussion of the Center's tactics, program, and behavior. Nor is he able to do so because he confines his focus to the Center's parliamentary delegation to the Prussian Landtag—the so-called *Fraktion* of 67–89 members—and its activities. This preoccupation with the highest reaches of the political process accords scant attention to a sustained analysis of electoral data, the significance of regional variation, the “grass-roots” di-

mension of party politics, and the reciprocal relationship between the party's plurality of interests and the parliamentary *Fraktion*. It disregards the social context in which political issues are debated and decisions are made. Although Hömig's narrow frame of reference clarifies Centrist motives for participation within the Weimar Coalition in Prussia, it also unduly obscures those economic (conspicuously absent, for example, is any discussion of the hyperinflation or the depression) and ideological factors that played a crucial role in heightening discord within political Catholicism and in weakening the Center's ties to its partners in the coalition.

RONALD J. ROSS
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee

KLAUS-JÜRGEN MÜLLER. *Armee, Politik und Gesellschaft in Deutschland, 1933–1945: Studien zum Verhältnis von Armee und NS-System*. (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1979. Pp. 123. DM 12.80.

The three essays in this book reflect Klaus-Jürgen Müller's continuing interest in problematical aspects of the German Army since his earlier magisterial study, *Das Heer und Hitler* (1969). The first essay is an “attempt at a historical interpretation” of the relationship between “Army and Third Reich”; the second offers “reflections and results of new research” on General Ludwig Beck, Chief of the General Staff, 1933–38; the third addresses the “problem of interpretation and analysis” of the military opposition to Hitler.

Biographical methods and “political-ethical and personalistic” approaches (p. 102) to understanding actions of individuals in central positions seem even less useful to Müller now than in his earlier study. He treats his subjects as a group, an “elite,” having convinced himself that “political-moral criteria have no sufficient rational power of explanation” and that the political-moral complex of problems (motivations) was “nonscientific” (pp. 13–14). Instead, he uses terms such as “Junker feudalism,” “Prussian-German military elite,” and “the phenomenon of the total war involving all of society in the era of industry and technology” (p. 8), which might be useful, but whose scientific superiority is not clear as they remain undefined.

Müller's essays explore variations on three themes: (1) The German officer corps of the 1920s and 1930s insisted on being a “political-social leadership elite as well as a military-professional one” (p. 22) and on participation in political decisions. (2) This “elite” cooperated with National Socialism and helped to put Hitler into power, in an “entente” the “elite” thought it had concluded with

Hitler, based on common interests and agreement on policy (pp. 30–33, 48). (3) All major conflicts between the military (army) “elite” and National Socialism were attempts to restore the political role of the “elite” and the “entente” of 1933 and ultimately led a minority of the “elite” to direct opposition and coup d’état (pp. 47–48). The majority of the senior officer corps, meanwhile, continued to agree “fundamentally” with Hitler’s policies, despite their reduction to a “purely functional elite” (p. 48).

The attempt to explain historical events through collective categorizations and theses first distilled from the same events, without conclusive evidence, leads Müller to contradictions. Elite theories, and the virtual exclusion of “political-moral criteria,” cannot explain the revolt against the crimes of the Nazi state. A case might be made for the conspirators acting from a perceived obligation as a “political-moral” elite when they set out, in July 1944, to sacrifice their lives for Germany’s honor, fully conscious that they could save neither the state, nor its territorial integrity, nor their own status. The glaring contrast is the unexplained collapse of the (alleged) political-social elite foundation in large parts of the senior officer corps, in the face of the Commissar Order and the Court Martial Order Barbarossa of 1941: the murder of prisoners and mindless obedience were not ideals in the “Prussian-German tradition” upon which Müller says the “elite” based itself (p. 9). A more general frame of reference for historical explanation, and preferable to untested elite theories, would be the relationships of officer corps to governments in several states over a longer time, based on Carl von Clausewitz’s doctrine of the relationship between “policy” and military leadership. The force of Müller’s argumentation is weakened further by frequent references to works not yet available, particularly one of his own on General Beck, which contains many relevant sources and references and which will not be published (according to information from the publishers) before the end of 1980 at the earliest.

PETER HOFFMANN
McGill University

FRIEDRICH GRUNDMANN. *Agrarpolitik im “Dritten Reich”: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit des Reichserbhofgesetzes*. (Historische Perspektiven, number 14.) Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe. 1979. Pp. 233. DM 58.

The objectives of this useful, if rather thin, treatise on hereditary farm entailment in the Third Reich are to throw light on the whole National Socialist system of government in practice. Its main theme is the relationship between ideology, meaning the the-

ories of Darré and the “blood and soil” school, to the overall social and economic development of German agriculture under Hitler. Friedrich Grundmann tries to determine to what extent farm legislation was the product of a system of values at least partially inherited from the nineteenth century. How these measures actually functioned after 1933 and what effect the demands of rearmament and industrial re-employment exercised on them is explored in detail. Not surprisingly, the English summary concludes that “the agrarian fanatics could not reach their overall aims” (p. 228).

This conclusion is not exactly original but has at least the merit of reinforcing orthodox opinion as to how “blood and soil” eventually ceded pride of place to pragmatism in the Third Reich. The section that illustrates Darré’s failure to introduce a sweeping debt-relief scheme for entailed farms because of Schacht’s opposition is a good example of this. Similarly, the counterproductive effects of credit restrictions imposed on entailed farms and how these worked against the *Erzeugungsschlacht* are well documented. Peasant dislike for the Hereditary Farm Law of 1933 is again brought out, as is their lack of interest in Hitler’s nebulous schemes for eastern colonization. Informative here is a report from the Cologne area in 1941: rumors of settlement in the east or in Burgundy were causing “eine spürbare Unruhe” in the farm population (pp. 74–75). So much for Lebensraum.

Despite the ineffectiveness and unpopularity of “blood and soil” thinking, the author accepts its overwhelming influence on the actual legislation as conceived in 1933. He thus puts himself firmly among those historians who have emphasized the neo-feudal aspects of NS ideology. Quite explicit in the conclusion is an attack on the concept of National Socialism as some kind of modernizing force, if only by accident. In sum, however much “blood and soil” eventually came to grief, we should not lose sight of how much it originally contributed to holding back modernization on the German farm scene. Grundmann’s arguments are in this respect convincing.

Less satisfactory, however, is the material on the actual farm law itself, which adds little to our knowledge. Only six pages are devoted to the special courts, rather thin even for a monograph. Despite the fact that this work started as a dissertation, there is a good deal of material that is at best only semirelevant: for example, the digression on the Polish minority (p. 122) and the statistics on farm production, which tell us nothing about hereditary farms since the latter’s output was never separately recorded. Equally, the passage on the Wehrbauer concept (p. 121) is potentially misleading as a result of overcompression. Despite the occasional scrap-

piness in presentation, however, this monograph can be recommended as a useful addition to studies of the agrarian history of the Third Reich.

J. E. FARQUHARSON
University of Bradford

BENJAMIN B. FERENCZ. *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. xxii, 249. \$15.00.

During World War II Nazi Germany coerced millions of persons to work in the factories and farms of the Third Reich. Most of these workers were foreigners ruthlessly recruited throughout Europe, many were POWs, and some were concentration camp inmates. Their treatment and employment varied from normal to diabolic depending on the racial judgment of the Nazis, the changing fortunes of war, and the whims of accidental circumstances. Still, none suffered more than the Jewish concentration camp inmates. Their fate was clear; for these unfortunates, whom a survivor called "less than slaves," labor and death were almost synonymous. Years after the war, some of the surviving victims tried to win retroactive payment from the prominent German corporations that had so shamelessly exploited them. Benjamin B. Ferencz, a former American prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials and later a leader in the Jewish restitution efforts, describes the legal actions, negotiations, and political pressures that finally compelled several companies grudgingly to make a few meager payments. It is not a very pretty tale, for none of the companies ever acknowledged any legal or moral responsibility for their wartime actions. They claimed they had to accept labor from the government regardless of its origins—a claim that was patently untrue, as the author indicates.

It is not particularly suprising that German corporations were fearful to make payments to their forced workers lest it be taken as a confession of guilt, nor is it surprising that the few firms that made payments did so to improve their corporate image and enhance their prospects for profits. Corporate morality was never very strong in Germany, or for that matter anywhere else. I. G. Farben and the electrical concerns of AEG and Siemens were worried about their sales abroad, Krupp was eager to sidestep the Allied order to sell off his Rheinhausen coal and steel operations, while Rheinmetall's payments came as a result of political pressure from America. They all stalled and tried to minimize the number and amount of the claims, and some, like the Flick concern, never did pay a cent. There was neither shame nor the slightest gesture of atonement. Willy Brandt could kneel before the victims

of Nazism, but not German business. In the end, the five German companies paid 14,878 claimants DM 51,935,095 and closed their books on the matter. By maintaining their innocence, the firms possibly sought to avert further claims by the millions of foreign workers used so cheaply during the war, or perhaps they were continuing the "conspiracy of silence."

This book reveals the callous attitude of German business that supported Hitler and profited thereby, but it does not try to explain the great problems involved. It is essentially the interestingly told narration of the legal attempts by the survivors to achieve compensation. There is no attempt to analyze the relationship of business to Nazism or even the morality and politics of some of the issues that are involved. The historian is not going to find much of use or new here, which is a pity because the author's training and experience obviously gave him the opportunities to study and understand the intricate nature of German business and society that few historians have ever had. Unfortunately Ferencz is too much the advocate and not enough the judge.

Most of the documentation for the book comes from the Nuremberg trials and subsequent legal proceedings, the correspondence between Jewish groups and German corporations, and the news media. The author has marshaled his facts and presented his argument well, but then only a few ever doubted the merits and justice of his case.

EDWARD L. HOMZE
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

HANS W. GATZKE. *Germany and the United States: A "Special Relationship?"* (American Foreign Policy Library.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 314. \$17.50.

The American Foreign Policy Library is designed to provide the interested public with an introduction to the modern history of foreign countries with particular reference to their relationship with the United States. The volume under review is to do this for German-American relations from the beginning of American independence into the mid-1970s. A general description of Germany's past and present is followed by a chapter on German-American relations from 1776 to 1914. The dramatic turn of World War I is appropriately given a chapter to itself, as is the Weimar period, the Hitler years from 1933 to 1939, and the period of World War II. Almost half the book covers the years since 1945 with emphasis on the development of the German Federal Republic, its institutions and history, and its relationship to the United States as well as to

France and Eastern Europe. Some attention is also given to the German Democratic Republic, though in view of the recentness and minimal character of its relations with the United States, the space devoted to it is small. A concluding chapter suggests what has been hinted at repeatedly in the text: life in the Federal Republic of Germany is becoming more Americanized, but there is little influence in the other direction, and the relationship of the two countries, while close and important, has not attained the special character sometimes attributed to Anglo-American ties.

The text is based on broad familiarity with the published literature and presents Hans W. Gatzke's generally balanced views of major issues with no effort at either presenting new findings or arguing controversial questions in detail. Most of the author's judgments—the book is a rather personal one—will seem reasonable to informed readers. If one leaves aside a few minor factual mistakes, only the discussion of the 1920s is not in accord with recent scholarship on reparations and the differential impact of World War I on the economies of Germany and its enemies. For a work on U.S.-German relations, it is unfortunate that the author almost totally misconstrues Hitler's policy toward the United States. Gatzke has failed to assimilate into his account two important policy considerations: (1) Hitler's repeatedly expressed expectation that crushing Russia would free Japan to strike in East Asia and keep the United States tied up there; and (2) Hitler's repeated urging of Japan to attack Britain, accompanied by assurances of support against the United States when necessary. The relatively detailed coverage of the federal republic's new policy toward Eastern Europe would have been more readily understood if the impact on Soviet policy of the developing Sino-Soviet split had been integrated into the narrative.

Scholars will find the book interesting reading but will be left a bit puzzled as to its purpose. The section of suggested readings will be of help to undergraduate students of German history.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

ALAN SKED. *The Survival of the Habsburg Empire: Radetzky, the Imperial Army and the Class War, 1848*. New York: Longman. 1979. Pp. xii, 289. \$33.00.

The subtitle of this study should be the main title, for the survival of the empire owed as much to Windischgrätz, Schwarzenberg, and Nicholas I as to Radetzky. Early chapters deal with the organization and life of the army between 1815 and 1848. Here the author concludes that the Habsburgs had

a tradition of moving all regiments around the monarchy, but he does not accept a deliberately worked out policy of divide and rule. "Those who believe otherwise would have to show why so many troops were at the wrong place at the wrong time [1848] and why many of them had been there so long" (p. 51).

Radetzky emerges as a proconsul who was shocked by the rapidity of the expulsion of his troops from Milan. His shame intensified his determination to reoccupy the city and to punish the aristocrats whom he blamed for the treason. Always short of troops, he was lenient with Italian deserters and sufficiently impartial to hold on to his Hungarian, Croat, and Grenzer regiments. All too complacent about the warnings sent him from Venice by Count Ferdinand Zichy, he was enough of a propagandist to escape the disgrace visited upon that military commandant. He also won at Custoza and Novara, thanks to the inept Sardinians. Believing that the Italians hated the monarchy, he was unyielding in his opposition to reconciliation after retaking Milan.

At this point Alan Sked develops his chief thesis with a section entitled "Radetzky as communist: The social psychology of the revolutionary crisis." Reviewing the jacquerie of 1846 in Galicia, he decides upon the basis of documents in the archive of the military presidium of the Galician civil and military gubernium for 1845-46 that Metternich and his administrators did not provoke the attack on the rebellious landowners there. He notes, however, that Metternich was quick to impart the appropriate lesson to Radetzky and other commanders in areas where aristocrats might be tempted to conspire. Arguing that for most people even in 1848 "the adjective 'communist' might be applied to any movement which threatened to undermine the bastions of political or social privilege" (p. 164), the author interprets Radetzky's policies of confiscation, sequestration, and extraordinary levies as a class war upon the great property owners. In the end he agreed to the nonenforcement of the toughest of his measures and in Sked's view failed to win over the peasants.

This monograph reveals a thorough combing of archival and secondary material and is honest about what cannot be documented. When it moves beyond 1849, some conclusions are suspect. No one today should accept at face value James Hudson's premature appraisal of the Milanese rising of February 6, 1853. It was abortive because the lower classes did not rally to their "leaders." Only a careful study of what used to be in the Milanese archives might have shown whether "rich and poor alike detested the Austrians" (p. 205) by 1853. The reviewer's survey of the opinions of the provincial delegates in Venetia from 1861 to 1866 shows that

these Austrian appointees regularly pointed to the inherent disloyalty of the middle class and of much of the clergy and nobility. They rarely saw anything but political passivity among the peasants and usually reported uncontested collections of taxes and conscripts. Peasants undoubtedly dislike all such authority. They did not vote for Austria in 1866, whether through apathy or conviction.

WILLIAM A. JENKS
Washington and Lee University

LAJOS KERÉKES. *Von St. Germain bis Genf: Österreich und seine Nachbarn, 1918–1922*. Translated from Hungarian by JOHANNA TILL. Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1979. Pp. 415. DM 92.

Von St. Germain bis Genf is a detailed diplomatic history of Austria and its neighbors from the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy to the Geneva Protocols of October 1922. Lajos Kerekes maintains that by the latter date Austria's diplomatic relations were reasonably well consolidated. The author, who has written numerous earlier studies on Austrian history including *Abenddämmerung einer Demokratie: Mussolini, Gömbös und die Heimwehr*, has used Austrian, German, and Hungarian archives as well as most, although by no means all, of the relevant secondary literature. Important omissions are Alfred Low's *The Anschluss Movement, 1918–1919*, and the *Paris Peace Conference*, C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer's *Independent Eastern Europe*, and Dagmar Perman's *The Shaping of the Czechoslovak State*.

Despite its 385 pages of small print, *Von St. Germain bis Genf* reaches few if any startlingly new conclusions. The driving force behind the Austrian Anschluss movement in the early postwar months was Foreign Minister Otto Bauer and the Austrian (but not German) Social Democratic Party. Bauer at first believed the Anschluss ought to be brought about by a *fait accompli* before the signing of the peace treaties. But by July 1919, difficulty in obtaining disputed borderlands convinced him to wait until after the signing of the Treaty of St. Germain before pushing the Anschluss issue. While the Austrian Socialists were hoping to join hands with their German brethren, many conservatives in the provinces favored the formation of a south German state. Britain and Italy, however, opposed a south German state, fearing it would fall under French domination.

Kerekes adds weight to the long-standing suspicion that in 1921 some influential circles in France supported a Habsburg restoration in Hungary and eventually Austria as a way of halting the Anschluss movement. Only after the unsuccessful attempts by Karl von Habsburg to regain his throne did the French government definitely side with the newly formed Little Entente.

The author also agrees with the recent contentions of Stefan Malfer in *Wien und Rom* that Austria in effect renounced Sopron by signing the Venice Protocol in October 1921. The later disputed plebiscite, he feels, was essentially fair.

Although the author is a Hungarian, the text is generally free from obvious national bias. There is, however, an occasional bow to Marxist doctrine and jargon. The independence of Czechoslovakia was "determined." The Habsburg nationalities were "oppressed," and Danubian capitalists were "monopolists." Béla Kun's Bolshevik government is hardly mentioned except to say that it fought a "heroic defensive battle" against Hungary's neighbors. In several places Kerekes mentions the anti-Bolshevik motivations of Eduard Beneš and the Entente leaders at Versailles; but here he is only confirming the findings of Arno J. Mayer in *Politics and the Diplomacy of Peacemaking*.

For a book devoted primarily to diplomacy and boundary changes, it is astonishing that there is not a single map. Nor are there any illustrations. With few exceptions, the individuals mentioned in the text remain faceless names. The index (of names only), however, does provide a brief identification of each entry.

Von St. Germain bis Genf is far too long and detailed for the general public; its lack of originality will discourage all but the most dedicated scholars working in the field.

BRUCE F. PAULEY
University of Central Florida

CHARLES TRINKAUS. *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 147. \$14.00.

"In the final analysis he was a poet." Thus Charles Trinkaus characterizes Petrarch the theologian in his *In Our Image and Likeness* ([1970] vol. 1, p. 50). The same assessment informs his new book on Petrarch. In *The Poet as Philosopher* we again meet a Petrarch who was selective, inconsistent, idiosyncratic in his use of his sources and whose choices were dictated by his personal needs, his esthetic temperament, and his attraction to classical and Christian paradigms that he could re-express in compelling images. Trinkaus's book has far more coherence than most collections of essays; each of the five papers extends the author's previous analysis of Petrarch in some way.

The thematic link is the idea of ambivalence. This theme not only underlies Petrarch's moral and emotional approach to philosophy, but it also, for Trinkaus, is his chief bequest to the Renaissance and modern consciousness. It is debatable if ambivalence in this sense is unique to, or exhaustive of,

the humanist movement. The same attitudes, derived from the same sources, are also found in twelfth-century writers. Further, whatever marginal utility there once may have been in equating the Renaissance with the modern mind has long since evanesced. It may also be objected that, despite the book's title, what Trinkaus actually demonstrates is the primacy of rhetoric in Petrarch's handling of philosophy. Still, these cavils aside, this book is an important contribution to our understanding of Petrarch. The author wears his massive erudition with ease and grace, citing previous scholarship sparingly and more to give credit for benefits received than to polemicize. His goal, which he achieves with great success, is to give Petrarch a careful and sensitive reading, sharing the appreciation and insight he has gained in a long and reflective acquaintance with his subject.

The centerpiece of the book and the essay that displays Trinkaus's discernment at its best is "Petrarch and the Tradition of a Double Consciousness." With impressive sureness of touch the author shows how Petrarch's awareness of the divided self derives from both philosophy, especially Roman Stoicism, and Pauline and Augustinian theology, as Petrarch appropriated them. Trinkaus is entirely correct in noting that Petrarch's norm in choosing his sources was their psychological resonance; this also explains the appeal of figures like Cicero and Augustine as psychic alter egos in preference to other authorities who drew on the same sources but whose existential situation had no parallels with Petrarch's.

The motif of double consciousness informs the range of tensions that Petrarch expressed—free will and grace, the active and the contemplative life, the subjective and the objective—and that Trinkaus explores in the other essays. "Petrarch and Classical Philosophy" treats the conflict between Petrarch's objective, historical attitude toward antiquity and his subjective preferences. "Petrarch's Critique of Self and Society" extends the theme of the divided self into the debate between the active and contemplative life and the role of free choice and fortune in the working out of vocational options. "*Theologia Poetica* and *Theologia Rhetorica* in Petrarch's *Invectives*" deals with the tension between objectivity and subjectivity in theology, as Petrarch confronted the need to balance his own religious interests with the didactic imperatives of prophetic eloquence.

The final essay, "Estrangement and Personal Autonomy in Petrarch's *Remedies* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*" treats the theme of autarchy as a remedy for alienation. The comparison with Boccaccio is instructive for two reasons. First, it enables the author to shed light on the degree to which the Petrarchan problematic is a function of Petrarch's own personality and situation and the degree to which it was

absorbed and transmitted by a disciple known for his pre-eminently tranquil and sunny disposition. Second, and this is perhaps an unintentional lesson on the author's part, it raises once again the question of whether it is the poetic calling itself that is the critical factor in Petrarch's perception and use of philosophy. For Boccaccio, and other authors of the time, could handle ambiguity, paradox, and loose ends without the mental discomfort of Petrarch.

If this book leaves some questions open, that is to be expected in a volume of such small size that tackles issues of such major importance in Renaissance thought. Both for the continuing inquiry that these essays will stimulate and for the depth and freshness of his portrayal of Petrarch, Trinkaus leaves the reader very much in his debt.

MARCIA L. COLISH
Oberlin College

ENRICO STUMPO. *Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento*. (Studi di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, number 6.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1979. Pp. xxi, 470. L. 10,000.

The history of public finance in Italy has a long and distinguished tradition that links older institutional histories with the new economic history. Its focus on budgetary income and expense highlights not only where revenue came from and went but also the mechanics of government—bureaucratization, rationalization, and the ties between public and private, investment and credit. Enrico Stumpo's examination of seventeenth-century finances in Piedmont follows the standard model: chapter 1, budgets as sources, ordinary income, and local finances; chapter 2, extraordinary income and war finances; chapter 3, state operations and their cost; chapter 4, the problem of extraordinary finance (the venality of offices and the "cursus honorum" of the bourgeoisie); chapter 5, economy, society, and state in the seventeenth-century crisis; and chapter 6, public debt and the success of financial policy. The conceptual framework is conservative, but the potential dividends are great.

Building upon the magisterial work of Luigi Einaudi and Giuseppe Prato before, as well as that of Attilio Garino Canina immediately after, World War I, Stumpo adds some new archival documentation for the seventeenth century. Essentially, however, he is reworking all the old data in terms of the contemporary bibliography on the seventeenth century and more modern social science methodology. Stumpo would like to design a unique Piedmontese *histoire totale* from the budgetary raw material but finds himself, more often than not, unable to an-

swer the questions his analysis raises or reaffirming the accepted wisdom on early modern Europe. The absence of detailed research on prices, wages, and the cost of living in Piedmont by other scholars, for example, prevents firm conclusions on the effect of money devaluation. On the other hand, Stumpo's description of the character and aspirations of the bourgeoisie corresponds neatly to the pattern of development found in France. Do Italian public finances, subspecies Savoyard, have something distinctive to attract our attention?

Stumpo's conclusion addresses this concern. He applies to Piedmont an aphorism taken from Fernand Braudel: "the modern state is the greatest entrepreneur of the century" (p. 356). Piedmont, a small agrarian state in the orbit of France, differed radically from its Italian neighbors, Milan, Genoa, and Venice, in its rapport between city and countryside. Because it remained feudal and did not urbanize in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this "retardation" was compensated for in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by a transformation of the feudal state into a "modern state." Although it shared a distinctive fiscal structure (a *camara dei conti*) with two other Italian states of "feudal formation" (the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples), Savoy stood out as the "unique modern state of the absolute type in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy." Although this analysis is undoubtedly true in gross terms, Stumpo's method of deductive reasoning does little more than confirm the authority of Braudel, Cipolla, and others. History argued from general principles to the specific case becomes much more of a mechanical identifying, measuring, and comparing of typologies than a working out of the process of change.

JOHN A. MARINO
University of California,
San Diego

XENIO TOSCANI. *Il clero lombardo dall'Ancien Regime alla Restaurazione*. (Religione e Società, number 8.) Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 1979. Pp. 437. L. 12,000.

Inspired by the example of Jean Delumeau and others, a loosely organized study of the socioreligious conditions in postmedieval Europe has been going on for some years. Its purpose is to test whether a so-called de-Christianization had actually taken place; its methodology is largely quantitative, but its real goal is to produce a study in the collective perception of values, something akin to what the *Annales* school comprehends by *mentalité*. One of the principal constituents of this investigation is the historical study of the clergy and the problem of clerical vocations. The interest in such

studies first arose around 1870 and coincided with the crises in the Catholic churches of Italy and France. It later spread to other lands, including Protestant areas, and reached its climax with Fernand Boulard's *Essor ou déclin du clergé français?* in 1950. Only within the last few years has this genre of studies fallen into the larger contours of the problem of de-Christianization, in the belief that priestly vocations could be a valid criterion of the religious vitality of a diocese.

The present work fits within this general pattern. Some studies had previously been done for various Italian regions, such as Piedmont, Venetia, and Campania, but none until now for Lombardy. Lombardy is perhaps best known in recent church history for the reforming work of Carlo Borromeo. Since his day, however, the territory had been divided between the Austrian Empire and the Republic of Venice. Toscani attempts to establish, for the period between 1750 and 1830, a data base for ordinations, taking into account the number of those who entered and left the seminaries in each diocese, the social and geographic provenance of those ordained, and the ratio of ordinations in relation to the total population. The results are placed against the type of landholding, the industrial development, and the demographic trends in the area. He does this for the seminaries in each of the nine dioceses. It forms the heart of his work. The merit of this part of the book is that, unlike so many other scholars using quantitative tools, Toscani does not intimidate or drown his readers with a surfeit of highly sophisticated statistical tables and diagrams.

The author's conclusions are most interesting. He finds a fundamental dichotomy between the conditions in the three dioceses of "Venetian" Lombardy and those under Austrian rule during most of the second half of the eighteenth century. Those in Venetia showed an altogether greater stability: the proportion of priests remained higher and the decline in ordinations was smaller than in the Austrian part. Toscani attributes this difference to the rigorous ecclesiastical reforms of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II. From 1767 there was a regular Austrian legislative policy to reduce the number and wealth of the clergy, which they justified by the Canons of Trent that recommended that bishops only ordain as many priests as were needed in a diocese for pastoral care. The high point of this policy came with the establishment of a centralized *Seminario Generale* for Austrian Lombardy in Pavia. Although the Austrians reversed themselves at the death of Joseph II, it was only with the French occupation in 1797 that both parts of Lombardy came to share a common, if not very prosperous, religious fate. Matters improved following Napoleon's concordat in 1803. With the return of the Austrians in 1814 the picture changed again. Finding a scar-

city of priests, they encouraged young men to take up clerical careers and even introduced clergy from impoverished dioceses outside Lombardy, who were to form a kind of clerical proletariat. Yet, perhaps, Toscani's most surprising finding is that cities provided more priests than the countryside, an apparently general European phenomenon, that confutes the widespread belief that, at the end of the eighteenth century, cities were less favorable to religious life than rural areas.

HANNS GROSS
Loyola University,
Chicago

ILARIA PORCIANI. *L' "Archivio storico italiano": Organizzazione della ricerca ed egemonia moderata nel Risorgimento.* (Biblioteca di Storia Toscana Moderna e Contemporanea, Studi e Documenti, number 20.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki, Editore. 1979. Pp. vi, 302.

In the past century, the process of welding together disparate elements in an Italy divided by political boundaries, trade barriers, and age-old rivalries enrolled the efforts and dedication of many. Not the least was the contribution made by the *Archivio storico italiano* in developing and furthering intellectual collegiality among Italian historians. One of the many journals launched by the Swiss editor, Gian Pietro Viesseux, working in Florence, the *ASI* began publication in 1842. Its first series, totaling sixteen volumes (some in two parts), was published from 1842 to 1851 and concentrated on making available to scholars documents long out of print or never before published, an innocuous and apparently non-political scholarly endeavor. An appendix, which became longer and longer, however, reported historical activities in other Italian states, reviewed books on Italian history, and occasionally included articles. Drawing financial support from a group of enlightened Florentine liberals, led by Gino Capponi, the *ASI* survived government suspicions and post-1850 repressions by emphasizing its purely scholarly interests. It encouraged research, increasingly reviewed rare works on Italian history, and gained the collaboration of historians from Turin to Palermo and expatriate scholars, such as Michele Amari, then living in Paris.

In 1855, Viesseux initiated the *ASI*'s second series, making some changes in its format. He informed his readers that, although the journal would continue to reproduce rare documents on the history of Italy, it would give equal weight to publishing articles based on original research and would include extensive bibliographical reviews on current scholarship on Italian history. With unification and the growing Piedmontese preponderance in all of Italy's activities, the importance of the Florence-based *ASI*

declined. Moreover, after 1861 intellectual initiative "passed to the state and took the form of institutionalized research and teaching" (p. 230). The *ASI* became more Tuscan oriented and less national in its coverage. But in the two decades so crucial to the unification movement it had made an important contribution by providing a rallying focus for historians throughout Italy, encouraging discussion among them, and helping to lay the basis for a national historical awareness.

The importance of these pioneer endeavors by the *ASI*—still active today—is well brought out in this excellent study. Begun in 1973 as a doctoral dissertation and completed in 1977 under Ernesto Ragionieri at the University of Florence, the book rests on extensive research in Florence's many libraries and archives and elsewhere. It represents an important contribution to the history of Italian historiography and of the intellectual matrix of the Risorgimento. Impeccably documented and exceptionally well written, it is a pleasure to read and should be consulted by anyone interested in the Risorgimento.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER
University of Connecticut

GIANFAUSTO ROSOLI, editor. *Un secolo di emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976.* Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione. 1979. Pp. 386. \$14.00.

The Italian emigration of the last hundred years is one of the important phenomena of modern times. Between 1876 and 1976, some 25,800,000 Italians left their nation, with 50 percent of the migration having already occurred before the beginning of World War I. In 1913, expatriates numbered 872,598 (the zenith); as late as 1961, the number reached 387,123. Many Italians returned home, but for most of the emigrants expatriation was permanent.

So vast a migration was born of a complex constellation of factors, both social and economic, and was not unrelated to the inadequacies of an Italian elitist government that failed, from the outset, to understand the nature of the migration (for example, the economic "dualism" that has been characteristic of Italy since its political unification and the "southern question" that sought its own solution in migration). If Italian migration critically affected the fortunes of the mother nation, it vitally influenced the destinies of the receiving countries. It may be cogently argued that the histories of many nations to which Italians emigrated were (and continue to be) significantly influenced by the Italian immigrant presence (Argentina is the best example, but one could not exclude the United States, Brazil, Canada, and, in Europe, France and Germany).

The influence is worldwide; the Italian presence has been felt in Australia, Peru, Uruguay, Algeria, Egypt, the Union of South Africa, Libya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo. How vast and internationally multifarious the Italian emigration was can be best assessed in the over 300 fascicles of some 36,000 pages that comprise the *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione* (1902–27), which officially chronicled its history and for which a thematic index has at last been published by Rowman and Littlefield.

Against this background, the publication of the Centro Studi Emigrazione's *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana* is an auspicious event. Each of its essays is written by a specialist, and Gianfausto Rosoli has masterfully edited the materials. He successfully produces the best overview of Italian emigration now available, comparable only to the classic work of Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (1919), to which Rosoli's compendium may be judged an indispensable sequel.

Rosoli's colleagues have produced monograph-quality essays, each significant. Luigi Favero and Graziano Tassello provide an overview of the history of Italian emigration (enriched by invaluable tables and graphs); Francesco Balletta studies the twin cycles of economics and immigrant remittances; Eugenia Malfatti clarifies the complexities of the "southern question" and emigration; Francesco Cerase harnesses the elusive dynamics of a "precarious economy" that explain migration; Antonio Golini interrelates the processes of internal migrations, population distribution, and urbanization in Italy; A. M. Birindelli, G. Gesano, and E. Sonnino make intelligible depopulation in the contexts of migratory and demographic change; G. B. Sacchetti trenchantly reviews the disastrous consequences of inadequate migration policies; and Rosoli and M. R. Ostuni conclude the volume with an invaluable annotated bibliography of statistical sources on Italian migration.

Rosoli's compendium will stimulate new attentions to the worldwide Italian presence. In the United States, in a period of heightened interest in ethnic historiography, it provides a critical informational centerpiece for one of America's largest ethnic groups.

FRANCESCO CORDASCO
Montclair State College

BRENDA L. MARDER. *Stewards of the Land: The American Farm School and Modern Greece*. (East European Monographs, number 59.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1979. Pp. xi, 234. \$14.50.

Brenda L. Marder's study is an interesting account of the American Farm School, situated near Thes-

saloniki, from 1902 to 1949. The founder of the school, John Henry House, an indefatigable worker and an indomitable spirit, arrived in the Balkans in 1872. Following his early experiences as a missionary, he developed an educational philosophy predicated on a work ethic conducive to manual labor and social service—an education "which should train the children along things of the heart, the head, and the hands, that is the whole man" (p. 22). It was this philosophy he put into practice in the American Farm School, founded thirty-two years after his arrival in the Balkans. Under his guidance and that of his successors, the school grew into a respectable institution that worked effectively within the agricultural educational structure of the Greek state following the school's hellenization after the Balkan Wars.

Marder's account is informative and well written, but it suffers from serious weaknesses. "The Farm School," she writes, "is much the tale of four gigantic personalities: the founder, John Henry House, his wife, Susan Adeline House, their son Charles Lucius House (director, 1929–1955) and his wife, Ann Kellogg House" (p. ix). This "heroic" approach in the study of an educational institution is a major flaw. We have before us sympathetic biographical sketches of those who, through their courage, determination, dedication, and humanness, managed to sustain the school through an age of adversity, confronted with difficulties that would have crushed ordinary men. Impressed by the qualities of her protagonists, the author has succumbed under the weight of her own perception of her subject matter. We are, indeed, confronted with human beings who loom larger than life. The institution itself, whose growth and social interaction should have constituted the essence of this study, is, in effect, pushed into the background.

The success or failure of a biography of an educational institution depends on the author's capacity to capture the dialectics of the institution's social essence, that is, its interaction with its social milieu. Since Greece was an agrarian society with its economic well-being depending upon the organization and exploitation of its agricultural resources, the contribution of an agricultural institution to that society should constitute the essence of the study. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for this work. Occasional references to its successes do not help us understand the school's function in the process of Greece's agricultural modernization. We do not even have a complete statistical account of the school's student population throughout the period under study, nor do we have a satisfactory picture of its operations and curriculum. In short, we are not able to assess the contributions of the school, however valuable they might have been. It must be mentioned finally that in her effort to integrate the

school's development into the broader context of Balkan and Greek history, Marder accepts uncritically positions that are either highly controversial or unacceptable. Be that as it may, this story deserves to be told, but it could have been told more effectively.

GEORGE B. LEON
Memphis State University

CONSTANTIN N. VELICHI. *La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale (1850-1878)*. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, number 60.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1979. Pp. 231. 11 L.

The history of Rumanian-Bulgarian relations has had a long and sometimes heated historiography; after a friendly nineteenth-century relationship, the historians joined the politicians in attacking each other, using the past as a tool in a political and diplomatic struggle based mainly on territorial claims. Since World War II, with no more real problems to fight over, the Rumanians and the Bulgarians have started again to look more objectively to the many historical problems the two countries have had in common; a joint historical commission is trying to establish projects to be worked on by joint teams; the Academies of Sciences of the two countries have published the first volume of a series dedicated to the long history of Rumanian-Bulgarian relations. Constantin N. Velichi's new book should be seen in this broader context as an attempt to interpret these relations in a scientific and objective way.

Velichi is probably the best scholar on the subject; he has written extensively in Rumanian as well as in Bulgarian on a variety of subjects such as the Bulgarian emigration north of the Danube in 1806-12 and 1828-34, on the Brăila uprising of 1841, on the activities of the Bulgarian diaspora living in Rumania, and on its role within the movement of national revival.

His latest book covers the last thirty years of Ottoman domination over the two peoples, one constantly enlarging its autonomy up to the recovery in 1877 of its total independence, the other struggling to create a political movement in exile, which led in 1878 to the rebirth of an autonomous Bulgarian principality.

The book follows in general the course of the political events; the reaction to the Crimean War, Rakovski's activity in the Principalities before and after their unification, the ups and downs of the different societies and revolutionary committees set up in order to give a political structure to the national movement, and the history of the many *tchétas* crossing the Danube with the hope of provoking a general anti-Ottoman uprising. Great at-

tention is also paid to Karalevov's and Botev's activity, as well as to the participation of the Bulgarian volunteers in the war of 1877-78.

The information is overwhelming, the interpretation correct. A regret has nevertheless to be expressed; the book focuses too much on political history, too little on cultural relations, and not at all on the economic and social problems of the Bulgarian community living in Rumania. It would be to the great benefit of the history of Rumanian-Bulgarian relations if Velichi were to return someday to these topics and complete a study very few others would be able to deal with so thoroughly.

VLAD GEORGESCU
Woodrow Wilson Center

ELKA BORNEMANN. *Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918*. (Europäische Hochschulschriften, series 3; Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, number 64.) Bern: Peter Lang. 1978. Pp. 241.

A proper understanding of Rumania's separate peace with the Central Powers (March-May 1918) in its own right has been impeded by relegating it to the status of an adjunct of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, an example of Germany's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (Fritz Fischer), or a chapter in the struggle in Germany between *The Sword and the Scepter* (Gerhard Ritter). We welcome therefore this Bonn dissertation that gives us the first detailed study of the treaty's provisions and the negotiations behind them.

This study is not without limitations, the most important of which is its decidedly German perspective, which slights the Austro-Hungarian point of view and virtually ignores the Rumanian. It could be more accurately entitled "Germany and the Peace of Bucharest." This problem stems from a reliance on German-language sources, necessitated, in part, by Elka Bornemann's lack of success in gaining access to important Rumanian archival materials. Less excusable is the author's failure to utilize other, readily available Rumanian primary and secondary sources, for example, Alexandru Marghiloman's *Note Politice, 1897-1924* (1927).

But this shortcoming can easily be forgiven in light of Bornemann's thorough exploitation of archives in Bonn, Koblenz, Freiburg, Munich, Potsdam, Merseburg, and Vienna to give us a detailed exposition of the formulation of the German demands and the debate both at the conference and within German circles that led to the final settlement. The latter is a complex and interesting story of interplay and often bitter conflict involving the foreign office (Kühlmann), the economic authorities (Helfferich and Koerber), the high command (Ludendorff), the German army in Rumania (Macken-

sen), the occupation administration (Hentsch), special interests (German bankers and industrialists), not to mention the input of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, Germany's allies.

What emerged was a settlement dominated by its economic clauses that obligated Rumania to mortgage its rich natural resources and tie its economy to Germany for the future. While not denying the harshness of these terms, Bornemann points out some facts often overlooked by the critics of German policy. First, the German demands were closely tied to the acute economic crisis caused by the Allied blockade and its anticipated postwar counterpart, a trade war against Germany, led by England. Germany's was not a striving after "a significant increase of power," but "a striving after security," that is, "a guarantee for an acceptable continuation of the economic and social structure of the German Empire."

Secondly, Bornemann argues that the Peace of Bucharest was a "negotiated peace" and gives evidence to show that the Rumanians were not passive recipients of dictation but that they fought hard, with considerable skill and success, to modify some of the more exorbitant demands of the Central Powers. The German record at Bucharest must be considered, she argues, in the context of the Entente's promise of immense annexations to Rumania in 1916 and of the terms dictated to Germany at Versailles in 1919. On a minor but often forgotten point, Bornemann reminds us that Germany worked for the insertion into the treaty of a strong guarantee of Jewish rights, which traditionally had been abridged in Rumania.

Bornemann's relatively favorable conclusions regarding the Peace of Bucharest will not find favor among Rumanian, East German, or Western historians who follow Fritz Fischer's interpretation of German war aims. On the other hand, her solid research and exposition cannot be ignored and will be the starting point for any future study and discussion of the subject.

GLENN E. TORREY
Emporia State University

DOMOKOS KOSÁRY. *Napoleon et la Hongrie*. (Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, number 130.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1979. Pp. 122. \$10.00.

A large part of *Napoleon et la Hongrie* concentrates on those Hungarian "echoes" of Napoleon's designs, which Domokos Kosáry expounds with his customary, if controversial, insight. Kosáry's innovative interpretations have provoked a string of challenges and rebuttals, stirring lively debate. Here, Kosáry replies to these challenges, reaffirming the correct-

ness of his representation. In short, then, this little book has had reverberations in Hungary of a significance belied by its size.

Kosáry takes issue with the views on the Hungarian political scene at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century as construed by the controversial but interesting Stalinist historian, József Révai, whose interpretations survived the downfall of Stalinism in Hungary. As early as 1938 Révai had asserted that three major political trends characterized the period. The first was the Jacobin line of the Ignác Martinovics conspirators. The second was that of Gergely Berzevichy, who was ready to set aside strident nationalist views, cooperate with the dynasty, and pioneer economic advancement in order to achieve the transformation of Hungary's feudal society into a bourgeois one. The third was the group around Ferenc Kazinczy, who envisaged the rebirth of Hungary through a linguistic and literary renaissance. The third trend was the successful one. "The Hungarian response to the French Revolution," Révai claimed, "was the renaissance of language and the new literature."

Kosáry challenges Révai's assessment, proposing instead that only two major trends dominated the Hungarian political scene at the turn of the century. The predominant tendency, which had the support of the vast majority of the nobility, the most powerful political element in Hungary at that time, was the feudal nationalism of this estate. The secondary line, supported by a minority of the politically enfranchised, was that of the enlightened reformers who sought the bourgeois transformation of society. Theirs was by nature an antifeudal movement (pp. 90-96).

This was the sociopolitical background of Napoleon's designs for Hungary, as Kosáry sees it. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars divided Hungary's body politic. There was a strong coalition of the Habsburg dynasty and the Hungarian estates aimed at preserving the monarchy and feudal privileges against the threat of the French Revolution. There also existed among the Hungarian estates an opposition to the Habsburgs that sought to protect feudal privilege, but against the dynasty rather than in cooperation with it. Only a small, unorganized opposition saw in Napoleon and the French an ally against both absolutism and feudalism and for the progressive bourgeois transformation of Hungary's feudal system.

Kosáry's book contains such a wealth of material, both archival and printed, and draws on such a breadth of literature, that it would be hard even to summarize. His little book constitutes a significant essay, informative and rich in ideas and controversy. Written with a masterly hand, it proves that highly scholarly work need not be dull. It offers

excellent reading as much to the expert as the literate general reader.

BÉLA K. KIRÁLY
Brooklyn College, and
Graduate School,
City University of New York

THOMAS L. SAKMYSTER. *Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 284. \$20.00.

Was Hungary the "beast of prey" evoked by Churchill that exploited the Danubian crisis to complete the destruction of Czechoslovakia? Thomas L. Sakmyster's study confronts this judgment—one shared by many historians—and exposes it as a simplification and a distortion of the complex politics of interwar Central Europe.

The territorial and ethnic truncation of Hungary, foreshadowed by Entente diplomacy in the course of World War I and confirmed in the Treaty of Trianon of 1920, was a punishment far out of proportion to Hungary's role in the war. It also made a mockery of the Wilsonian principles of self-determination by incorporating into the successor states, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, over three million ethnic Hungarians, some living in solid blocks contiguous to the new frontiers. The containment of German expansion and the long-suppressed national aspirations of the subject peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were the objective motives in this redrawing of the map, but the political outcome was the division of Europe into status quo and revisionist camps. The festering sense of injustice in the latter camp undermined any hope of enduring stability.

In his introductory chapters, the author provides a sensitive and judicious survey of Hungary's fortunes between 1918 and 1936. The convulsions that shook Hungary at the war's end—the liberal-democratic interlude of Michael Károlyi, the short-lived Soviet republic of Béla Kun, the conservative counter-revolution, and the Trianon dictate—led to a political system possessed of clear and rigid values. In foreign policy, revision of Trianon became the overriding and consensual objective. The conservative, "Christian-national" ideology that predominated in interwar Hungary rested on the pillars of revisionism and anti-Bolshevism and also proved inimical to right-wing radicalism. The author skillfully portrays the principal Hungarian statesmen in their attempts to advance the cause of revision on behalf of a country that was militarily and economically feeble and diplomatically isolated. In particular, the efforts of the foreign minister, Kálmán Kánya, to pursue a "free hand" policy and employ traditional diplomacy in opposition to the adventurism of more fanatical nationalists are

related and analyzed with a wealth of convincing documentation.

With the Anschluss, the German empire reached Hungary's doorstep, but Kánya resisted Hitler's urgings that Hungary participate in the forceful dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and persisted in seeking alternative, notably British, support for peaceful revision. Ultimately, of course, the policy failed, for the Munich agreement was a concession to German power and ignored the historically better-justified Hungarian case for partial revision. The subsequent return of some Hungarian-inhabited areas of Slovakia through Italo-German arbitration was a Pyrrhic victory, for it strengthened Hungary's alignment with the Axis and disillusionment with British prevarication. The relentless momentum of revisionism had driven Hungary's leaders to make a pact with a devil that most of them fundamentally despised. As Thomas Masaryk himself admitted, if he were a Hungarian he too would be a moderate revisionist. The diplomacy of moderate revisionism, pursued fruitlessly by Kánya and others, receives a lucid and scholarly exposition in Sakmyster's superb study.

BENNETT KOVRIG
University of Toronto

ALVIN MARCUS FOUNTAIN II. *Roman Dmowski: Party, Tactics, Ideology, 1895-1907*. (East European Monographs, number 60.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1980. Pp. xiii, 240. \$16.00.

Few figures in Polish history have been more influential and controversial than the nationalist political theorist and leader, Roman Dmowski. His life was marked by ironic paradox. Dmowski was a political failure during his lifetime, but his ideas were embraced and enacted by his bitterest enemies both during his lifetime and continuing to the present. He was identified in most quarters as a dedicated Russophile, but, actually, he despised the Russians, although he saw them as the only feasible check against the Germanic threat that he perceived to be far more dangerous to Poland. Understandably, nearly everything written on Dmowski and his thought is violently polemical, openly for or against him; this dearth of objective material is especially true of English-language works.

Alvin Marcus Fountain has made an impressive start toward filling this gap in scholarship. Drawing on a wealth of primary sources from Polish state as well as private archives, he constructs a three-dimensional portrait of the man, his ideas, and his movement, during the period when all were in their formative stage of development as a force in Polish political life. In the process of revealing how

Dmowski first became actively involved in politics, how his political thought evolved and matured into a coherent doctrine of Polish nationalism, and how he built an organization that could translate theory into action, the author also paints a comprehensive backdrop of the political scene in Poland at the turn of the century. A major plus is the appended "Biographical and Party Register," which provides a brief but informative sketch of each leading political figure and grouping of the time. This feature, together with a highly readable narrative style, solid annotation, and extensive bibliography, renders the book invaluable both as an introduction to this aspect of Polish history and as a reference work for the expert desiring more specialized knowledge.

Despite its obvious merits, the book does have several shortcomings that leave the informed reader somewhat uneasy. One of the most salient components of Dmowski's political ideology was a fiercely chauvinistic and ethnocentrically exclusivist Polish nationalism that translated into rabid anti-Ukrainian and virulent antisemitic doctrines. While the author admits their existence, he never really explains when and why these negative forces became fundamental elements of nationalist thought. Moreover, the artfully balanced, scholarly, objective tone that Fountain maintains throughout the narrative suddenly yields to a highly subjective, positive appraisal in the conclusion. He may be correct in asserting that Dmowski was not a "proto-Fascist," as the term is commonly used, but rather a prime example of a classical nineteenth-century leader of the European right, who altered its precepts slightly to suit the needs of the new century. Nonetheless, the fervor with which Fountain presses these arguments in favor of Dmowski as "a political leader and diplomat of accomplishment and skill, whose efforts are chiefly to thank for Poland's emergence as a viable state" after World War I (p. 163) has the unfortunate effect of converting a serious academic treatment into precisely the type of polemical apologia that the author avowedly set out to avoid. These flaws notwithstanding, however, Fountain has produced a book certain to spark new interest in Roman Dmowski, while serving as an excellent case study of the formation of an organized, articulate nationalist movement in East Central Europe.

EDWARD D. WYNOT, JR.
Florida State University

JANUSZ PAJEWSKI. *Odbudowa państwa polskiego, 1914-1918* [Restoration of the Polish State, 1914-18]. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1978. Pp. 384. 120 Zł.

Prior to the Second World War, Janusz Pajewski distinguished himself in Poland by writing and

publishing specialized studies on Polish-Turkish relations as they existed in the early sixteenth century under the Jagiellonian dynasty. By 1946, when he left his teaching position at the University of Warsaw to take up a position at the University of Poznań, Pajewski had made a dramatic shift in his interests to more recent history. The focus of his research became the study of German imperialism, the genesis of World War I, and the restoration of Poland during the course of that struggle. These topics are not new fields of study, and there have been scores of books about them published in Poland. Perhaps because he came to this period of study late in his career, after devoting his earlier years to what would seem to be an unrelated area of study, his numerous publications have received universal praise for their scholarship and originality. Even the University of Strasbourg has seen fit to award him a doctorate "honoris causa" in 1976 for his contributions.

For over 120 years after the partitions of Poland, Polish history could not be studied or written in the conventional manner of national histories. Prior to World War I and during the course of that struggle, Polish "society" in want of a Polish state carried on an inheritance that had never completely disappeared. Pursuing its traditions under three different political powers, as well as under different economic and social conditions, the degree of polonization in the three societies was far from homogenous. So disparate and so myriad were the views that if it had not been for the one underlying belief of all Poles that Poland should be resurrected, these aspirations would have been self-defeating.

In his opening chapter Pajewski scrupulously guides us through the Polish Question as it existed on the eve of the First World War, discussing the issues not only as the partitioning powers saw them but also through the eyes of the various camps of Polish political parties—none of whom believed in a restoration by revolutionary means. With the onset of the war, Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski, in Austria-Hungary and Russia respectively, became the most ardent spokesmen for polonization. What distinguished Piłsudski from the others was his unswerving belief that Poland's rebirth would have to come by its own efforts and struggle. It is this theme of faith in Poland's own abilities that Pajewski focuses on.

Pajewski is correct when he allows that of all the dilatory proclamations issued during the course of the war with regard to Poland, Austria's seemed to hold the most promise. But always it was too little too late, and invariably the voices of Berlin and Hungary were in opposition to any Austro-Polish scheme. For Berlin, the Poles were to be used and not humored. Russia in turn countered these proposals with eloquent appeals that held little real

promise. Poland's fate became a pawn between these great powers until the Two Emperors' Manifesto was declared on November 5, 1916. With the manifesto, Poland became a question of international importance, and, to further underline this fact, Woodrow Wilson declared in January 1917 that it was the feeling of all that a "united, independent and autonomous Poland" should exist.

In this excellent monograph Pajewski continues to concentrate on the efforts Poles were making on their own behalf. The vicissitudes of the war, the February and October Revolutions in Russia, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the eventual collapse of the Central Powers are all interpreted from this perspective. The Poland that was restored was a combination of Piłsudski's Jagiellonian concept and the Poland of the Piasts advocated by Dmowski.

Pajewski has accomplished a tour de force. This is a closely reasoned chronological historical narrative, and it is told in a straightforward manner. Almost nothing outside the main theme intrudes. Cosmopolitan zealots like Rosa Luxemburg and Felix Dzershinsky or fringe elements led by Roman Skirmunt or Wilhelm Friedman are not even mentioned.

Oh yes, one more thing. It is to be regretted that, contrary to the usual practice in publications of this sort coming out of Poland, there is no English or French summary in this book.

LEO JOHN HACZYŃSKI

University of Prince Edward Island

CLAES PETERSON. *Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms: Swedish Antecedents and the Process of Reception*. Translated by MICHAEL F. METCALF. (Skrifter Utgivna av Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning Grundat av Gustav och Carin Olin, series 1; Rättshistoriskt Bibliotek, number 29.) Stockholm: A.-B. Nordiska Bokhandeln. 1979. Pp. x, 448.

This book is an impressive and important work of scholarship. Its scope is markedly wider than the title indicates: within its own limits it is by far the best study in any Western language of the often chaotic administrative history of the reign of Peter I. Claes Peterson is concerned primarily to determine the extent to which the tsar's efforts at administrative reform—above all the creation of the new administrative colleges in 1718–20 and the abortive remodeling of provincial government in 1719—were an imitation of Swedish models. The core of the book thus consists of a very detailed study of the establishment of the colleges and of the structure and personnel of those three, mainly concerned with financial affairs—the *kamer-kollegiia*, the *shats-kontor-kollegiia*, and the *revizion-kollegiia*. This is followed by an equally full discussion of the simul-

taneous effort to overhaul local administration. The other colleges receive much less attention, partly because Peterson found it impossible (notably in the case of the war and admiralty colleges) to gain access to adequate primary materials.

Throughout the book comparisons between these Russian innovations and Swedish precedents are made in great detail; one result of this is that the book tells its readers a great deal about Swedish as well as Russian administrative problems and methods. The case for Russian imitation of Swedish models, often faithful to the point of slavishness, is convincingly made. Frequently Peter's enactments, in structure and even wording, were clearly based on earlier Swedish ones. It will be very hard in the future for Russian historians, as they have sometimes done in the past, to deny the importance of this imitative element in Peter's work or even to argue that these Swedish models were subjected to very much "creative reworking." Peterson's case is made all the more convincing by his unwillingness to press it further than the evidence will go. The means by which Peter obtained information about Swedish institutions and practices is given considerable attention; here the importance of the remarkable Heinrich Fick, who for this purpose spent most of 1716 in Stockholm, is clearly brought out.

The author takes a wide view of his subject. The first part of the book consists of an excellent summary of the entire administrative history of Peter's reign that will be of great use to everyone seriously interested in the subject, while in the chapter on the *iustitz-kollegiia*, for example, there are some extremely interesting remarks on legal procedures, a subject on which little has been written in any Western language. The immense obstacles in the way of real administrative improvement in Russia, notably the crucial shortage of suitably trained men and the difficulty of making the organs of local administration cooperate effectively with central institutions, are particularly well illustrated. Occasionally the density of detail makes for less than easy reading, but Peterson has made an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of Petrine Russia.

M. S. ANDERSON

London School of Economics

J. MICHAEL HITTLE. *The Service City: State and Townsman in Russia, 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 297. \$20.00.

It has long been Russia's fate to have its society and institutions perceived, evaluated, and, in most cases, denigrated on the basis of models and expectations derived from Western Europe. What a pity, runs the refrain, that the Russian Church was not more like the Catholic or Anglican or Lutheran Church,

that its landed nobility did not think and act like the nobles of France or England or Germany, that its civil servants failed to meet the standards set by Prussians, that its middle class or bourgeoisie could not play the role that history had written for those ever-rising townsmen of the West. Tsars and their officials deplored the fact that in Russia those groups were so much less useful than their Western analogues, and the Westernizer and liberal opponents of the tsarist regime lamented the inability of those same groups to limit autocracy by securing rights, privileges, and autonomy for themselves. More recently, Soviet historians have been struggling for decades to reconcile Russian history with patterns of development that Marx extracted from the experience of Western Europe.

To his great credit J. Michael Hittle does not write about Russia's towns and townsmen with the tone of a frustrated parent comparing a disappointing younger child with a distinguished older sibling. Although he is fully aware of the importance of Western models in the history and the historiography of Russia's towns and townsmen and deals with it in appropriate sections of his book, he presents the development of urban institutions in terms of a specifically Russian context. Many Westerners prefer to overlook the remarkable success of the tsarist government in organizing an enormous territory with few natural resources and virtually no natural boundaries into a state that could defend itself from foreign invasion and become an international power. Hittle, on the other hand, points to "the difficulties of building a nation-state in a vast and relatively poor country" as a major force shaping the character of Russia's towns and their inhabitants. The crucial institution, in his judgment, was the *posad*, the urban commune, whose members bore a collective burden (*tiaglo*) of state taxes and services, which they apportioned among themselves in much the same way that the peasant members of rural communes would do after the emancipation of 1861. Equally attentive to the internal relationships among the members of the *posad* and the external relations of the *posad* with the state, this book traces the evolution of the urban commune from its rise amid the domestic crises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to its replacement with Western-inspired institutions in the last third of the eighteenth century.

With no access to archival materials, the author uses the standard published sources and draws heavily upon the monographic studies of pre-revolutionary and Soviet historians. The latter have undertaken a number of detailed investigations of towns as social and economic institutions, and their research is relatively unfamiliar to nonspecialists in the West. Hittle makes effective use of their data and comments judiciously on their hypotheses and

conclusions. His prose style is a model of expository writing.

Anyone interested in Russian history or the general history of urban development can read this book with profit.

ROBERT E. JONES
University of Massachusetts

A. S. ORLOV. *Volneniia na Urale v seredine XVIII veka: K voprosu o formirovanii proletariata v Rossii* [Disturbances in the Urals in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century: On the Question of the Formation of a Proletariat in Russia]. Moscow: Moscow University Press. 1979. Pp. 262. 2 r. 80 k.

Despite a growing number of monographs on the formation of the Russian proletariat, our knowledge of many important aspects of the subject remains in a rudimentary state, and there is no comprehensive treatment in Russian or any other language to match E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*. Such a work would devote considerable space to the mines and foundries of the Ural Mountains where, as early as the eighteenth century, a prototype of the modern Russian proletariat was taking shape. After an initial burst of construction under Peter the Great, the 1750s and 1760s saw the rapid expansion of the Urals metallurgical industry, accompanied by a mushroom growth of the labor force—a motley assortment of peasants and town-folk, convicts and vagrants, tribesmen and soldiers, religious dissenters and other combustible elements, with diverse and often contradictory aspirations.

As the demand for labor increased, whole villages of state peasants were "assigned" to the Urals enterprises as seasonal workers. Crowded into ramshackle dwellings, subjected to fines and beatings, their pay often in arrears, they were saddled with the heavy tasks of mining ore, felling trees, and hauling wood and charcoal, at which they toiled under appalling conditions for little reward. By 1762, when Catherine II ascended the throne, they had been reduced to "utter squalor and ruin," in the words of one of their numerous petitions to the authorities, twenty-nine of which are reproduced in an appendix to this book. The petitions, however, brought little relief, and a wave of violent, sporadic, and uncoordinated disturbances swept through the Urals, severely impairing production. In December 1762 the empress dispatched General A. A. Viázemsky to the area, with full power to quell the disorders. The efficiency with which he carried out this task led to his appointment as Procurator-General of the Senate, a post that he held until his death in 1793. His successor in the Urals, named in December 1763, was General A. I. Bibikov, who was to become a leading figure in the suppression of the Pugachev rebellion in the 1770s.

In his careful account of the Urals disturbances, A. S. Orlov examines the composition of the labor force, the demands of the insurgents, the nature and impact of their activities, and the methods of government repression. He underscores the role of village priests in assisting the rebels (one government list of "instigators and troublemakers" included the names of eight local clergymen), and he analyzes the petitions to the Viazemsky commission, which was formed to investigate the causes of the disorders. He also provides a useful survey of the literature in Russian on the Urals workers, although he completely ignores the fruits of Western scholarship, notably Roger Portal's *L'Oural au XVIII^e siècle* (1950) and Michael Confino's "Maîtres de forges et ouvriers dans les usines métallurgiques de l'Oural aux XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* (1959). Orlov's book is itself a valuable contribution to the history of the Urals workers in the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy, however, for the detail that it adds to a generally familiar picture, rather than for any underlying interpretation of the formation of the Russian industrial proletariat.

PAUL AVRICH
Queens College,
City University of New York

ROBERT EUGENE JOHNSON. *Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 225. \$17.50.

Some social scientists, including most Soviet historians, have represented the factory workers of pre-revolutionary Russia as true proletarians who had cut their ties to the village and to the land. Others have held that, culturally and economically, these workers were peasants for whom factory labor was a transient episode. Still others have portrayed them as passing between the poles of the proletarian-peasant dichotomy. Robert Eugene Johnson insists that the dichotomy itself is specious and that, since the underlying question is *mal posée*, evidence heretofore adduced to resolve it is open to other interpretation. He finds a "symbiosis" of the rural and the industrial in the factories of Moscow and Moscow province, and he concludes that the factory workers of the 1880s and 1890s were neither proletarians nor peasants but rather a distinctive and stable compound sanctioned by long tradition.

Migrants from the countryside constituted an absolute majority of the population of Moscow in the late nineteenth century. Johnson shows that most of these migrants eventually left the city, presumably to return to their villages. Female migrants tended to follow urban marriage patterns, but male factory

workers, like peasants, married young and maintained "bifurcated" households so long as they worked in factories. Although workers were estranged and segregated from the life of the city, their alienation was tempered by the support they found in *zemliachestvo* (the Russian equivalent of *landsmannschaften*). This support, the lines of communication that followed from it, and the open line of retreat to the village helped to sustain the workers in strikes and other acts of protest. Johnson finds that workers were more militant in industries that were closely linked to the village, for "the fusion of urban and rural discontents produced an especially explosive mix" (p. 158).

Johnson's findings are consonant with those of historians of Western Europe who are also questioning the conventional image of the first generations of factory workers. His findings will not astonish specialists on Russian history who often point out that early in this century many of the best-established workers in industry continued to hold allotments in their native villages. Johnson has nonetheless produced a book of great importance, which challenges the assumptions that permeate the literature on Russian labor history.

The value of Johnson's book is somewhat diminished by its brevity. In some instances, as with payroll sheets, Johnson reports that he could not get access to the archival sources he needed to substantiate his argument. (Although he made use of three archives in Moscow, he relied primarily on published sources.) In other instances, however, such as differential mortality rates and naive monarchism, Johnson simply did not adequately develop and document his point.

Peasant and Proletarian will generate controversy and further research. Since the larger factories of Moscow province were in outlying areas and since most workers in the city of Moscow were not employed in factories, Johnson's inferences about factory workers from the abundant demographic data for Moscow are correspondingly vulnerable. Many historians will challenge Johnson's assumption that the city and province of Moscow represented a typical industrial region in prerevolutionary Russia. Other historians will look more closely than Johnson did at the workers' villages of origin, where they will find evidence that supports Johnson's views. And we can be sure that Soviet specialists on labor history will not simply throw in their hands. The ensuing discussion will constitute a well-deserved tribute to this forceful, lucid, and original work.

DANIEL FIELD
Syracuse University

V. S. DIAKIN. *Samoderzhavie, burzhuaizii, i dvorianstvo v 1907-1911 gg.* [The Autocracy, the Bourgeoisie, and

the Gentry, 1907–11]. Leningrad: Nauka. 1978. Pp. 244. 1 r. 80 k.

V. S. Diakin has made many contributions to our understanding of Russia's prerevolutionary crisis of the elites. His latest work details the tensions among the autocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the landed nobility.

Diakin has studied the period 1907–11 with far more thoroughness and presents it with far more nuance than any of his predecessors. He has read an exceptionally broad range of the daily press of the capitals, which he uses as a primary source of rumor and opinion. His use of the available archival material is similarly extensive.

Diakin develops with great clarity the distinction between "Bonapartist" conservative attempts to broaden the autocracy's social base and "legitimist" resistance to any changes in the state structure that existed prior to the reforms enacted after the Revolution of 1905. P. A. Stolypin's program is contrasted with the attempts of a wide variety of reactionary figures to undo what had been done in 1905. These extreme right-wing personalities and groups are portrayed in far greater detail than ever before, and the differences among them are at last made clear. The result is the most sympathetic account of Stolypin's career ever offered by a Soviet author. In comparison with his opponents on the right, the premier comes across as a man of vision. At the center of Stolypin's program was a series of reforms of local government that would have ended traditional noble control of the countryside. These proposals were opposed even by liberal segments of gentry.

Diakin offers an acute description of the rise and fall of the various Duma parties. He pictures the decline of the Kadets, who saw themselves as professional men standing above class interest, and the collapse of the Octobrists, who sought to bridge the gap between landed and industrial property. The fate of these two parties is contrasted with the growth of the *Progressists*, who were supported by Moscow industrialists, and the Nationalists, who represented the Russian landlords of the western borderlands. Both of these groups staunchly defended the interests of the sector of the economy from which their constituents drew their wealth, and each party deeply mistrusted the other. After 1911 both parties lost what little faith they had in the autocracy. This was a recipe for disunity among Russia's elite propertied classes at a moment of acute peril.

Diakin's discussion of the critical Western Zemstvo Crisis of March 1911 is especially compelling. The exchanges between the tsar and Stolypin are presented in far greater detail than ever before. More important, Diakin is the first scholar to sug-

gest that Stolypin was looking beyond the immediate crisis to a moment when his base of support in both houses of Russia's quasi-parliament would be more secure. Nicholas offered Stolypin the opportunity to name thirty members of the State Council at the next time such nominations were to be made. As Stolypin had just been severely challenged in the upper house, he was especially willing to go along with this part of the plan. Had Diakin mentioned that Stolypin had similar hopes for a Duma majority based on the Nationalist party, his argument would have been even more compelling.

Despite these strengths, the book has certain problems. Following the example of A. Ia. Avrekh and E. D. Chermenskii, Diakin confines himself to national politics. The constituencies of the parties are not analyzed. Rather, class labels are affixed to groups to justify rather than explain their behavior. A discussion of the elections to the Third Duma in 1907 could provide clues to the nature of these constituencies, but Diakin ignores the electoral process. One could also argue that his emphasis on Stolypin's local reforms distorts his interpretation of key episodes during the Western Zemstvo Crisis. To argue that conservatives in the State Council opposed the Western Zemstvo Bill primarily because of its lowering of property requirements for participation is a novel approach, but such a view ignores some rather strong evidence that national curiae (to exclude Polish participation) were, for a variety of reasons, the element in the bill that provoked the most significant opposition.

Nevertheless, this is a work of great importance. It is the best book in any language on the Third Duma. No one with an interest in the causes of the Russian Revolution should ignore it.

ROBERT S. EDELMAN
University of California,
San Diego

GEORGE F. KENNAN. *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875–1890*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 466. \$25.00.

"The Russian diplomatic service," Fritz von Holstein wrote in 1884, "moves about as independently as the maggots in the cheese." This would be an appropriate motto for George F. Kennan's book, for in very large part it is the story of the way in which different entities in the Russian structure of power, following objectives that conflicted with those of the officials formally charged with the conduct of foreign relations, were successful in undermining the diplomatic tie with Germany that had been maintained since the 1860s and in laying the basis for a fundamental change in European power relation-

ships. With his eyes fixed on 1914, Kennan appears to regard this change as a tragic one, although it might be argued that what happened in 1914 was less influenced by the Russo-German break in the 1890s than by the economic and political events of the decade immediately preceding Sarajevo. Even so, the end of Bismarck's system introduced a new liability into European affairs that frightened the European chancelleries and led them into dangerous courses of action. That, in itself, justifies Kennan's decision to examine anew the background of the Franco-Russian alliance.

It is easier to perceive why France was interested in such a combination than to understand Russian motives. The Bismarck system was designed, after all, to keep France isolated, and after the war scare of 1875, with which Kennan begins his account, French statesmen feared a sudden German attack and were anxious to find friends who might be of assistance when it came. But, despite the force of revanchism and the zeal of patrioteers and soldiers, the attitude of official France was always circumspect. French governments were not anxious to press for a Russian connection until they were sure that it would not be a liability, and throughout the period covered here their doubts were unresolved. The initiatives came from the Russians.

It was irrational that they did so, for the Russians had no very good reason for turning away from their German alliance. They had little with which to reproach Bismarck, who had extricated them from troubles of their own making at the Congress of Berlin, who had done his best to support their legitimate interests in the Balkans, and who had restrained the Austrians and his own soldiers when they wanted war with Russia in 1887. The solid advantages of membership in the Bismarck system were clear to Alexander III's foreign minister N. K. Giers. But his was a lonely voice among the welter of ministerial rivals, orthodox prelates, Panslav ideologues, nationalist newspaper editors, agents of the military, and individual go-betweens of obscure motive, like the sometime scientist Elie de Cyon. These forces in the end persuaded the tsar that his frustrations in Bulgaria were due not to the heavy-handedness of Russian policy but solely to Austrian intrigues that were supported by Bismarck. By 1888, it was only his respect for Emperor William I that sustained Alexander's loyalty to the German alliance, and the emperor was not to survive the year.

The hidden assumption of Giers's rivals was that a French alliance would make possible a war that would restore to Russia what they believed it had been unjustly deprived of in 1878 and during the Bulgarian crisis of the 1880s. Kennan makes clear how misguided and self-destructive this adventurism was, given Russia's internal conditions. He lays

the blame on the spirit of nationalism that overtook so much of the educated classes in Russia in the wake of the Crimean War and found its shrillest embodiment in Panslavism and the activities of the Moscow newspaper editor M. N. Katkov. Russia was not the only victim of that crisis of identity, caused by overly rapid social and economic change, which found its outlet in jingoism; but in the Russian ruling class there were fewer effective brakes upon its expression than elsewhere. The ultimate power of decision in the country, Alexander III, was always terrified of appearing to oppose nationalist sentiment, and after 1888 he stopped trying.

Kennan describes his study as a kind of micro-history, an attempt to examine the texture of the historical process and to uncover the motives and concepts by which men were driven. There will be readers who feel that this has led to a rather too exhaustive treatment of a story that, in its basic outlines, is reasonably well known. But this is a small thing compared with the richness of Kennan's account of what went on in the coulisses of French diplomacy and his skill in charting the movements of the maggots in the Russian cheese. Moreover, his personal portraits (Alexander, Giers, Katkov) are incisive and convincing and fully up to the literary standard that Kennan has set in his previous work.

GORDON A. CRAIG
Stanford University

A. S. SMOL'NIKOV. *Bol'shevizatsiia XII armii severnogo fronta v 1917 g.* [The Bolshevization of the Northern Front's Twelfth Army in 1917]. Moscow: Moscow University Press. 1979. Pp. 199. 1 r. 60 k.

This book is worth the paper it is printed on only because it treats a very important subject. The Twelfth Army stood between the Germans and Petrograd, and its military performance in 1917 had important political repercussions. Because of its proximity to Petrograd alone it was politically significant. The soldiers of the Twelfth Army came under strong Bolshevik influence early in the year, and in the Twelfth Army voting for the Constituent Assembly Bolsheviks outpolled SRs by two to one. The Twelfth Army was home to the 40,000-strong Latvian Rifles, who were firmly pro-Bolshevik by May and were destined to play a key role in the early stages of the Civil War. When the October Revolution was being planned, the Latvians and other revolutionary units were assigned the task of blocking the movement of anti-Boshevik units from the front to Petrograd (in the event, there were no such units to block). All of this can be gleaned from A. S. Smol'nikov's monograph if one does not happen to know it already.

What one does not learn is *why* the Twelfth Army

should have been so revolutionary and hence so supportive of the Bolsheviks. Smol'nikov's assumption is that the Twelfth Army turned to the Bolsheviks because Bolsheviks told them the truth about the war and the revolution. He further assumes that, by listing individual Bolsheviks, Bolshevik-influenced units, and Bolshevik conferences and resolutions, he has exhausted the issue. Context is a concept foreign to him. Smol'nikov's primitive approach has the effect, among other things, of understating the significance of the activity of pro-Bolshevik units. He does not, for instance, explore the repercussions of the fact that by mid-1917 the Latvian regiments were a law unto themselves and were so cohesive militarily that the Twelfth Army command feared to do anything about them.

Of the many glaring omissions, one is particularly worth mentioning: Smol'nikov does not deal with the difficulties Bolshevik military organizers had in applying the party's antiwar position. For example, the Bolsheviks held (this is not mentioned by Smol'nikov) that, given orders for an offensive, Bolshevik units even while denouncing the orders were to take part if other units did so: the politically more backward soldiers could not be left in the lurch. Did this make sense to units that disobeyed orders to attack? Were Bolshevik activists on the spot forced to go along with the spontaneous soldier refusal—once soldiers had comprehended the antiwar position—to fight under any circumstances?

For a better understanding of events (and Bolshevik activity) in the Twelfth Army one can turn to the reasonably competent monographs on the northern front by Kapustin (1957) and Shurygin (1958) and by Kaimans (1961, or the 1958 Latvian original) on the Latvian Rifles.

JOHN BUSHNELL
Northwestern University

ALLAN K. WILDMAN. *The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Old Army and the Soldiers' Revolt (March–April 1917)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. xxvi, 402. \$25.00.

The Russian Revolution of February–March 1917 began with industrial strife but ended in military mutiny. The decisive role played by the Petrograd garrison has generally been acknowledged *en passant* by historians, but Allan K. Wildman is the first to examine it thoroughly. His highly professional monograph covers a broader canvas than the subtitle might suggest. He traces the roots of the imperial army's collapse to the late nineteenth century, when it went through an incomplete and unsettling process of modernization. The revolts that broke out during and after the Russo-Japanese War gave an earnest of what was to come once the empire

had entered its "great ordeal" in World War I. Blundering leadership, heavy casualties, and the psychological impact of defeat fatally weakened the army's tradition-bound authority structure. Consequently, it all but disintegrated when the monarchy fell.

The officers' failure to inform their men promptly of what was going on in the capital further undermined their credibility. The fighting and political maneuvering in Petrograd during the "February days" is skillfully analyzed here, as is the impact that the mutiny had on various sectors of the front. Wildman argues that Order Number One, which many conservative officers blamed for the collapse of discipline, initially enabled commanders to keep their rebellious troops under control through the newly established committee hierarchy; it was only in April that the precarious equilibrium was upset as the Petrograd Soviet won its duel with the Provisional Government. The strength of "revolutionary defensism" at this juncture is underestimated here. Wildman concedes that "attitudes toward the war were still ambiguous and undefined" (p. 252), but only after repeatedly assuring us that the soldiers wanted peace. Actually very few as yet favored a "defeatist" policy. Had this been the case, there would have been many more desertions—and Wildman shows convincingly that in March the rate was still tolerable, far less than has sometimes been claimed. More might have been made of instances of xenophobic nationalism among the troops, exemplified by pogroms of officers with German names, which indicated how easily these sorely tried but gullible men could be misled. Soon afterwards their violent antipathies would be manipulated for their own ends by demagogues of the extreme left—a danger to which Wildman seems a little insensitive. We are treated to a certain amount of revolutionary rhetoric in these final chapters, and the narrative slows to a very leisurely pace; there is, however, an excellent section on the short-lived "fraternization offensive" launched by the Germans in the spring.

This solid study makes a notable contribution to the growing body of Western literature on the social aspects of the Russian Revolution. Excellent critical use is made of all published sources as well as of manuscripts in Western and Soviet archives (including some regimental records). This type of material is more plentiful for the latter months of 1917, and the author's promised sequel volume will be awaited with keen appreciation.

JOHN KEEP
University of Toronto

FRANCIS CONTE. *Un révolutionnaire-diplomate: Christian Rakovski. L'Union soviétique et l'Europe (1922–1941)*.

Preface by ANNIE KRIEGER. (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques, Civilisations et Sociétés, number 57.) New York: Mouton; distributed by Walter de Gruyter, New York. 1978. Pp. 355. 160 F.

Christian Rakovsky is surely one of the most interesting and sympathetic figures in the history of early twentieth-century socialism. He participated actively in the socialist movements of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, and Switzerland, as well as those of the Balkan states. Converted from Menshevism to Bolshevism under Trotsky's influence, he undertook important diplomatic assignments in 1918 and served as the head of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic until 1923, when he clashed with Stalin over the status of the Soviet Union's constituent republics. Thereafter, Rakovsky was occupied with high-level diplomatic work, serving as Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, as Soviet delegate at Genoa, and then successively as ambassador to London and Paris. He was also a mainstay of the anti-Stalinist opposition, refusing to recant even when so many others did in 1929. He "rallied to the general line" only in 1934 out of conviction that the Nazi threat required Communist unity. His reward for this sacrifice of political principle was a defendant's seat at the 1938 Moscow show trial and ultimately death in a concentration camp.

Francis Conte intertwines Rakovsky's biography during his years as a diplomat with an analysis of Soviet policy toward the major European powers in the 1920s. In a series of well-developed chapters, Conte describes Rakovsky's secret missions to Berlin and Prague in early 1922, his participation in the Genoa and Lausanne conferences, and his term as ambassador in London (which encompassed Britain's *de jure* recognition of the Soviet regime, the Zinoviev letter scandal, and the problems raised for Moscow by the Locarno accords). The most rewarding chapter deals with Rakovsky's ambassadorship in Paris where he tried, but ultimately failed, to negotiate a comprehensive settlement on debts, trade, and political relations. The picture that emerges of Rakovsky as diplomat is one of a charming man with "une amabilité spontanée et une grande facilité d'élocution" (p. 18), who nonetheless was unable to overcome the international climate of hostility toward the USSR. The concluding sections of the book treat Rakovsky's role in the party opposition, his banishment to Astrakhan, his eventual, reluctant recantation, and finally his trial. It is little wonder that the cosmopolitan Rakovsky could not survive in the closed world of Stalinist Russia. He was condemned in the purges not so much for what he had done as for what he was—a European and a passionately internationalist socialist. As he told Kaganovich in 1928, "Je com-

mence à me faire vieux; pourquoi gâcher ma biographie . . . ?" (p. 289).

Specialists may quibble with some of Conte's interpretations, but all will welcome this contribution to the study of Soviet foreign policy. *Un révolutionnaire-diplomate* is a valuable supplement to the work of Gabriel Gorodetsky and Daniel Calhoun on Anglo-Russian affairs and an even more significant addition to the sparse literature on Franco-Soviet relations in this period. The book is based on French and British archival sources as well as a wide range of published documents, memoirs, and secondary works. It includes a useful bibliography, several very nice photographs of its subject, and a list of Rakovsky's many writings.

TEDDY J. ULDRICKS
University of North Carolina,
Asheville

NICHOLAS LAMPERT. *The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State*. (Studies in Soviet History and Society.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1979. Pp. x, 191. \$28.00.

Nicholas Lampert's *The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State* is a useful addition to the growing number of studies in Soviet social history. Lampert, a historical sociologist associated with the University of Birmingham's Centre for Russian and East European Studies, sets out to examine the complex relationships between the technical intelligentsia and the Soviet state in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The period under investigation was turbulent and is crucial for an understanding of the emergence of the Soviet Union as an industrial society. The rapid and intensive expansion of political and administrative power that powered Stalin's "third revolution" created structures and consequences for Soviet industrial development that have endured to the present.

In contrast to the larger and more comprehensive social history of Keith E. Bailes's *Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin: Origins of the Soviet Technical Intelligentsia, 1917-1941* (1978), the central focus of Lampert's work is the managerial and technical personnel (ITR) of the industrial enterprise. With the exception of the now classic studies of David Granick and Jeremy Azrael, this aspect of Soviet history has been seriously neglected. Lampert's book is valuable for the additional light it throws on the subject.

The organizing conception of this relatively concentrated volume lies in the interplay of the complex and often contradictory pressures on the technical intelligentsia created by competing demands for professional autonomy and rigorous political controls imposed by the Stalinist mode of industrial

management. Lampert examines the impact of these conflicting pressures on the functional roles, social status, and material conditions of the enterprise intelligentsia in two successive phases between 1928 and 1935.

The launching of a severe "class struggle" against the still prerevolutionary intelligentsia between 1928 and 1931 effectively curbed their limited professional autonomy and generated serious political and psychological insecurities. After 1931, the intense politicization of the earlier period eased. The essential configuration of the relationship between the technical intelligentsia and the Soviet state, however, had been permanently altered.

Stalin's policy of the political mobilization of resources through a command system of central planning became institutionalized. The authority of the managers in the form of one-man management (*edinonachalie*) increased as their legitimacy and incomes improved. Fundamental social differences between mental and physical labor, however, became fixed, effectively ending the underlying vision of the revolution. As industrialization progressed, the technical intelligentsia in the enterprise developed as an intermediate layer in a sharply stratified social structure.

In conformity with the author's objectives, the contribution of this volume is limited. The period under investigation was turbulent and the relationships between the enterprise intelligentsia and the Soviet state exceptionally complex. Lampert has a thorough and subtle grasp of the period. One hopes he will bring his talent for clarification and generalization to a more detailed and differentiated examination of this important subject.

WILLIAM J. CONYNGHAM
Catholic University of America

NEAR EAST

HASAN KAWUN KAKAR. *Government and Society in Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan*. (Modern Middle East Series, number 5.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1979. Pp. xxiv, 328. \$19.95.

This work is an authoritative study of Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Abd al-Rahman (1880-1901). Hasan Kawun Kakar describes the nature and operation of the central and local governments, the system of taxation, the organization of the army, and the social and economic structure of Afghanistan.

The first two chapters give a description of the central government with data on the Amir as a person and statesman, the household, court, and council, as well as outlines on the functions of ministers, secretaries, and other "influential elements." Some-

what out of context in this part is information on prisons and punishments and the problem of refugees. The next chapter deals with local government, beginning with a brief description of the historical background, and proceeding to detail the functions of governors, judges, *muhtasibs* (market inspectors also responsible for the protection of public morality), and the organization of the police. The author details the varying approaches in the administration of towns, rural areas, and the frontier districts.

In chapter 4, we see how the "Iron Amir" went about raising funds for "the protection of the frontiers of the country and the honor of the religion and the nation." As the "deputy of the Prophet" Abd al-Rahman considered it his duty to collect taxes, and tardiness on the part of his subjects was therefore "tantamount to abandonment of the commands of God."

Another chapter is devoted to the organization of the army, including recruitment practices, conditions of service, and the weapons of the regular and irregular forces. Afghanistan's social structure is discussed in two chapters, beginning with rural landlord and peasant relations and describing the peculiar class structure of Afghan agricultural society. The problems of nomadism, religion, and minority groups are sketched, followed by two chapters detailing the economic system of Afghanistan in the late nineteenth century.

Kakar's work is encyclopedic in nature and covers a wide range of data; in this sense it reflects such sources as the *Siraj al-Tawarikh*. It is a laudable effort, but this reviewer would gladly have sacrificed comprehensiveness for in-depth coverage. For example, this writer would have preferred to learn more about such topics as the qazis and courts, towns and police, the army and local government, and laws that are each covered in only two or three pages. On the other hand, trade and commerce and the financial system are covered in greater scope. An appendix lists Afghan weights and prices of agricultural products and other commodities during the two decades of Abd al-Rahman's reign, followed by a note on the sources utilized for this study. A glossary lists terms in various Middle Eastern languages employed in Afghanistan at the time. The bibliography is followed by a comprehensive index.

Kakar's work is a welcome addition to the field of Afghanistan and Middle East studies and should be required reading for anyone interested in Islamic society and civilization.

LUDWIG W. ADAMEC
University of Arizona

G. S. GEORGHALLIDES. *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926, with a Survey of the Founda-*

tions of British Rule. (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, number 6.) Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre. 1979. Pp. vii, 471. £13.50.

A much criticized, unilateral British initiative at the time of the Congress of Berlin of 1878 was its separate Convention of Defensive Alliance by which it obtained use of the island of Cyprus from the Turkish sultan. Disraeli, the imperialistic premier, called it "the key" to the East; Lord Northcote said it was a vital "place of arms, where our ships can lie." From Famagusta, Britain could land troops at Alexandretta to fight the Russians and also develop trade links with the Persian Gulf. But in 1882, the British were in Egypt, a much better "place of arms." Cyprus, nominally Turkish, remained in British hands—in case the French, not the Russians, took it—for eighty years more. It was unthinkable to give a Christian population back to Abdulhamid; yet strategically Cyprus was soon deemed useless. Why not give it to Greece? Or make it an imperial showcase?

In an excellently researched and clearly argued volume, G. S. Georgiades of the Cyprus Research Centre traces, with admirable impartiality, the failure of the world's greatest power to provide the (at first) welcoming Cypriots with a resoundingly good administration and other great powers with a lesson in fruitful colonial government. In part 1 (four chapters), the author is at his most interesting in revealing how, from 1878 to 1915, leading British statesmen and departments of government (Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Treasury, Admiralty) turned somersaults in their dealings with successive, and "always polite," Cypriot delegations to London. If Cyprus was imperially important, the delegations asked, why not develop it properly, with roads, mines, low taxation, and, above all, abolition of the "tribute" due to the Turkish government? If Cyprus was not important, please could it join Greece as the Ionian islands did in 1863?

With a few exceptions, British rulers come out badly, less for deceit and ill manners than for hanging on without being able to tell the Cypriots, or each other, why. Kimberley in 1880, Winston Churchill in 1907, and Lloyd George in 1915 encouraged hopes of *enosis*. The historians advising the Foreign Office—Toynbee, H. A. L. Fisher, Temperley, and Burrows—were all for it. One can guess who resisted and prevailed: Curzon, Milner, Walter Long. In 1915, Greece was offered the island if it would join the Allies and aid Serbia. The neutralist King Constantine refused. The offer was not made again, but it vindicated the *enosis* agitation, before and after.

In part 2 (five chapters), Georgiades devotes over three hundred pages to the island's administration after World War I, a story of small-minded,

second-rate administrators (Cyprus was denied the best until the arrival in 1926 of Ronald Storrs) who strengthened the *enosis* they condemned as disloyalty with their own poor performances. A survey conducted in 1927 shows a negligible improvement over the previous Turkish performance, except in the impartiality of the island's courts and the disappearance of feudal violence. The old salt tax was still there; 19 percent of the annual budget was spent on police (most of them Turks complete with *fez*) and prisons, only 3 percent on agricultural aid (p. 404). Infant mortality was 163 per 1,000 (p. 400), and average peasant income totaled £11 per annum. Above all, the "tribute" was still exacted long after the Turks had given up all claims on Cyprus and in practice misapplied by the British Treasury to other purposes. The appendixes on island revenues, imports and exports, and forced sales by bankrupted peasants (pp. 425–29) make shameful reading. How clearly a governor like Malcolm Stevenson prepared the way for Grivas and Makarios!

This important book, quite unequalled as a study of British Cyprus, is beautifully printed but needs a map and a bibliography.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM
Simon Fraser University

AFRICA

SA'AD ABUBAKAR. *The Lāmibe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809–1901.* (Ahmadu Bello University History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press and Ahmadu Bello University Press. 1977. Pp. x, 190. \$29.95.

Since Nigeria's independence, that nation's competent young historians have developed an enviable tradition of regional political history. Their work, however, has focused predominately on the country's southern portion, and few indeed have been the contributions of historians northern by birth and by training. The appearance of *Lāmibe of Fombina* is thus doubly welcome, as the second book in the new "Ahmadu Bello University History Series" on Northern Nigeria and as the debut of Sa'ad Abubakar, one of the very few indigenous northern historians. The book is a detailed study of Fombina, a territory extending from below Lake Chad to the margins of the rain forest. Here was established one of the large emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, following the great jihad early in the nineteenth century. The new emirate was more Fulbe (Fulani) than most of the others, with Fulfulde widely spoken there. The book's detailed reconstruction of the emirate's origins, development, and decline draws

extensively on oral tradition, much of which was collected by Abubakar.

As he tells the story, the emirate's founder, Modibbo Adama, began the jihad against the pre-existing rulers ca. 1809. The jihad resulted not from any infringement of Fulbe freedom to practice Islam but instead from underlying social, economic, and political conditions. Fulbe strength and leadership were augmented by an influx of kindred refugees from Borno, where the jihad had failed. They brought ideas of strong central government of the sort they had experienced in that area, and they also exacerbated competition for the limited grazing area of the region. By the 1830s, the jihad was virtually over. A large centralized system now replaced the multiplicity of smaller units that had existed before. The book's emphasis here turns to the consolidation and expansion of the emirate, a process that lasted almost to century's end, when the emirate was partitioned by the German and British colonial authorities.

The reader who is not familiar with the area (or for that matter the reader who is) will be impressed with the depth of detail that Abubakar presents. The texture is thick. There are "war cabinets" and generals, archers, infantry and cavalry, internecine challenges to leadership, disputed successions, and rebellions. There are blockades of trade, collaborators among the conquered non-Muslim peoples, and matrimonial connections as a road to political power.

Certain aspects of Abubakar's book are open to criticism. More attention to the economic foundations of the emirate would have enhanced understanding. There are indeed good sections on tribute and taxes, but the treatment of slavery leaves something to be desired. Slave settlements were important economically (for producing agricultural commodities) and militarily (for the slave settlements placed in contested border territories). But the main treatment of slavery puts its stress on comparing favorably the slaves' condition in Fombina to their exploitation in the Americas. That a slave's life was perhaps more tolerable than on the sugar plantations and cotton fields of the New World certainly deserves comment, but the comment should not amount to apologia.

One fault of the editors: the end paper map is not very helpful, with much empty space and little of use identified. (The other two maps are much better.) Surprisingly, the meaning of "Lāmibe" in the title is not immediately defined. Only the eventual discovery of an excellent glossary allows the non-specialist, non-Fulbe reader to find it means "emirs." But these problems are offset by otherwise good editing, adequate style, a good index, and, as just mentioned, the invaluable glossary.

The impression is one of careful research and a

promising academic future for Abubakar. But as so often seems to happen in modern Nigeria, he is currently lost to academic research in his post as commissioner for education in Gongola State. One hopes for the sake of Nigerian historiography that the loss is only temporary.

J. S. HOGENDORN
Colby College and
University of Birmingham

HENRIKA KUKLICK. *The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1939*. (Hoover Colonial Studies; Hoover Institution Publication, number 217.) Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 225.

BJÖRN M. EDSMAN. *Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics, c. 1900-1945: From Mensah Sarbah to J. B. Danquah*. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 111.) Uppsala: University of Uppsala; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm. 1979. Pp. 263. 87.00 KR.

Henrika Kuklick's *The Imperial Bureaucrat* will be of interest to any scholar who has ever read colonial memoranda in the National Archives of Ghana without knowing anything about the people who wrote them. Based on sources such as official "diaries" and recruitment records of the British colonial service, this work is a quantitative content analysis, detailing the origins, careers, and administrative characteristics of ordinary colonial officials. The reader learns something of how the official British policy of "indirect rule" actually worked in practice, becoming individualized personal rule by junior officials, each one having control over "his" tribe.

Kuklick's perspective is that of organization theory and adult socialization or role theory, which, although it will be of interest to sociologists in those specialties, will somewhat disappoint Africanists. Although Kuklick is generally well read on Ghana, she either is unfamiliar with or rejects the more recent dependency-Marxist literature on her topic, and, indeed, she abstracts her subjects almost completely from their African surroundings. Although she acknowledges that colonial rule was coercive, she stresses rather superficial administrative questions rather than political issues. Moreover, her ethnography is highly quantitative. She provides, in a long methodology section, very detailed information (such as the amount of time spent on paperwork by diary writers) at the expense of a more qualitative, textured picture that might have provided a more intuitive sense of the nature not only of the colonial civil servants but also of their relationships with their African subjects. Kuklick seems unaware of the possibilities for bias in the essen-

tially self-generated data that she uses; not only were colonial diaries "cooked" (as she acknowledges) because they were to be read by superior officers, but they also present only one side of a two-sided story, that of the interaction between British administrators and the Africans whom they administered and who often opposed them.

Björn M. Edsman's *Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics* provides a good counterpoint to *The Imperial Bureaucrat*, focusing on the opposition generated by a small number (never, it seems, more than a hundred) of Western-educated Gold Coast lawyers to colonial administration. This meticulously researched dissertation is one of the few studies that successfully wends its way through the intricacies of local Gold Coast politics (especially in two fascinating sections on chieftainship disputes in Accra, the capital, and in the town of Asamankese).

Edsman makes two major arguments. First, in direct contradiction to the nationalist school of Gold Coast history, he does not agree that the intense opposition from chiefs and westernized elites during the colonial period constituted a linear, progressive nationalism, culminating in Nkrumah's takeover in 1957. Rather, he believes that the chiefs' relationships with the British, especially after about 1920, were guided by pragmatic adaptation to social change, while the Westernized elites, far from opposing colonialism, were trying to obtain a recognized place in the colonial judiciary and legislature. The second argument is that, although Gold Coast lawyers consistently maintained that they were trying to defend traditional law and custom, they were actually attempting to manipulate tradition and its symbolic representatives, the chiefs, in their own interests and became distraught when the chiefs began to garner their own political power. While proving this point Edsman also explains many of the changes that took place in indirect rule. Unlike Kuklick, who attributes changing practice to changing ideology, Edsman argues that much colonial government practice was a response to indigenous actions: for example, more "direct" rule was reintroduced in the 1930s consequent upon perceived irresponsibility on the part of chiefs in running their courts and their finances.

Edsman's book is an excellent source for Ghana specialists; it would be difficult, however, for other specialists, even other Africanists, to follow. It lacks a chapter explaining the social origins, especially the class positions, of the lawyers it studies, although there are many hints throughout the book that their "disinterested" constitutional actions might have been influenced by the high court fees they obtained or by their roles as landowners and businessmen. Explanations of constitutional issues are sometimes too detailed even for a reader familiar with Edsman's archival sources to follow, and one sometimes has the impression that one is learn-

ing more about personal disputes than about political issues. The book deserves an index, which is lacking (as also are the page numbers on the table of contents).

Although both *The Imperial Bureaucrat* and *Lawyers in the Gold Coast* are useful books, the latter is richer, more complex, and at times genuinely exciting in its explanations of the complicated internal politicking of the colonial Gold Coast. It is an exemplary archival study.

RHODA HOWARD
McMaster University

ASIA AND THE EAST

JEROME CH'EN. *China and the West: Society and Culture, 1815-1937*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1979. Pp. 488. \$22.50.

In this book Jerome Ch'en ambitiously aims to study China's contacts with the West in all its ramifications—religious, diplomatic, political, economic, cultural, social, and legal. As if the task is not hard enough, he chooses to cater both to the general reader and to the specialist, and, to satisfy the latter, he includes many details that, because of the printing cost, are not supported by footnotes. The end product is a highly unbalanced work filled with sweeping generalizations as well as interesting but unverifiable information that has no direct bearing on the main themes.

As an illustration, the author, speaking of the era from 1860 to 1937, writes on page 451: "The government had given three reasons for the preservation of Confucianism. . . . These were the centralization of power . . . the consolidation of civil service morale . . . and the discipline of the people. . . . The fact was that, except for the attempts to centralize power, all the other . . . goals remained only rhetoric throughout the whole period up to 1937. . . . The cadre of the KMT became . . . dysfunctional. . . . With the party corrupt . . . the country stood weak." The passage is as sweeping as it is ambiguous. Was there only one government between 1860 and 1937? When and where did the government give these three reasons? The KMT might be corrupt, but the author's summary condemnation is hardly scholarly. Moreover, it clearly implies that corruption was the only or at least the main reason for China's weakness, a position that I think is rather simplistic.

Perhaps a word should be said of certain theses that, although never specifically formulated and defended, nevertheless run through the book. One is Ch'en's partiality toward the missionaries, to the degree that he accepts their words uncritically. Thus, Chang Chih-tung is said to have invited the

missionaries to edit textbooks, and the dowager empress is described as having resorted to Western medicine; when local authorities converted some temples into schools, Ch'en sees it as the outcome of a growing public disbelief in idols, which in turn is attributed to missionary efforts. In actual fact, the conversion of temples by government orders was not extraordinary in China, and it need not have had anything to do with the very small number of converts or the missionaries.

A point that Ch'en does not stress is the abundance of derogatory information about the missionaries to be found in contemporary Western sources. Apparently, the missionaries not only participated actively in the opium trade and abused their role as interpreters in diplomatic negotiations, but they also gathered intelligence for the invading Anglo-French forces in 1858-60 and participated in the looting of Chinese properties in 1900. Yet practically all of them claimed they knew how to save China politically as well as spiritually. Considering their limited qualifications, such attitudes can mean only extreme bigotry and ignorance. Small wonder, then, that investigative teams sent out by the home boards of American churches invariably criticized their own missionaries. It is hard to understand how a writer with a Chinese background can develop an entirely opposite point of view and see the missionaries as the main social and moral force before the rise of the Communist Party in China.

Ch'en also sees the KMT as defenders of the Confucian faith. In his view, this alone was sufficient to make the KMT an anachronism and to assure its downfall. But Ch'en apparently forgets the ecstatic acclaims of Western missionaries that Chiang Kai-shek was a devout Christian. Ch'en also ignores many of Chiang's non-Confucian features, such as his tendency to neglect the peasants, his willingness to bribe or assassinate as the occasion demanded, and his great trust in Tai Li, the dreaded secret police chief, and in Kung and Soong, both men of admittedly comprador origin. Can a party be Confucian when headed by an un-Confucian Führer?

A very notable feature of Ch'en's writing is his unbounded enthusiasm for Mao Tse-tung. Here his antagonist is none other than "the powerful Communist Party" itself. With Mao's widow under arrest and many of Mao's policies reversed, it is hard to see how both the man and the party can be eulogized at the same time. To be sure, it has been suggested in some quarters that Mao was not wrong and that his wife was the one who misled him. But can a messiah be misled—and for many years? Perhaps the author can enlighten us in his future publications.

YI C. WANG
Queens College,
City University of New York

JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *Yenan and the Great Powers: The Origins of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy, 1944-1946*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 216. \$15.00.

One of the strengths of James Reardon-Anderson's book lies in its challenge to the assumption, implicit in a number of other studies of policy making in China during the Second World War, that the Chinese Communist Party can be treated as a force almost monolithic in nature. He looks in some detail at the various factors that went into the determination of the CCP's foreign policy from 1944 to 1946, the years in which Japanese military strategy, American intervention, and, finally, the Russian entry into China encouraged, indeed forced, Yenan to break out of its isolation and led the party to develop for the first time a foreign policy of its own.

It was, in the author's view, the launching of the last great Japanese offensive (Ichigo) in 1944 and the prospect of some American military and diplomatic support (the Dixie Mission) that forced Yenan to choose between a diplomatic initiative (trying to rebuild the United Front) and a military initiative (territorial expansion in the wake of the Japanese advance against the Nationalists). Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, he argues, favored the diplomatic approach, but paradoxically it was Mao's own *cheng-feng* movement of 1942 that seriously weakened the internationalist and United Front wing of the CCP and strengthened advocates of military self-reliance like Chu Teh and Lin Piao. Mao and Chou thus found their diplomatic efforts undercut by the success of Communist arms, as well as by the antics of General Hurley and his entourage. The entry of Russia into the war and its rapid advance into Manchuria brought new problems, and the fear arose that Moscow and Washington would, for different reasons, help strengthen Chiang Kai-shek in his bid to emerge as the legitimate ruler of postwar China. Once again, in late 1945, Mao and Chou tried to advance their aims by diplomacy, and once again the Yenan militarists opposed them.

It is Reardon-Anderson's thesis that the Communists were governed, in both their military and diplomatic policies, not by an ideological world view, but by pragmatic consideration of what was possible, given the relative strengths of themselves and their opponents. In the end, he states, what made possible the resumption of civil war was the withdrawal of both Russian and American forces from North China; this gave the CCP a new freedom, and at that point it seemed that the battlefield was more likely than the peace table to lead to appreciable gains.

Yet despite this view of Communist pragmatism, the author does not allow himself to imagine that a

less partisan American policy might have avoided the long blight in Sino-American relations that followed. He is right, I think; the Communists were starting to make their own policy, and to imply that American friendship (or simple neutrality) might have changed their outlook toward us is to fall victim to the old arrogant view of American omnipotence, the view that believes it to be within Washington's power to determine how other nations behave.

NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD
Middlebury College

CARL BOYD. *The Extraordinary Envoy: General Hiroshi Ōshima and Diplomacy in the Third Reich, 1934-1939*. Washington: University Press of America. 1980. Pp. x, 235. Cloth \$17.00, paper \$9.40.

This *envoi extraordinaire* was an army colonel posted to Berlin in 1934 as Japan's military attaché who so successfully ingratiated himself with the Nazi leaders, including Adolf Hitler, that he was able to play a major role in German-Japanese relations for most of the next decade. Infighting and indecision in Tokyo and ignorance of European affairs on the part of army officers rising to political power there enabled General Ōshima (as he shortly became) both to advance his own career and to bring his strong pro-Nazi sympathies to bear on Japan's foreign policy by exploiting his privileged access to the German leadership. His machinations in the late 1930s, which often amounted to insubordination to his civilian—and occasionally even his military—superiors, went largely unchecked, like those of some of his Imperial Army contemporaries on the Asian mainland. At the same time his diplomatic maneuvers indirectly aided army leaders in increasing their grip on the home front and, more directly, helped them to broaden their focus from the Far East to include Europe and the West as well.

According to Carl Boyd, the author of this well-researched monograph, Ōshima was "extraordinary" for initiating, through his carefully cultivated acquaintance with Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936, thus setting Japan on the road to Axis alignment in the Tripartite Pact four years later. Subsequently during the Second World War, Ōshima was even more important to United States' leaders for the full and frank revelations of the Führer's thinking that American cryptanalysts in Operation "Magic" provided by deciphering the Japanese ambassador's messages home. While the present work concentrates on the prewar period, during which the envoy established himself in the Nazis' confidence, Boyd anticipates some of the wartime developments as well, making use of the recently released "Magic" documents and in-

cluding a good deal of material from the later period in his numerous and valuable appendixes. The concluding chapter briefly brings Ōshima's story down to his sentencing at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal in November 1948.

Boyd reveals that Ōshima had closer contact with Heinrich Himmler than he cared to admit at his postwar trial. It is regrettable, if quite understandable, that the author has been unable fully to document other aspects of Ōshima's undoubtedly important role in collaborative clandestine activities directed against the USSR.

This book is indexed, and it offers an extensive bibliography and several interesting photographs of Ōshima with Nazi leaders and, later, at his postwar trial.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON SPALDING, JR.
Columbus, Georgia

J. T. F. JORDENS. *Dayānanda Sarasvatī: His Life and Ideas*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1978. Pp. xvii, 368. \$15.50.

In the dozen chapters of this volume, J. T. F. Jordens has satisfied the need for a scholarly, broad, readable study of Dayananda Sarasvatī, the founder of Arya Samaj and a co-founder, along with Ram Mohan Roy and Vivekananda, of modern Hinduism. Building on the earlier writings of Lekhram, Mukhopadhyay, and Ghasiram, all of whom seldom rose above useful chronicle, Jordens has assembled a true historical biography that places its hitherto elusive subject in a secure temporal and cultural context. Dayananda's thought and activity are related to his historical environment with freshness and sympathy. One can understand and appreciate better than ever how the man contributed to the rise of modern India.

More specifically, Jordens has accomplished four things. First, he has clarified the full extent of Dayananda's activity as a reformer and as a catalyst for social and cultural change during many years of wandering in northern India. Second, he has identified and analysed regional influences on Dayananda's thought and values, most notably his experiences in Kathiawar, Mathura, and Rajputana. Third, he has provided a reliably documented, coherent, organically conceived account of Dayananda's ideas and their complex development. Dayananda's originality within the Hindu tradition is due to a strikingly "liberal" vision of man, in which "freedom, activity, and involvement in the world constituted . . . the basic nobility of man, the source of his greatness, for which he owes God gratitude, but for which he is wholly and solely responsible" (p. 282). Fourth, the biographical thread is woven deftly into the intricate pattern of late nine-

teenth-century Indian history, with the happy result that Dayananda's life lights up an era. Despite the profusion of topics, Jordens keeps a firm grip on his material and seldom allows the narrative to lag. In addition, Jordens has added significant new materials on Dayananda to the existing stock.

The bibliography includes the complete works of Dayananda, various letters, notices, and reports associated with him, and select writings on him in English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, and Marathi. Each chapter is supported by detailed notes. A useful introduction acknowledges earlier students of Dayananda's life and work while explaining their limitations. Jordens's sensible compromise with the irksome problem of diacritics is most welcome. None are used for persons or places, which greatly relieves the burden of print on each page.

Jordens has produced a biography likely to remain standard for some years to come. Students of nineteenth-century India will find it a steady and helpful companion.

KENNETH R. STUNKEL
Monmouth College

K. N. CHAUDHURI and CLIVE J. DEWEY, editors. *Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 358. \$16.95.

Assembled in this volume under the appropriately general title of *Economy and Society* are thirteen disparate essays that were originally papers delivered at a conference held at St. John's College, Cambridge, in July 1975. The ostensible purpose of this gathering was to converge the "invisible college" of South Asian economic historians from India, America, Western Europe, and Australia to refine existing research and to chart future research directions.

Promising in both these respects are particularly the essays in the first two parts of the collection on "Agrarian Structure and Agricultural Development" and "Trade and Finance." A strong beginning is provided by P. J. Musgrave's provocative article on the changing structure of power in rural United Provinces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Focusing on the same region, but on a micro-level are the pieces by Ian Stone and Dirk H. A. Kolff. The former examines the Ganges canal tract in Muzaffarnagar district between 1840 and 1900 to counter the thesis that canals had deleterious effects on the rural economy; the latter draws on rich manuscript settlement records to document the transfer of landholding rights at the sub-Jhansi district level.

The other two essays in this section shift attention to the south and west of India. Christopher Baker makes an interesting case for the twentieth-century

transformation of Madras headmen and other village officers from "leaders of rural society to petty bureaucrats" (p. 46). And Neil Charlesworth claims from a scrutiny of overall agricultural trends in the Bombay Presidency between 1900 and 1920 that there was considerable growth in crop and total acreage.

K. N. Chaudhuri's "Markets and Traders in India during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" opens the second section with a broad and stimulating set of questions. While complete answers are not furnished here, it is an engaging fragment of the author's recently published book. Similarly, B. R. Tomlinson's discussion of monetary policy and the rupee ratio question is better dealt with in his recent monograph. A more self-contained work is Marika Vicziany's carefully documented essay that establishes convincingly the increasing domination by foreign business houses of the raw cotton export trade of Bombay between 1850 and 1880.

Three very different essays constitute the section "Industry and Labour." Clive Dewey discusses at length "The Government of India's 'New' Industrial Policy,' 1900-1925: Formation and Failure." Its curious conclusion is that lack of industrialization in India was not due to government policies or existing social and economic conditions internally or internationally but that underdevelopment resulted because "Indian businessmen were unable to build up permanent alliances with Indian civilians through systematic *douceurs*, or to bring continuously effective political pressure to bear upon them" (p. 252). It further contends that "perhaps no country has ever industrialized—in which entrepreneurs have been unable to corrupt the state" (p. 252). In briefer pieces, J. Krishnamurty applies statistical techniques to census data to show little change in "The Distribution of the Indian Working Force, 1901-1951," while R. K. Newman highlights the important role of "jobbers," or intermediaries, between cotton mill workers and their employers in his analysis of the "Social Factors in the Recruitment of the Bombay Millhands."

Two essays comprise the final section on "Towns." By looking at the origin, development, and changing form and function of Madurai and Madras, Susan J. Lewandowski sets up perhaps too stark a dichotomy between "two urban types; one based on traditional notions of design motivated by a particular Hindu world view, and the other based on particular Western notions of economic and political dominance" (p. 325). The volume ends on a rather diffuse note with H. E. Meller's "Urbanization and the Introduction of Modern Town Planning Ideas in India, 1900-1925."

While most of the essays in this volume are quite suggestive, very few are exhaustive. Moreover, this

collection has little thematic unity, as is obvious from its lack of an introduction or a conclusion. It should also be mentioned that this work is not representative of existing scholarship since only four of its contributors are non-British: one each from the Netherlands, Australia, India, and the United States.

ANAND A. YANG
University of Utah

D. E. U. BAKER. *Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: The Central Provinces and Berar, 1919-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 233. \$11.95.

D. E. U. Baker's thesis in this work is that in the area that came to be called the Central Provinces and Berar two distinct politics developed that focused around a loyalty either to Hindi or to Marathi institutions, and that by the time the Congress ministry resigned from power in 1939 the control of the area no longer lay with the Marathi politicians but was in the hands of the Hindi speakers. The research base of this work is the large number of newspapers, government documents, private papers, biographies, and personal interviews that concern these developments. This book is the first work to undertake an analysis of politics in this area.

One of the great strengths of the work is that it seeks to document the demise of Marathi politicians in the face of increasing British patronage and appreciation for Hindi politicians. The political leadership of the area before and after World War I was mostly drawn from the Marathi Konkanastha Brahmin community because they took to the education offered by the British and because the urban structure out of which they emerged was more highly developed. Even in 1920 the political arena was largely in the hands of these Tilakites. Later in the decade Marathi control continued first under the guise of the Swarajists and then under the Co-operative Responsivists who, like the Swarajists, wanted to participate in the Legislative Council elections, but, unlike them, also wanted a taste of power. One member of this group, S. B. Tambe (p. 79), accepted the British invitation to be the Home Member in the Executive Council in 1925 to the dismay of the Gandhian No-Changers and many of the Swarajists. Equally important was the opposition of Marathi politicians to the Congress from another perspective. One Deshastha Brahmin medical doctor from Nagpur, K. B. Hegdewar, founded an extremist Hindu organization, the Rashtriya Swyam Sevak Sangha (p. 104). Hegdewar hated the British for having usurped the rights of the Maratha kings, was convinced of a Muslim threat, and in the late 1920s helped to organize Hindu drill

teams and festivals. In 1927 serious communal riots broke out in Nagpur in which twenty-two people were killed. By 1940 when Hegdewar died the RSS had a membership of 100,000.

Part of Baker's thesis concerning the emergence of middle-class politicians in the area is based on his idea that these men were largely able to dispense with their dependence on landed notables in 1918 (p. 26). Yet much of his evidence suggests that this dependence on bankers and landholders continued for a much longer time. The Tilakites in 1921, for example, got valuable support from influential landlords (p. 78). Between 1925 and 1929 the Gandhian Congress, according to Baker's own evidence, increased its influence among landholders and tenants (p. 83). There are many other instances that suggest that the transformation to which Baker refers was, in fact, much more gradual. The main drawback of this work is its preoccupation with "politics" to the neglect of a broader consideration of what this politics was based on, even though Baker has a chapter on the development of economic and social institutions. For instance, he demonstrates that there was a substantial fall in the industrial labor force between 1929 and 1939 but does not relate this to any other significant development. However, Baker's appreciation for the British contributions are ably presented in his chapter on "Government and the Politicians." In this chapter he shows how Sir Frank Sly, the governor, did little to cultivate Hindi notables and politicians in the early 1920s. The appointment in 1925 of Montagu Butler, an ICS officer from the Punjab, meant more and more support for the Hindu region, including aid to E. V. Raghavendra Rao, a Telugu Brahmin whose forebears had come into the area on the coattails of the British. The Congress ministry of 1937 and 1939 simply formed the arena for the final dispute between Hindi- and Marathi-speaking politicians.

EUGENE F. IRSCHICK
University of California,
Berkeley

MOHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN. *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*. Srinagar: Aamir Publications. 1978. Pp. 231. \$21.00.

Kashmir, southern Asia's most famous strategic region, centers upon Srinagar. As political capital of the Dogra rulers and focal point of European tourism, the city has inspired or provoked a myriad of travel accounts and official papers. Mohammad Ishaq Khan has utilized these to compile this study of Srinagar's economic, social, and cultural life from 1846 to 1947. Urban historians will find interesting details here but may be frustrated by the paucity of

material on the physical patterns of Srinagar's growth or on the distribution of its various spheres of economic and cultural activity. (The government of India has added to the problem by not granting the author permission to include a map of the city.)

Srinagar's scenic setting with its lakes, river, and canals proved a growing attraction for the colonial European elite after communications had been improved in the late nineteenth century. Yet this "Venice of the East" surpassed its namesake in inadequate drainage and conservancy. Tourism provided a concern for public health and stimulated efforts at municipal improvement. One visitor found "a city reared on filth, a people born in filth, living in filth and drinking filth" (p. 21). Khan perhaps takes such assessments too literally, but he demonstrates the ties between the imperatives of colonial health and the grudging acquiescence of Srinagar's citizens in the costly rigors of "municipal improvement."

Tourism and communication worked other changes in the city. Some handicrafts were subverted by newly available outside products. The shawl industry apparently declined as much from the taxation policies of the Dogra rulers as from external competition. Khan portrays shawl making in decline but never clarifies whether this forced weavers into other occupations or whether it was the attractive alternatives in rug making that drew them away. Tourism stimulated several new "handicraft" industries including furniture making and boat building.

Khan's discussion of social and cultural life proceeds in a detailed descriptive fashion that does not often attempt comparison or generalization. The growth of education and public opinion and the relations of Hindus and Muslims are presented with sensitivity. There is a strong undercurrent of criticism of the Dogra maharajas throughout. Khan does not yield to the temptation to label them religious tyrants, but he does present the rulers as obstacles to progress for all Kashmiris. In the process, British missionaries are credited for stimulating reform ideas that aimed at a general transformation of the society. Clearly some changes were cosmetic. The dress and decoration of Kashmiri Pandit boys enrolled in the mission school quickly changed when, in an effort to overcome their "lethargy," compulsory sports and games were introduced. As Khan remarks in a rather unnerving fashion, the boys' noserings and earrings "were found to be a painful accessory when boxing was introduced" (pp. 135-36). Other changes had deeper consequences for the minority of educated Muslims and Hindus. Khan clarifies the cross-cutting elements of religious revivalism, secular social reform, and nationalism.

There are real shortcomings. Khan's explanations

are not always consistent. Some of his conclusions do not seem grounded in the text. Footnotes and bibliography are extensive but difficult to reconcile and utilize. In the end the reader grasps Srinagar's past uncertainly but may appreciate more fully the socioeconomic complexities underlying modern Kashmir's turbulent history.

FRANK F. CONLON

University of Washington

OLIVER B. POLLAK. *Empires in Collision: Anglo-Burmese Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 1.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 214. \$25.00.

Perhaps more has been written on Anglo-Burman diplomatic relations and the three Anglo-Burman wars of the nineteenth century than any other aspect of Burmese history. The fact that yet another work should appear on these exchanges and conflicts when so much of the Burmese past has been neglected and in a time when so few new works are being published on Burma is indicative of the frustrations facing those who wish to do serious research relating to Burma. Denied access to the invaluable (and slowly perishing) sources in Burma itself, most scholars, at least since the early 1960s, have had to be content with the special collections of Burmese-language sources and the Western-language archival records found mainly in London, or they have been forced to retool and find other, more accessible areas in which to focus their research. Oliver B. Pollak belongs to the small band of Western scholars that has persisted in its determination to write the history of Burma, and of that group, those who continue to mine the English-language official records housed in the India Office in London.

Pollak's *Empires in Collision: Anglo-Burmese Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* centers on the events leading up to and the aftermath of the second Anglo-Burman war of 1852. As he correctly argues in the introduction, this is the least-studied period of Anglo-Burman interaction. Pollak's work provides numerous correctives to earlier writers' accounts of motives and events. It also includes painstakingly documented descriptions of the tortuous relations and frequent confrontations between British officials, merchants, and missionaries and the Burmese who were so determined to keep these unwelcome intruders beyond the boundaries, or at worst on the periphery, of their beleaguered kingdom. Pollak also attempts—especially in the chapters on the period after 1852—to deal with Burman reactions and changes within the rump Konbaung kingdom that remained. Because of his reliance on English-language sources, however, and his tendency to take

British reports at face value, these portions of *Empires in Collision* are the least successful and provide us with little new information. In this connection, it is surprising that Pollak makes no use of the recent and superb work of scholars like Victor Lieberman and William Koenig who have analyzed pre-colonial Burmese political history on the basis of both indigenous and English sources. The band of Burma scholars is so small and the sources available so limited that the neglect of works of high quality, like those of Lieberman and Koenig, greatly impairs Pollak's ability to develop a convincing and insightful account of Burman responses to the British imperialist challenge.

Although useful for the additional information it provides regarding the motivations and actions of the men who led the British advance into Burma, *Empires in Collision* offers little in the way of new interpretations or understandings, either of the British-Burman confrontations specifically or of the nature of nineteenth-century diplomatic or imperial history more generally. Pollak is aware of the conflicting views of the events with which he is dealing and dutifully cites the authors and works that set these forth. Beyond that, his approach amounts largely to providing all the facts he can locate and letting the reader decide. His allusions to turbulent frontiers, poor communications, and the aggression of the notorious "men on the spot" tell us little that is new. Most surprisingly, he sets aside with little comment theoretical frameworks, like that developed by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher in their essays on the imperialism of free trade, that strike one as so suited to the analysis of the events Pollak describes.

MICHAEL ADAS
Rutgers University

UNITED STATES

JEROME O. STEFFEN. *Comparative Frontiers: A Proposal for Studying the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1980. Pp. xix, 139. \$10.95.

In this brief volume, Jerome O. Steffen, already well known for his studies of comparative frontiers, suggests a procedure designed to rescue historians of the West from their own "closed society" and return them to the mainstream of historical studies. This can be done, he feels, only if the frontier experience is viewed as a contest between "the demands of the environment and the mindset of those entering each new West." Such recognition would disclose two types of change: "overt," in which the "conceptual foundation remains essentially the same," and "fun-

damental," involving the "replacement or significant alteration of the very assumptions upon which given practices were based." Steffen believes that most American frontiers were "overt"; thus the technological conquest of the Great Plains so glorified by Walter Prescott Webb embraced only a hundred-year timespan and "the so-called victory may represent only a dysfunctional stage of adaptation."

The nature and extent of alteration on successive frontiers, he suggests, could be evaluated by determining the "variables or combinations of variables causing different kinds of change." He suspects that two types would emerge: "cosmopolitan," where interacting links with the past remained dominant and the only changes were modal or caused by non-environmental factors, and "insular," where change was governed by factors exclusive to the frontier process.

Building on these hypotheses, he examines four frontiers—cis-Mississippi agricultural, fur trading, placer mining, and cattle ranching. The latter three he classifies as "cosmopolitan," with interacting links governing alterations and innovation minimal. On the "insular" cis-Mississippi frontier Steffen finds alterations of a sort to challenge modern social scientists: environmental influences of interest to cultural ecologists; the emergence of "identity crises" suitable to study by disciples of Abram Kardiner, Erich Fromm, and Erik Erikson; the socialization of individuals in patterns conforming to the theories of David Riesman; the possibility of model building as successfully explored by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick; the "decline of a deferential citizenry" to substantiate findings of sociologists and students of religion; and many more.

Steffen's thoughtful suggestions should challenge the next generation of frontier historians. He states his case well, and should his hypotheses stand the test of investigation, they should not only help re-establish communication between frontier historians and the larger body of scholarship but also broaden our understanding of the westering process and of the American past.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON
Huntington Library

FREDERICK TURNER. *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness*. New York: Viking Press. 1980. Pp. xviii, 329. \$16.95.

This eloquently maudlin book might fairly be retitled "Beyond Reason," for it preaches that devastation has been wrought by the rationality of Christianity that led invading Europeans to miss the great spiritual opportunity presented by the New World. Salvation was and is possible only through

revelation and myth. What happened instead was a manifestation of "spiritual bankruptcy" (p. 262), although it was also, as in his subtitle, "the western spirit against the wilderness."

The book is "an essay in spiritual history," says Frederick Turner (p. 7); and again, "what I wanted to write about was my vivid sense—let me risk calling it a vision—that the real story of the coming of European civilization to the wildernesses of the world is a spiritual story" (p. xi). The word for this in English is theology.

The first third of the book discourses on the suppression by church fathers of ever-refreshing new revelations, and one of the crimes thus committed was "Christianity's turn from myth toward history" (p. 62). For, "regardless of whatever local, temporal excesses may fairly be charged to myth's account, the gigantic and general purpose of archaic myth is the celebration of Life," and "whatever sacrifices" such myths "demand in 'objective truth' are outweighed and justified by the comforts of old truths, old necessities, we carry within us" (pp. 16–17).

The book's middle third takes it into America where its deeper truths permit a chapter on "Defloration" to precede one on "Penetration." There are chapters on Columbus, Cortés, Roanoke, and Massachusetts, followed in the final third by attention to captivity narratives, "white Indians," frontier expansion, land hunger, and dispossession of the Indians, climaxing at Wounded Knee. The method is impressionistic, though informed by wide reading in up-to-date studies, and the colors are black and white. Without distinction and without amelioration, "the monstrous cathedral of European christendom" (p. 209) generates the motives that sent men forth to kill Indians and each other and to seize and defile the countryside, creating in the process such horrors as "the cancerous stretch of the eastern seaboard" (p. 255).

Nevertheless, the book is gracefully, even charmingly written, and much of what it says so sweepingly will please readers disposed against rationalism and materialism. In the narrow sense, factuality is not violated, and the argument is sophisticated. But I will stick to history.

FRANCIS JENNINGS
Newberry Library

G. EDWARD WHITE. *Tort Law in America: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 283. \$19.95.

One of the most interesting and promising aspects of contemporary legal scholarship is the remarkable growth of interest among law professors in legal history. This brief intellectual history of American tort law, by a member of the faculty of the University of

Virginia Law School, is a splendid example of this development. Classically, tort law is defined as that body of law that is concerned with all civil wrongs not arising from contracts. Actually, this explains very little since there are so many different kinds of torts that the construction of a consistent and useful unified rationale is not possible. G. Edward White's basic theme is that tort law cannot be ascribed, as has often been done, simply to the consequences of industrialization. He demonstrates that tort law has always reflected the changing patterns concerned with the character of knowledge.

Beginning with the collapse of the writ system, White examines the impact of legal science from 1880 to 1910, which was based on the "case" or inductive method of legal study, then the impact of legal realism, from 1910 to 1945, which rejected scientific conceptualism in favor of an objective, empirical, and anti-universalist approach based on a perception of social interdependence. A great deal of attention is devoted to such eminent legal scholars as Leon Green, Francis Bohlen, and William Prosser and such creative appellate judges as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Benjamin Cardozo, and Roger Traynor.

Contemporary thinking about tort law is rooted in what White calls "consensus thought," described as a search for core values around which the makers of law may rally. Thus, recent scholarship regarding tort law is deeply concerned with welfare economics and moral philosophy; all of which treats tort law not as a body of private law but as a public law subject. White concludes that "torts is not a unified subject but a complex of diverse wrongs whose policy implications point in different directions" (p. 233). It follows that "tort law more closely resembles a shifting mass of diverse wrongs than a tidy, conceptually unified subject. Multiple purposes for tort law, multiple standards of tort liability, and individualized determinations of tort claims reflect the innate character of the field" (p. 240). White's analysis of the weighty contributions of academic scholars to the shaping of the law is especially effective, for in many ways contemporary tort law is a product of casebooks, treatises, and law review articles. Except for some unfortunate lapses in proof-reading, this is a splendid work of historical legal scholarship.

DAVID FELLMAN
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

EDWARD W. CHESTER. *The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts: The Military and Economic Considerations*. (National University Publications Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 260. \$17.50.

This volume will be of no use to the serious scholar, and of little use to anyone else. Edward W. Chester traces the relations between the United States and the Bahamas, Jamaica, Bermuda, Iceland, the Azores, and Greenland, provides a brief introduction to the destroyers-for-bases deal in 1940, and offers a fragmented conclusion. Each of the substantive chapters follows a similar outline. There is a cursory introduction to the early history of each "island outpost," followed by sections dealing with relations between the islands and the United States within the framework of major events in American history: the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, the post-World War II era. In addition, various chapters have separate sections on United States economic involvement with the islands, liquor smuggling, the tourist trade, the impact of U.S. air and naval bases on island life, scientific expeditions, and assorted other subjects. The concluding chapter summarizes the author's findings, briefly compares U.S. interventions in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic with U.S. policy toward the six "island outposts" under study, and offers as fresh insights some threadbare conclusions: the Roosevelt Corollary did not restrain private American investment in the Caribbean and Latin American regions; U.S. opposition to foreign military interventions in the New World did not preclude similar interventions by the United States.

No unifying themes bind the chapters of this volume together; nor is it grounded in substantive research. The author did not consult foreign archival material, and while he utilizes approximately a dozen State Department decimal files, each is cited only a time or two in the footnotes. The book is based largely on newspaper stories, journal articles, and the previous works of other historians. It is a narrative history or, more accurately, a catalog of often disconnected episodes and anecdotes related in a prose that sometimes degenerates into cliché. The author has *The Times* of London "shed[ding] tears," a "tempest in a teapot," "winds of change" that "swirl," and "storm clouds" with "silver linings."

MICHAEL J. HOGAN
Miami University

W. DAVID BAIRD. *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 152.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1980. Pp. xiv, 290. \$19.95.

W. David Baird's excellent history, thoroughly researched and well written, has a familiar ring. Early in the eighteenth century a small Ohio Valley tribe

is driven westward by its Indian neighbors who have secured firearms. After making its own alliance with a European power, the tribe briefly flourishes only to be decimated by the diseases that are the fatal accompaniment of the cherished trade goods. Reduced to a population of a few hundred, the tribe is in no position to resist the new United States government when it pressures the Indians to cede large areas. Nor does the tribe exhibit any enthusiasm for the schools and missionaries that are part of the government's civilization programs. Badly split by their removal experience, late in the nineteenth century they are about to be subjected to the final indignity—allotment in severalty.

At this point the reader suddenly realizes that the story is not taking the usual course. The Quapaws reversed their population decline by freely adopting Indians from other tribes as well as some whites. One of the adoptees, a Stockbridge Indian with an acquisitive instinct that would have done credit to a robber baron, guided the Quapaws to a real coup. Instead of resisting allotment, the Quapaws seized the initiative from the Indian Office and lobbied Congress for it on their terms. In this fashion they divided up the whole reservation and secured 240-acre allotments instead of the 80 to 160 to which other tribesmen were restricted.

A number of whites have roles in the Quapaw story, getting some adoptions approved and others disapproved and expediting the allotment process. They included some of the most imaginative and unethical politicians in Indian Territory, including former governors, former territorial representatives, and former judges, a regular rogues' gallery whose names are familiar to students of Oklahoma history.

When a few of the Quapaw families received allotments rich in zinc and lead, they became the targets of every crooked Indian and white in the area. Baird is particularly effective in telling the story of what he calls these "Poor, Rich Quapaws."

In a belated and not very effective effort to protect them, the federal government reasserted its guardianship. This is the final irony. A tribe in name only, a collection of people of diverse backgrounds of whom only a few have any recollection of Quapaw culture, the tribe will be maintained as a legal entity by this wardship status. Baird closes with a reference to the Quapaw pride in the success their Business Council is having in securing federal grants. Although clinging to the Quapaw identification, these native Americans have taken their place in the mainstream to a degree that would have cheered the mid-nineteenth-century architects of our Indian policy.

WILLIAM T. HAGAN
State University of New York,
Fredonia

RUSSEL LAWRENCE BARSH and JAMES YOUNGBLOOD HENDERSON. *The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 301. \$14.95.

Russel Lawrence Barsh and James Youngblood Henderson claim that American Indian tribes practice a distinct way of life, "the Road," which should be preserved and respected by others who now occupy native land and oppress native liberty. Protection of this Indian tribalism depends upon a doctrine of sovereignty expressed by John Marshall in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Marshall's recognition of native sovereignty, we are told, was consistent with the earlier pluralism of the Founding Fathers. After *Worcester*, the Supreme Court apparently neglected Marshall's concept, with the result that Barsh and Henderson can find no fundamental principles governing Indian law for the past century. They contend that a hodge-podge of expedient, paternalistic and self-serving laws and court decisions resulted, thereby ensuring tribal dependence upon white society.

Much of the book's argument is legal commentary. Classic Supreme Court cases are reviewed, and many neglected documents are examined. According to the authors, the future remedy for past injustices and unprincipled law is to legislatively recognize American Indians as now forming two diverse movements: the ethnic and the political. Urban Indians are described as seeking a distinct ethnic niche within white society, whereas reservation Indians strive for political self-determination as tribes. A tribe is defined as a nonracial body with membership open to anyone who accepts its values. Tribal sovereignty can be secured, Barsh and Henderson believe, by a constitutional amendment providing a special place for Indian tribes in Congress and defining tribal political status with precision. Individual Indians would then be forced to choose between assimilation and separatism.

The book has several strong points. Analysis of the 1880-1900 Supreme Court decisions and the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act is well done, as is a section on the Court's ideological confusion since 1950. Too often, however, there is little feeling for the dilemmas and extralegal forces in human history, partly because Barsh and Henderson neglect important sociocultural research and do not seem to be aware of relevant studies by historians. As a result, they have produced a legal survey that glosses over violence and ignores material power in the conquest of North America. Taken out of this historical context, the U.S. Supreme Court can often appear evil or stupid in its Indian decisions, which was seldom the case.

The authors' analogies are often unconvincing,

their secondary sources too limited, and the book's organization inadequately controlled. Digression, jargon, and biased language will annoy some readers. No bibliography is provided. No significant use is made of native sources; the "Road" described is not that of native Americans but of the Supreme Court and Congress. With these limits in mind, and if one accepts their presuppositions concerning the feasibility of political autonomy for one-half of one percent of the United States' population, Barsh and Henderson provide an instructive excursion through legal doctrine.

ROBERT H. KELLER
Fairhaven College,
Western Washington University

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE. *Colonial Massachusetts: A History*. (A History of the American Colonies.) Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press. 1979. Pp. xvii, 349. \$17.00.

The volumes in the History of the American Colonies series have filled diverse needs and have emphasized various historical themes. Volumes such as Sydney V. James's *Colonial Rhode Island* and John E. Pomfret's *Colonial New Jersey* draw heavily on the authors' original research to provide long-needed accounts of the histories of neglected states. Other books, including Michael Kammen's *Colonial New York* and Robert J. Taylor's *Colonial Connecticut* serve as syntheses of the literatures of historiographically better-endowed states. Most are predominately political in theme, as befit histories of early America's primary political units, but most also contain chapters on economy, society, and culture. Reflecting the state of social history in the states, the social chapters tend to fit a traditional cultural and daily life mold. Most volumes also discuss the local development of the Revolutionary movement. It is a measure of Massachusetts's prominence in colonial historiography that Benjamin W. Labaree's superbly written book combines the local political history with a sophisticated synthesis of religious and social history, as well as with a full and lucid narrative of some of the critical events of the Revolutionary background.

Labaree retells the familiar story of *Colonial Massachusetts* by building each chapter around a sprightly biographical vignette of an illustrative figure. Descriptions of Massasoit's Indian land of New England and John Winthrop's England introduce the settlement in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay and the economic and political expansion by which the Massachusetts Bay Colony became synonymous with New England in seventeenth-century minds. A chapter of extraordinary clarity explains the complexities of seventeenth-century Puritanism and fol-

lows the Mather dynasty through the evolution of "Zion in the Wilderness." Samuel Sewall guides the account through the perplexities of imperial integration, the Dominion, and Salem witchcraft to the second chapter and the new century, while the ambitions of the Otis family illustrate mid-eighteenth-century provincial politics. The intellectual and pietistic duality of Jonathan Edwards clarifies the religious and rationalistic tension that characterized provincial culture. Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams provide poles for the narrative of the imperial crisis, and John Adams sees the story through to his great constitutional triumph in the 1780 Constitution.

While the vignettes from Winthrop to Adams bespeak a modern synthesis of the often-told public history, the equal billing accorded Edward Rice and John Parker indicates Labaree's skillful integration of the fruits of the social history boom of recent decades into the larger history. Rice, the yeoman of Sudbury, introduces a chapter that illustrates the centrality of town formation, local social institutions, and the standard of rural living to social and political dynamics in seventeenth-century New England. Parker, the Lexington militia captain, introduces a chapter on the Revolution but symbolizes the integration of ordinary men and social history into the narrative of provincial development and imperial protest. In this book the political divisions of Dedham and the mobility of Andover's yeomen become key components in the telling of the colony's public story.

Precisely because Labaree is so perceptive in synthesizing the secondary literature on Massachusetts, it is possible to see in his account the weak points in the colony's impressive historiography. Most notable is the thinness of the narrative of provincial, as opposed to imperial, politics from the mid-seventeenth century until the better-documented administration of Jonathan Belcher. The author rightly concludes that the towns were fundamental to the political process, but we know precious little about how their people viewed or used the system. And although the intellectual record of the Great Awakening is clear, little agreement exists about how its social aspects intersected with surrounding social and political movements. Until these and other puzzles are solved, however, Labaree has given us a lucid and readable synthesis of the Bay Colony's history.

EDWARD M. COOK, JR.
University of Chicago

RAYMOND C. BAILEY. *Popular Influence upon Public Policy: Petitioning in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. (Contributions in Legal Studies, number 10.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 203. \$18.50.

Many petitions were presented to the ruling authorities in Virginia during the eighteenth century. There were requests for the division of counties, for the establishment of tobacco warehouses, for the relocation of parish churches, as well as for the restraint of hogs from roaming in townships and for the prohibition of slaves from keeping dogs. Raymond C. Bailey has studiously sought out all these petitions in legislative journals and state archives and classified them under broad headings such as local government, economy, and religion. No attempt is made to settle conclusively the hoary debate as to whether the Old Dominion was "either 'aristocratic' or 'democratic'" (p. xi), but the purpose of this careful scholarship is stated to be a demonstration that "Virginia citizens were able to play an active and extremely significant role in . . . political affairs . . ." (p. 6).

Few would deny the responsiveness of the rulers of the Old Dominion to appeals of certain kinds from property owners great and small, although the listing of a small number of petitions received from women and blacks does not prove, as the author implies (pp. 41, 44, 45, 46), that the authorities readily received and attended to the appeals of "all classes" upon all subjects.

It is half a century since Lewis Namier's *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1928) was first published, yet no attempt is made in Bailey's book, even by way of case study, to get beneath the surface and explore the kinds of local contexts in which petitions were formed and the means by which the success of some petitions was secured while others failed. Although quoted documents refer to "Partys and Factions" (p. 143), the author makes the bland assumption that differences between petitioners and counterpetitioners were always settled equitably and not by the superior influence of one group over another.

A brief concluding chapter serves to mitigate, or perhaps to underscore, the limitations of the book. In these few pages topics are introduced that could profitably have informed the earlier substantive analysis. A scrutiny of the role of petitioning in relation to the changing theory and practice of political representation (pp. 172-73) would have been much more valuable than the classification of subject matter into broad categories that cut across more than a century's change and a revolution in the political system. Indeed what is most sorely missing in the book is a concept of political culture or even an application of the notion of "the political process" that is introduced at the outset (p. 19). The lack of any systematic exploration of the relationship between legislative practices and changing beliefs concerning the nature and scope of government is particularly to be deplored in a work appearing in a series entitled "Contributions to Legal Studies."

The awareness of an important profession will be impoverished if historical perspectives do not contribute to a consciousness of the integral relationship of lawmakers to the prevailing social system and ideas of their own age.

RHYS ISAAC
La Trobe University,
Australia

FREDERICK V. MILLS, SR. *Bishops by Ballot: An Eighteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1978. Pp. xii, 367. \$14.95.

In *Bishops by Ballot* Frederick V. Mills, Sr., reinterprets the colonial Church of England's reorganization into the Protestant Episcopal Church. He argues that there took place within American Anglicanism an ecclesiastical revolution that paralleled the political revolution of these same years. The decisive change involved "the substitution and canonization of republican concepts and practices in place of hierarchical ones" (p. xii) within American Episcopalians.

The study divides neatly into two parts. In the first Mills discusses the state of colonial Anglicanism, paying careful attention to the dispute over the establishment of bishops in America, an issue he considers the central symbol of the internal conflict within the American Church of England. The author's special contribution to this aspect of his subject is his emphasis on the anti-episcopal sentiment of the generality of Anglican laymen and of the majority of the Anglican clergy. He describes a vigorous, expanding colonial Church of England, but one divided into a clerical "High Church" party centered in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey and a "Low Church" majority of clergymen elsewhere and laymen everywhere.

In the second half of the book he analyzes more closely the reorganization of the church between 1782 and 1789. The churchmen who directed this process, he insists, were American patriots who had supported the opposition to British authority. They were also largely "Low Church" Anglicans committed by their own experience to ecclesiastical self-government and lay participation in church affairs. These Episcopalians implemented republican principles in the formation of the new church constitution. Led by Pennsylvania's William White, they narrowly avoided a schism between the "High Church" Connecticut Episcopalians who supported the consecration of Samuel Seabury and the "Low Church" majority of American Episcopalians. The church that resulted, he concludes, was an authentic creation of the American Anglican religious experience in that it institutionalized lay participation, clerical leadership, and the kind of spiritual

episcopacy for which prerevolutionary American Anglicans had pleaded.

The author has constructed and developed his argument with care and patience. On one key issue he is, alas, too convincing. If Mills is correct in his conclusion that the majority of Episcopalians would have been undisturbed by the failure of the episcopal plan in the late 1780s, then we need a better explanation of why they did not simply eliminate bishops and form the church on a congregationalist or presbyterian model. One of his operating assumptions is that the political environments of the various colonies decisively influenced the attitudes of churchmen toward episcopacy. This leads him, in this reviewer's judgment, to overlook some other, cultural factors.

Having said that, it must be emphasized that *Bishops by Ballot* offers a fresh look at the episcopacy controversy. And its analysis of the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church makes it the indispensable work on that subject. Mills's work supplements Arthur L. Cross's classic *Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (1902), and it corrects some of the distortions of Carl Bridenbaugh's *Mitre and Sceptre* (1962). Readers will readily understand why Mills's admirable work won the Brewer Prize for 1975 awarded by the American Society of Church History.

GERALD J. GOODWIN
University of Houston

CHARLES ROYSTER. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1979. Pp. xi, 452. \$19.50.

In this thoughtful, highly original volume Charles Royster brings military and intellectual history together by examining the Continental Army in terms of its relationship to the ideals of the American Revolution. The complexity of the subject and the subtlety of the presentation can scarcely be detailed in a fairly short review. Although a number of aspects of the topic are not treated as completely as one wishes, the author performs an important service in opening up new ways of thinking about civil-military relations and the nature of the American Revolution.

The high tide of patriotism during the War of Independence is usually described as the spirit of '76, but Royster convincingly maintains that it is really the spirit of '75—the *rage militaire*, as he calls it—that defined the ideals Americans sought to live and fight by. Royster asserts that these ideals of 1775 constituted the American character at that time—or, at any rate, those traits that Americans most fer-

vently wanted to believe formed their character. And what were those ideals? They were probably best summed up by the word *virtue*, which the patriots might well have defined as including bravery, devotion, morality, and sacrifice.

If it is not so clear where this conception of the American character came from—from Puritanism, or English left-wing whiggery, or the Great Awakening, or a combination thereof—Royster is nonetheless persuasive in his contention that these attitudes of 1775 exceeded the reality of the human condition. Consequently, the Continental Army inevitably fell far short of the revolutionists' expectations for it. The initial fervor, the *rage militaire*, evaporated in the six months or so following Lexington and Concord, never to return, although Royster's evidence indicates that at certain times and places it may have revived more than he seems willing to admit.

To be sure, the Continentals were never the "Army of Israel" that Americans wanted, and their generals were hardly Joshuas. Increasingly the notion of the altruistic citizen-soldier had to be modified as stronger forms of discipline were necessary and as lengthy enlistments were required to fill up the regiments. Correspondingly, fear of the army grew as it seemed to be less a reflection of society as a whole. The public wanted the soldiers' strengths to be the people's strengths, just as it wished a popular triumph rather than the victory of a professional military establishment. And yet, as Royster wisely observes, recent efforts to see the Continental Army of the late war years as little more than a European professional army miss the mark. No one knew that better than the Prussian drillmaster, Steuben, whose sensitivity to the differences between American and European soldiers is admirably described here.

If the public, however reluctantly, acceded to the need for a well-trained, long-service army, it continued to give expression to the ideals of '75, and in time it denied that victory in 1783 was the possession of the army; rather, since Providence was on the patriot side, it belonged to all the people. That was hardly the case, for both the army and the civilian population had at times drifted sharply away from their professed idealism. If the army had its cowards and deserters, its prima donnas and its intriguers, so too did the home front have its hoarders and profiteers, its apathetic and fainthearted souls.

Yet for all their shortcomings, Americans, both civilian and military, had continued to express their ideals. Had they not done so, they would doubtless have fallen even shorter of those lofty objectives than they actually did. In bringing this splendid study to a close, Royster states that had Americans "not widely shared this ability to see beyond material facts and to reinterpret events in order to make

an ideal seem true, they probably would not have sought independence and surely would not have won it when they did."

DON HIGGINBOTHAM
*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

J. WORTH ESTES. *Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America, 1760-1820*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1979. Pp. xvi, 291. \$15.00.

Dr. Hall Jackson (1739-97) introduced digitalis into the United States as a therapy to correct the malfunctioning of the human heart. His biographer, a professor of pharmacology and experimental therapeutics at Boston University, is eminently qualified to summarize the achievements of this versatile New Englander. Although Dr. J. Worth Estes has published portions of this monograph in numerous journals, he places the accomplishments of this perceptive New Hampshire physician within the more comprehensive scientific milieu of late eighteenth-century America.

In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Jackson gained a reputation in surgery, cataract operations, and obstetrics. Estes notes the innumerable obstacles confronting doctors who combated smallpox, malaria, and diphtheria. The writer provides colorful details about Jackson's practice; he traces the patriotic doctor's brief experience in the Continental Army, and he includes Jackson's fee table, which reminds one how limited was even a trained practitioner's professional knowledge in this era.

Commenting about the public health of Portsmouth, the author shifts to comparisons of morbidity and mortality data compiled by Jackson from 1774 through 1795 with related studies penned by colleagues for the next twenty-three years. We learn that New Hampshire's population was relatively healthy and that its citizenry "died of the same diseases, and in the same relative proportions, barring epidemics, as did the populations elsewhere in the United States and Europe" (p. 87). We also discover from this wealth of statistics that infectious diseases were the major killers, that the mean age at death was thirty-four years, and that youngsters until the age of ten faced awesome odds against surviving the ravages of pestilence.

Realizing that nearly 5 percent of his patients suffered from dropsy, Jackson sought a remedy. To explain the state of contemporary beliefs about the pathogenesis of heart disease, Estes astutely traces the evolution of thought, through the Enlightenment concerning hemodynamics and the pathophysiology of the cardiovascular system to the publication in 1785 of Dr. William Withering's *Account*

of *Foxglove*. The English physician demonstrated the therapeutic benefits of digitalis (extracted from the foxglove plant) for victims of dropsy, or today's edema, which results from an excessive accumulation of fluid in bodily organs due to a sluggish heart. Properly calibrated, digitalis increases the amount of calcium in the heart muscle and stimulates it to function more efficiently. As increased blood circulates through the kidneys, the accumulation of fluids in bodily organs is drawn by osmosis back into normal circulation and is removed by an increased urine discharge. While several British scientists soon qualified and quantified Withering's findings, some Americans also experimented with this "wonder drug." But it was Jackson who first corresponded with Withering about foxglove in 1789, who championed the efficacy of the treatment, and who popularized its use in North America.

This is a fine book—it is quite readable, crammed with information about the prevalence of serious diseases and about the state of the medical profession in the early Republic. Its copious footnotes attest to the author's diligent search for fresh source material. The work is not the typical biography of a famous man—for we discern relatively little about Jackson himself—but it is an intellectual history of how theories about heart disease were disseminated in Europe and transmitted across the Atlantic. The only minor flaw in this thoughtful study is the omission of material about the level of pharmacology in Jackson's day. Dr. Estes merits high praise for his rewarding study of a significant figure in American medical history.

RICHARD L. BLANCO
State University of New York,
Brockport

CHARLES W. AKERS. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman*. (Library of American Biography.) Boston: Little, Brown. 1980. Pp. x, 207. \$9.95.

While the choice of Abigail Adams as one of the first two women (Elizabeth Cady Stanton is the other) to be included among the two dozen volumes in the Library of American Biography can only be applauded, 192 pages of text simply cannot do justice to a life and personality as complex as Abigail Adams's. The reviewer sympathizes with Charles W. Akers, who had to write within a size limitation imposed by the series. He could have done more justice to his subject if he had not had to compress a multi-dimensional life into so few pages. Abigail's relations with her children or sisters alone would each fill a larger book.

There are glimpses of the real Abigail in this admirably summarized, clearly written biography

based on her copious correspondence. Yet she cannot come alive. The effervescence and spontaneity of her spirit, her proud love of her offspring, the unique flavor of her speech and humor are lost in indirect quotations. Her intellectual curiosity is here, but one must know what to look for. Furthermore, historical personalities who shared the stage with her—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hancock, Mercy Otis Warren, and countless others, including John Adams—are but silhouettes passing in the shadows. Even the gestation and birth of the United States is hazily sketched in.

In her letters, Abigail bristles with emotions, longing for her mate day and night, missing him physically, spiritually, and intellectually. No woman could believe that viewing John Adams's portrait would provide Abigail with "a measure of emotional compensation" for the loneliness of "two decades [*sic*]" (p. 83). Only another woman could sense the true anguish of the sensitive Abigail left for months without news of her husband and sons. A woman would also not neglect to detail the orders Abigail kept sending to her husband abroad. Although they might seem trivial to men, they were practical with an eye on the marketability of laces, gloves, and yard goods: Abigail's black marketeering casts a dubious shadow on her patriotic principles, but it paid the war taxes and kept her family alive, while in the absence of John she ran the farm, dabbled in real estate, and conducted her own political campaigns in his interest.

Although Abigail had liberal ideas about the status of women, she was not, according to the author, a feminist. The "Remember the Ladies" phrase, often quoted out of context, was an isolated plea for the legal safeguard of wives against abusive husbands. She dropped the subject when John considered it a joke. When she met a truly liberated woman, Franklin's lady friend, she recoiled from her too-liberated display of behavior toward Franklin and John. Squeezed into the straitjacket of her milieu, Abigail could not become an open advocate of equality between the sexes.

Although this is a scholarly treatise rather than a lively biography, it is devoid of documentation because of series policy. There is an excellent "Note on the Sources," but the index is skimpy and neglects Franklin entirely, perhaps out of sympathy with Abigail and John Adams, who had no love lost for the "electric ambassador."

Akers is the respected author of *Called Unto Liberty: A Life of Jonathan Mayhew* (1964), but the sensuous, vibrant, intellectually eclectic Abigail, a mosaic of passionate woman, dedicated mother, pioneer for women's rights, calculating businesswoman and farmer, and by no means guileless politician, was not his cup of tea. He did not get under her skin; he observed her from the outside. Nevertheless, he

should be handed laurels for a masterful condensation. The book fulfills the purpose of the series and would make informative collateral reading for high schools and colleges.

VERA LASKA
Regis College
Weston, Massachusetts

WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR. *The Baron of Beacon Hill: A Biography of John Hancock*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1979. Pp. xiii, 366. \$15.00.

This popularly written trade book will please the general reader, but offers little for the serious student. It is a conventional biography that sketches a fairly accurate picture of the often inscrutable John Hancock, the Massachusetts merchant and revolutionary. Its strength is that it dispenses with most of the myth, avoiding Herbert S. Allan's overly sympathetic view at the same time that it rejects James Truslow Adams's equally biased perception of Hancock as "an empty barrel." William M. Fowler's judgments are good, if not highly original. Like most recent historians of revolutionary Massachusetts, he finds no evidence that Hancock was simply a "rich empty-headed dilettante" (p. 56) who had fallen into "the sinister clutches of Sam Adams" (p. 60).

Fowler's judgments, however, sometimes rest on a less than thorough examination of conventional literary sources. He relies heavily on Hancock's personal papers. Those published, as experienced scholars know, reveal remarkably little about the man. The unpublished, although extensive (21,000 items in the New England Historical and Genealogical Society alone, according to a recent advertisement), seem to provide Fowler with no significant breakthroughs. The observations of contemporaries are thus crucial, and yet Fowler makes no use whatever of Governor Francis Bernard's unpublished papers, the most extensive commentary on Massachusetts politics in the 1760s, and very limited use of Thomas Hutchinson's papers. Granted, in both cases, the sources are sometimes fiercely biased against Hancock; but nearly every contemporary who wrote extensively about Hancock was critical of him, a notable fact with which Fowler does not deal.

Working from thin resources, Fowler is forced to familiar conclusions. Hancock lacked the intellectual power and depth of Adams and Otis, and "wore his political ideology much as he did his religion, as a cloak" (p. 136). He was both an aristocrat and a democrat whose rejection of rigid ideology made him flexible and adaptable. By lying low during controversy, he could emerge as the healer, drawing conflicting factions towards a consensus as

he did in the aftermath of Shays's rebellion and again with the ratification of the federal constitution. "Perhaps more than any other of his contemporaries," Fowler concludes, "he deserves to be enshrined as America's first modern politician" (p. 280). These are sound observations that fall tantalizingly short of satisfying the curious reader. What kind of society was it that chose its wealthiest member as a symbol of revolution? Perhaps this and other such questions cannot be answered in a biography. Yet, given the meager yield from Hancock's papers, one may wonder whether Hancock can ever be properly served by a conventional biography. Hancock's success as a politician may well be better shown against a more extensive historical analysis of Massachusetts society and politics, the complexities of which are barely suggested in this book.

STEPHEN E. PATTERSON
University of New Brunswick

ROBERT DAWIDOFF. *The Education of John Randolph*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1979. Pp. 346. \$17.95.

Of all the political figures of postrevolutionary Virginia, none has left a more vivid imprint than John Randolph. Paradoxical and enigmatic, he has defied the arts of past biographers. He will probably never be completely accessible to historians, but Robert Dawidoff has come closer than any previous writer in making Randolph's career, personality, and political ideas intelligible. His study is not a full-scale biography—others have written adequately about Randolph's political concepts and his congressional career. Nor is it a psychobiography except in a limited sense, for Dawidoff rightly insists that excessive reliance upon psychoanalytical techniques removes the subject from his place in time and projects a modern context that distorts the reality.

Dawidoff has sought the key to understanding Randolph in terms of his education, which comprises his family upbringing as well as his cultural and political education. All three were complementary to each other and uniquely suited his character. Dawidoff effectively demonstrates that behind Randolph's eccentricities (even at their most fantastic) there was a kind of consistency of thought and action relevant to his social milieu. Dawidoff's analysis of Randolph's conduct and ideas can be best summed up in the phrase that Randolph was guided by a "vision of America compounded of nostalgia for the Revolutionary and English past as well as for a *personal* past" (p. 210). It was a world more imaginary than real. His conservative views and his admiration for the values of a Virginia rooted in the colonial past were shaped in his child-

hood by his widowed mother to whom he was deeply attached. This stable world was shattered in his early twenties by the illness that rendered him impotent and by the scandal surrounding his elder brother, who died when Randolph was twenty-five.

His reading, for his formal education was sporadic, tended to complement this private sense of loss. He was most influenced by the early eighteenth-century English writers, largely of a Whig or "country" persuasion—writers who saw a world in decline and whose chief weapon was satire. Their wit, their bitterness, and their habitual opposition perfectly suited his temperament. They became his models and colored his public style that was so devoid of the then-favored legalistic mode of argumentation. The only contemporary writer for whom he felt an affinity was Lord Byron, who, like Randolph, was locked in an unrelenting protest against the social standards of his time. This offers an important clue for understanding Randolph's behavior. Admittedly eccentric, at times unstable, and perhaps even mad, there was apparent a self-conscious dramatization in most of Randolph's actions. His very aberrations were half cultivated as a means of registering his condemnation of the corrupt and decadent world of American democracy. Nothing stimulated him to rise to peaks of vituperation or extremities of behavior more than the presence of an audience. Dawidoff has successfully shown that Randolph used his personal style as a means of stating his disillusionment with the values of American society in his own day.

HARRY AMMON
Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale

RICHARD M. CLOKEY. *William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 305. \$18.95.

The broad pattern of William H. Ashley's role in the Rocky Mountain fur trade is well-known to historians of the American West. Never before has his trading activity been so carefully analyzed and integrated with other facets of his career as in this first full-length biography. Ashley, born in obscurity and poverty, abandoned his Virginia home at twenty years of age and headed west in 1798, ending his migration in Missouri. Here he became an entrepreneur in the lead mines, engaged in trading and land speculation, experimented with the making of gunpowder, joined and commanded the militia during the War of 1812, attaining the title of "General." Moving to St. Louis, he was enmeshed in politics, elected lieutenant governor, married,

and caught up in the life of the community. Forming a partnership with Andrew Henry, he resolved to break the established patterns of the fur trade by using hired men to replace Indian hunters. The first two seasons were disastrous, first with the supply ship sinking in the Missouri River and second with the Ree Indians attacking and blocking the accustomed movement of traders up that stream. This development proved a blessing in disguise because Ashley resolved to abandon the Missouri River system, send caravans overland, work the mountain streams, and, in time, substitute the rendezvous for the fixed trading post. After being defeated for the governorship, Ashley headed west and personally directed operations in the field in 1824–25 and at last attained the financial success he had been seeking. Andrew Henry had already retired, in disappointment, as Ashley's partner in the fur trade. At this juncture Ashley formed a new partnership with perhaps the ablest of his hired men, Jedediah Smith. In 1826, Ashley sold his interests to Bill Sublette and David E. Jackson, who with Smith formed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Henceforth, Ashley acted as supplier, banker, and agent for this company and its successors.

Ashley became a self-appointed publicist for the West and gained the reputation in government circles as both an informed and an effective expert. Although nominally a Jacksonian in politics, his ties with the business interests in St. Louis led him to support the national bank, thereby casting doubt on his party loyalty. In Missouri he attempted to follow an independent political course between the entrenched Democrats and rising Whigs. In 1831, he was elected to Congress, but gained the enmity of Thomas Hart Benton whose forces tried in vain to unseat him for the next five years. Never a skilled debator, Ashley failed to gain national prominence while Congress struggled with the great issues of the day—the national bank, nullification, land and transportation policy, and abolition agitation. Instead he worked for the interests of his constituents, seeking to extend the National Road to Missouri, extinguishing Indian titles to land, and promoting river clearance. While still a member of Congress, he ran for the governorship of Missouri in 1836 and was defeated by a unified Jacksonian party. He was moving toward affiliation with the Whigs when death came suddenly in 1838.

Perhaps Richard M. Clokey's greatest contribution is delineating the intricacies of Missouri politics in the 1830s, analyzing Ashley's role in Congress, and describing his personal and social life with three wives. Objectively he notes Ashley's weaknesses as well as his strengths in this long overdue biography. It is ironic that Ashley, who launched the careers of many a young mountain man already immortalized by biographers, novelists, and their

own memoirs, should wait so long to be rescued from comparative obscurity.

The research for this study has been wide-ranging and thorough. The notes, mostly to manuscript collections, provide testimony. The author has also ably utilized the research of other scholars interested in Ashley, notably Dale Morgan. The bibliography alone is a treasure.

W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
University of California,
Davis

ELBERT B. SMITH. *Francis Preston Blair*. New York: Free Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 481. \$15.00.

It is extraordinary that with all the scholarship devoted to the Jacksonian era over the past thirty-five years so little of it has been directed at the men who were the Hero's closest friends and advisers. Van Buren, Livingston, Taney, Kendall, Blair, Hill, Eaton, Lewis, Donelson, Overton, Coffee, and virtually all the members of Jackson's cabinet (with the notable exception of Louis McLane) lack modern scholarly biographies. The newest generation of historians apparently prefers to count Presbyterian churchgoers from 1830 to 1850 in Jacksonville, U.S.A. than grapple with the lives of the men who tried to steer the nation's attitudes on banking, the tariff, internal improvements, Indian removal, and the like.

Elbert B. Smith has attempted to remedy this lamentable situation with respect to at least one of the leading Jacksonians. His biography of Francis Preston Blair, founder and editor of the *Washington Globe* and an influential voice in shaping and propagating the Democratic Party line, is complete, useful, widely researched, and pleasingly written. Among other things it provides a great deal of valuable information about the establishment of the *Globe* not generally known and not presently available in any other printed source. The chapters concerned with the Bank War are particularly helpful.

Despite these merits and the satisfaction of having at last a one-volume study of a major personality of the middle period, the book is a disappointment. The principal fault is the lack of a detailed analysis of Blair's participation in the major events with which he was directly involved. Blair's journalistic prowess and the influence he exerted on Jackson and the Democratic Party are not fully revealed or explored; too much is glossed over. The author apparently feels it is enough to quote a few sharply worded editorials to explain Blair's success as an editor. In addition, the scholarship is sometimes sloppy. One paragraph presents Kendall's description of Jackson's first inaugural woven from quotations from several letters and newspaper accounts,

and the footnote simply states: "From January through June 1829 Kendall wrote Blair at least twice weekly" (p. 443 n. 10). Moreover, the discussion of the founding of the *Globe* is necessarily incomplete without reference to Kendall's long and important letter to Blair dated November 20, 1830, which provides significant details on the production and distribution of the newspaper.

Further doubts about the book are aroused when the author undertakes to inform the reader what Blair "would have" thought about the various interpretations of the Jacksonian era advanced by modern scholars. According to Smith, Blair "would have been both delighted and puzzled" by Schlesinger's *Age of Jackson* (p. 113), "would have agreed fully with John Ward's explanations" (p. 115), and "would have respected Edward Pessen's willingness to let opposing viewpoints speak for themselves" (p. 116). Smith carries this on for several pages and manages to include most present-day historians. But unlike Blair, I think, Smith has something agreeable to say about all of them. It is difficult to fathom what possessed the author to engage in this questionable exercise.

It would be unfair and a disservice to close this review on a negative note. Let it be clearly recorded that there is much to admire in this biography, particularly the amount of useful information it provides. Furthermore, it not only offers a lively account of an extraordinary man but also a portrait of a unique family and a dramatic narrative of a colorful political era in American history.

ROBERT V. REMINI
University of Illinois,
Chicago Circle

CHARLES H. BROWN. *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 525. \$25.00.

After a chapter introducing early nineteenth-century prototype filibusters Francisco de Miranda and Aaron Burr, Charles H. Brown has written a history of filibustering from 1848 until 1860. His story intertwines personalities, dramatic events, and anecdotes. He refers to possible themes such as slave expansionism, financial, merchant, and capitalist adventurers seeking fortunes, and idealists seeking to export American concepts of freedom, liberty, and democracy, without, however, pursuing any at length. Finally, undermining his few references to the broader significance of his study, Brown claims that social forces were not important—filibustering boils down to personality.

Most of Brown's tales are well known; despite the dust jacket reference to "thoroughly researched contemporary materials" and a moderately extensive

list of manuscript collections (which are seldom cited), this book is not based upon new original research. The manuscript holdings listed do not include such obvious materials as the State Department consular and diplomatic records, Navy Department records, British Foreign Office materials, and various private holdings such as the John Quitman, William Cazeneuve, and John Heiss collections, to name only a few. Since half of the text draws very heavily on William Walker's autobiographical account, Brown finds himself in a dilemma. When discussing his sources (pp. 442-44), Brown credits Walker with remarkable objectivity, while in the text he constantly observes the self-serving, deceptive, and deceitful character of Walker's narrative (pp. 200-04, 279-81, 288, 314). Important secondary studies relevant to filibustering, Southern expansion, British policy in Central America, including works by Eugene Genovese, Robert May, Wilbur Jones, and Kenneth Bourne, are not in the bibliography or notes.

When Brown does address himself to the serious broad questions involved (pp. 18, 41, 460), he refers neither to the history nor the historiography of such matters as slave system expansionism, commercial expansionism, or the role of the Monroe Doctrine. His indecisiveness often leads him to tell conflicting tales of personalities or events with no effort to resolve the issue (pp. 177-78, 197-99, 202-04, 324-25, 460). Finally, Brown assumes the "traditional" view that filibustering died with the Civil War, which by implication ties it to slavery. In fact there was further filibuster activity in the 1860s and after in Mexico, and at the turn of the century in Central America, where Yankee soldiers of fortune (Machine Gun Molony, Tex O'Reilley, Hustler Burns, Tracy Richardson, Sammy Dreben, and Lee Christmas) served political factions and business interests. Nonetheless, to recognize filibustering's continuation also suggests that slavery was not its necessary cause but rather that its roots were deeper and more enduring in American relations with the world. Were it not for the price, the book might well appeal to the interests of "military and popular history buffs," but it will hardly appeal at any price to "professional historians" who seek to understand the whys of filibustering.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER
Lafayette, Louisiana

ALBERT CASTEL. *The Presidency of Andrew Johnson*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1979. Pp. viii, 262. \$15.00.

It is a pleasure to welcome a book about Andrew Johnson to which the adjective "balanced" can be fairly applied. This study makes no claim to origi-

nal research (among unpublished sources only the presidential papers appear in the bibliography), but Albert Castel has studied the voluminous literature on Reconstruction thoroughly, patiently, and judiciously. Rejecting the absurd estimate of Johnson as a "near great" president and the equally unhistorical judgment that he was malignant, unscrupulous, and guided by an overpowering racism, he concludes that the presidency must be judged a failure but that "Johnson was far from being altogether wrong about Reconstruction, and the Republicans were far from being altogether right" (p. 230).

He argues that Presidential Reconstruction could have provided the basis for an enduring settlement. At the close of 1865 Johnson believed himself to be, and in fact was, on the verge of success but then ruined himself and the policy in which he believed by ineptitude in the use of power. Accepting the retrospective judgment of Gideon Welles that Johnson's fatal error lay in seeking to secure himself a further four years in the White House, Castel places more emphasis than some historians on driving ambition as an explanation for his more questionable decisions. This is, for instance, offered as the principal explanation for the wholesale issue of pardons in the fall of 1865; foreseeing that he would not be the nominee of the Republican Party in 1868 and realizing somewhat tardily the weakness of Southern unionism, Johnson planned to create an alliance between restored Southern leaders, conservative Republicans, and Democrats. Later he argues against the contention that Johnson ought to have endorsed the fourteenth amendment as a matter of political expediency, for this is "to ask for a Johnson who did not believe in white supremacy, who did not cherish states rights, who was willing to concede victory to his enemies, and who did not have political ambition. No such Johnson existed" (p. 105). There are other explanations for both incidents, but it must be conceded that none can be proved.

With a president who wrote so little and confided in few, a good deal of informed guesswork is permissible; but that being so Castel might have ventured some hypotheses to explain Johnson's apparent indifference to the plight of white Southern Unionists and his failure to use, in controversy with Congress, his real knowledge of the practical difficulty of making the South an ordered society if all members of the old ruling class were driven from public life. Castel may also be criticized for failing to discuss Johnson's decision to check and then reverse the distribution of land to freedmen. Final balance is achieved, however, in a chapter on "Johnson before the bar of history" and in an excellent bibliographical essay. A bonus not usually found in histories of Reconstruction is the dis-

cussion of two not unimportant events: the acquisition of Alaska and the initiation of an Indian policy aimed to civilize and protect.

WILLIAM R. BROCK
University of Glasgow

RALPH J. ROSKE. *His Own Counsel: The Life and Times of Lyman Trumbull*. (Nevada Studies in History and Political Science, number 14.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1979. Pp. 232. \$7.50.

This is number 14 of the Nevada series and the first to treat a subject of larger scope than state history. It is also the third "life and times" account of Lyman Trumbull. The first appeared in 1913 by editor and political ally, Horace White; the second in 1965 by Mark Krug of the University of Chicago. Ralph J. Roske after thirty years of a busy life in teaching, administration, and publication now publishes the subject of his doctoral dissertation.

The editors of the Nevada series were so strict in space limitations that Roske had to cut furiously from his original manuscript, which once was three times the size of the present volume. The result is a mixed blessing. Roske cut mostly "the times" out of his work and left Trumbull pretty well intact, a definite blessing, but stylistically the work is choppy and occasionally the flavor of old interpretations remains. One wishes that Roske had used the editors' limitations to confine himself still more exclusively to Trumbull the man, particularly since Krug wrote such an excellent life and times account.

Krug's title, "Conservative Radical," and Roske's "His Own Counsel" show agreement on Trumbull's political independence. Krug, however, pictured Trumbull as a moderate who often worked with Fessenden, Dixon, Doolittle, and Democrats to thwart radical measures and to control Congress. Trumbull's controversial vote for Johnson's acquittal fits in with this interpretation.

Roske portrays a more radical politician. He stresses Trumbull's active role in drafting the two confiscation acts; pressing for Scott's retirement; supporting the Peninsula campaign investigation, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Civil Rights Act; confiscation of abandoned lands for blacks, and low tariffs; and his opposition to big business. In marked contrast to Horace White's old biography, Trumbull is usually at odds with Lincoln rather than in agreement with him. Trumbull's demands for equal pay for equal work, his influence on William Jennings Bryan, and his support for the Populist party round out the radical picture. It is a fairly convincing argument.

Roske's most interesting contributions are his comments on the intimate side of Trumbull's life. Here we see a more ambitious politician than ever

before presented, one with expensive tastes and a love for high living. We see him ably and devotedly assisted by a down-state editor, George T. Brown, a heretofore unrecognized force in the Trumbull political organization. Trumbull was famous for obtaining patronage favors; now we see him cashing "his checks of political support" (p. 91). We get, also, a much larger view into Trumbull's family life.

A life of Lyman Trumbull is particularly difficult to write because the largest pertinent manuscript collections contain only letters to Trumbull. By prodigious work and long study, Roske has overcome this handicap and has produced the most authoritative work on Trumbull to date.

JAMES G. SMART
Keene State College

LAWRENCE N. POWELL. *New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, number 124.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1980. Pp. xiv, 253. \$15.00.

Lawrence N. Powell's monograph on Northern planters in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction is not only an important addition to Reconstruction literature but also a demonstration as to how American history should ideally be written. Following the example of Willie Lee Rose, who investigated the wartime experiment of growing Sea Island cotton with free labor under the direction of white Northerners, Powell undertakes to examine a much larger subject, the cultivation throughout the South of staples, mainly upland cotton, by Northerners during and immediately after the Civil War. Powell's thorough and imaginative research reveals a story of high adventure worthy of the Elizabethans.

Powell discovers that several thousand Northern former soldiers and civilians plunged into upland cotton growing after Appomattox. Hypnotized by high wartime prices, some army officers and civilians bought or leased plantations while others formed partnerships with Southerners to work the latter's plantations. For a time impoverished Southern landowners generally welcomed the influx of Northern would-be planters. In that period both Northern and Southern whites believed that the freedmen would work more willingly under the management of Northern whites than they would for their old masters. The new Northern cotton growers also believed that they could revolutionize Southern agriculture with superior Northern implements and farming methods. Consequently, the Northerners entered the cotton business expecting to become wealthy within three or four years.

All but a few of the Northern planters were

quickly disillusioned, according to Powell. The freedmen who wanted farms of their own worked without enthusiasm for their Northern employers. Worse still, cotton prices declined disastrously after 1867, and cotton crops were repeatedly damaged by unseasonably bad weather and by invasions of army worms and other cotton pests. Finally, federal taxes on cotton weighed as heavily on Northern planters as on former Confederates.

As prospects for large mutual profits dimmed, relations between Northern and Southern business associates turned sour. When many of the Northern planters became active in the various state Republican parties during the period of Congressional Reconstruction, local tolerance for them was replaced by hatred, and some discovered that their lives as well as their fortunes were in peril. By the mid-1870s most of the Northern cotton growers had left the South poorer than when they arrived. Powell reaches the conclusion that relations between the Northern planters and their Southern neighbors would have gradually improved through the years rather than deteriorating had the Northerners and their Southern associates been financially successful.

Anyone interested in Southern history, whether professional historian or casual reader, will find Powell's book difficult to lay aside until it has been read from start to finish.

JOHN HEBRON MOORE
Florida State University

LEON F. LITWACK. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1979. Pp. xvi, 651. \$20.00.

We often forget that the Civil War began a social revolution in the South. If the Northern victory brought neither political democracy nor social equality to the region, it did end slavery, thereby depriving the planters of much of their wealth, but, more important, destroying the slave-based social and economic system. For the four million blacks, the Yankee invasion and victory meant freedom, a condition they soon learned would have real meaning only to the extent that they were able to give it such meaning. In this richly documented, beautifully written, and sensitive book, Leon F. Litwack describes "the countless ways in which freedom was perceived and experienced by the black men and women who had been born into slavery and how they acted on every level to help shape their condition and future as freedmen and freedwomen" (p. xii).

Readers seeking an analysis of the changing federal policies towards the freedmen, the origins of the new free labor system, the political and economic impact of reconstruction, or of the development of

black leadership will not find it in this book, for such analyses are not what Litwack intends. Yet anyone interested in these and similar problems cannot ignore this book because it contains much that is relevant—indeed, indispensable—for such analyses.

What Litwack intends—and achieves admirably—is to describe the exhilarations, fears, expectations, and uncertainties of a people who found themselves free after generations of enslavement. It is a story of a people who had learned to survive as slaves subject to the will and the whim of their owners. Survival had always required accommodation to the will of the master and a struggle to maintain a semblance of dignity and to carve out a meaningful life within the confines of slavery.

Emancipation lifted the burdens of slavery and, the blacks soon learned, replaced them with the burdens of freedom, burdens that weighed heavily on the poor everywhere in the nation but were especially heavy for a people set free with neither wealth nor property and despised and feared by their former masters and often by their Northern liberators as well. Survival required new forms of accommodation, even as emancipation opened new opportunities.

Litwack's study is truly history from the bottom up—not in the form of cold aggregated statistics that are so characteristic of this genre, but in the form of descriptions of the actions, the thoughts, and the words of the common folk as they struggled with themselves and with their friends and enemies to make freedom meaningful. Reconstruction—political, economic, and social—cannot be understood apart from such struggles. Litwack gives detailed attention to each of the questions that historians have long considered—the initial response to emancipation, the efforts to reunite families, the struggle to achieve economic and political independence, the importance placed upon education, the emergence of black leadership, and the gradual evolution of a new ethnic consciousness under new conditions. Each is presented from the point of view or, more precisely, from the points of view of the blacks themselves. With remarkable ingenuity Litwack teases information from a vast array of sources, including planters' records, visitors' impressions, W.P.A. interviews, government documents, and secondary literature.

Some readers might object that Litwack is too long on detail and too short on generalization and analysis. He usually follows every discussion of one kind of response by a discussion of another, often contrary, response and then by variations of all kinds. He makes no effort to judge which responses were typical, which attitudes most common. It is the variety, the diversity of responses that Litwack wants his readers to see and appreciate.

Nevertheless, within this description of variety lies the underlying theme of the black quest for self-definition as a free people. Litwack writes that the struggle for education and the establishment of separate churches "reflected a growing if not fully developed sense of community and racial pride, even as it sharpened the separation from and accentuated the differences with both their northern friends and native whites" (p. 500). Like W. E. B. DuBois, whom he quotes approvingly, Litwack describes the two conflicting souls within the body of the black as he strives for self-definition in a society that is at once his own and alien. The book's final chapter describes black political organization and activities, but its title, "Becoming a People," summarizes this theme, a theme that gives this massive but always absorbing book coherence and makes it a unique and important contribution to our understanding of the meaning of the social revolution brought by emancipation.

HAROLD D. WOODMAN
Purdue University

ROBERT F. ENGS. *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1979. Pp. xx, 236. \$15.00.

The signal contribution of this account of how blacks responded to freedom is that it keeps the focus on the significant strides taken by Hampton blacks in the thirty years after 1861 to escape the encumbrances of illiteracy, poverty, and accommodation to whites imposed by slavery. At the same time, Robert F. Engs tells the familiar story of how black progress was impeded by maltreatment at the hands of federal agencies, the prejudices of Northern missionaries, the accommodationist philosophy of Hampton Institute, and, finally, the hostility of Southern whites.

When black refugees began pouring into Hampton from surrounding plantations at the onset of the Civil War, the town and nearby Fortress Monroe became a focal point of military and missionary activities to aid blacks. Early in this contact, a fundamental tension emerged between white views about what was best for blacks and the determination of blacks to define the goals of freedom for themselves. Engs is critical of the missionaries for attempting to impose their own middle-class social norms and denominational religious views upon blacks. Yet he stresses that the freedmen, especially those from the upcountry plantations in the interior, resisted the blandishments of the missionaries and held on to their accustomed social and religious practices. Ironically, those blacks native to Hampton, having experienced a much milder form of slavery than

most of the refugees and having been more closely associated with whites, became purveyors themselves to their "less enlightened" fellows of the values of hard work, sobriety, and thrift.

At the end of the war Hampton blacks sought to obtain an education, a good job, land, and the political power to defend their freedom. Their initial optimism gave way to disillusionment but not despair as they confronted a shift in Northern white attitudes toward viewing blacks as not just different but inferior. The logical application of these views by those who wanted to assist blacks was to develop teacher training institutes to equip black leaders to serve as civilizing agents among the masses of freedmen.

Out of such assumptions Hampton Institute was born, and its first principal, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, indelibly stamped it with his own educational philosophy for blacks. Wittingly or not, however, Armstrong also helped to develop a partnership between his school and the black elite in Hampton, which Engs credits for much of the progress that blacks made locally. The leaders in the black community at Hampton rejected Armstrong's paternalism and the limited opportunities of vocational education as they used the Institute to serve their own purposes. Ironically, about one in ten of the Institute's graduates went on to Northern schools to pursue a profession—usually with Armstrong's blessings and frequently with his intervention on their behalf. Equally ironic, Hampton graduates who remained in the town generally became active politically and assumed an assertive stance in local race relations, frequently to the benefit of the Institute.

The story of black Hampton is intriguing, though blacks there responded to freedom in much the same way as those described in the accounts of Willie Lee Rose, Joel Williamson, Peter Kolchin, and Leon Litwack. Engs's use of "romantic racialists," a term borrowed from George Fredrickson, to describe the tendency of missionaries to judge blacks by middle-class standards is unfortunate; it ignores the class distinctions, documented in this study, that shaped behavioral norms even among blacks. The unique feature of the black response in Hampton, according to Engs, was the success with which "much of the Northern plan for Southern reconstruction worked there" (p. 200). He attributes this success to the peculiar economic, demographic, social, and political features of Hampton.

Based on solid research, conceptually clear, and well written, Engs's study is a sympathetic treatment of Hampton blacks that fits their lives into the broader human strivings of a tumultuous era.

JOSEPH H. CARTWRIGHT
Murray State University

JAMES OLIVER HORTON and LOIS E. HORTON. *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1979. Pp. xv, 175. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$8.95.

ELIZABETH HAFKIN PLECK. *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston 1865-1900*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 239. \$17.50.

Taken together, these two books provide an overview of a century of black life in the city of Boston, covering economic conditions, families, community and religious organizations, and politics. This is intensive coverage of a small and not particularly representative group of people. Boston blacks numbered only 2,261 in 1860, and the city was rather removed from the main routes of black postbellum migration (which in any case was not large in the aggregate before 1900). In both cases the size allows the authors to take a 100 percent sample of the black population, tracing the fortunes of individuals and households from census to census. Both before and after the war, the studies find that even in the liberal city of Boston, blacks suffered from discrimination and were heavily concentrated in menial and unskilled jobs. From the perspective of the national black population, however, the Boston group was something of an elite.

James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, who are respectively historian at George Washington University and sociologist at George Mason University, pay some attention to developing a quantitative description of occupational levels, literacy, residential concentration, and behavioral patterns such as marriage, migration, and taking in boarders. Their chief concern, however, is demonstrating the existence and vigor of the antebellum black community in Boston, particularly the tradition of concerted social protest. To this end they cite an impressive array of sources, such as petitions, political tracts, membership lists, antislavery society minutes, and municipal records. They identify both formal and informal associations, from churches and debating societies to gambling houses and barber-shop gossip. The most vivid parts of the book are the accounts of the rescues of fugitives from slavery, including many dramatic successes but also heartbreaking failures in cases like those of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns.

The quantitative materials are often informative, but they are not the strongest part of the Hortons' book. (Between pages 2 and 4 there is a substantial discrepancy in two reported figures for the 1840 black population that is not explained even though it affects several statements in the text.) But the pic-

ture painted by the Hortons of the black political community is moving and persuasive. They identify and describe many black activist leaders, but they also show that in moments of crisis the black community displayed a solidarity and participation that extended to large numbers of quite ordinary, unsung working-class men and women.

This tradition of community identity was severely strained by the inflow of Southern black migrants to the city between 1870 and 1900, which is the subject of Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck's study. Differences and tensions between older black families and new arrivals would hardly be surprising, except that the pre-1900 immigrants were themselves something of a select group. Pleck's approach is more heavily quantitative and concerned with explicit hypothesis testing. By using not only the federal manuscript census but also Boston marriage records, she is able to ascertain the towns and counties of birth for the Southern migrants. She finds that they mainly came from a handful of counties in the Virginia Tidewater and were disproportionately from urban backgrounds (Richmond being the largest single source). The majority were literate. Since blacks were no more than 2 percent of the Boston population before World War I, the city was not exactly overrun by ignorant black field hands at that time.

The remarkable finding is that neither the Boston traditions nor the favorable background were much help. Pleck shows that black upward mobility was severely limited, especially in contrast to the Irish. They were shut out of jobs in department stores, factories, trade unions, and the public sector, remaining predominantly in menial and unskilled work. Those avenues of advancement that were occasionally open (chiefly self-employment and small shops) were vulnerable to high failure rates and downward skidding, even for blacks with education and skills. In a few instances Pleck's conclusion might be changed by more rigorous specification and statistical testing, as when she downplays the importance of the absolute size of the black population in promoting black jobs. But the basic story of blocked opportunity is spelled out clearly.

An important part of the book is the chapter on black families. The author specifically retracts some of the conclusions of her influential 1972 article, which argued that the "two parent household" was the dominant family form among blacks. Her subsequent research with longitudinal data shows that many of these unions were transitory and short-lived. It was not the pathology of black culture that created this situation, however, but the inability of black males to move into secure, well-paying positions as they matured. This interpretation of black family history gives the book a broader significance

than its somewhat specialized coverage might suggest.

GAVIN WRIGHT
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

WILLIAM TOLL. *The Resurgence of Race: Black Social Theory from Reconstruction to the Pan-African Conferences*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1979. Pp. ix, 270. \$19.50.

This book has an interesting subject. William Toll has attempted to trace the ways in which black intellectuals thought and planned strategy in the face of the challenges of the post-Civil War era down to 1919 when the Pan-African Congress was held in Paris.

Most of the period was one in which the lot of the black intellectual, like that of blacks generally, was almost hopelessly discouraging. Most students of the period know that W. E. B. DuBois differed profoundly from Booker T. Washington as to what strategies blacks should pursue. What Toll does is to attempt to tell the reader what the other black intellectuals of the period thought. Some of them held political offices, some taught, and others were also in a position in which they were obliged, to some extent, to conciliate white opinion. Considering the circumstances, many of them spoke up with a commendable forthrightness.

Toll makes many shrewd observations about various black intellectuals. One of his difficulties is, however, that he has written a short book about a large number of people. He has not learned the knack of combining analysis with quotations, thus allowing readers to judge partially for themselves the traits of character of a person or the value of his ideas. What readers often get instead is a brief analysis of the views of a person they do not know well or may never have heard of, often with little aid in explaining why that person took a particular position.

In one instance there is an odd statement in the book that may make the reader wonder whether Toll himself is a racist. There is a quotation from Alexander Crummell chiding the black politicians of the 1890s. "Believe me there is no race of people on the American soil who have greater native genius than this race of ours," said Crummell. "Our only difficulty has been opportunity. The mongrel everywhere inches forward . . . , the Negro through the very instinct of his innate genius, modestly retires, and hence is rarely estimated at his true worth." Crummell himself was apparently disparaging mulattoes, and it is odd to notice that Toll includes his statement as if it were a justified criticism of those black politicians who "lacked an ap-

preciation of race." It may be, it is true, that Toll did not intend to imply any criticism of the supposed innate traits of mulattoes.

The book has a great many errors. The name of Charles W. Chesnutt is consistently misspelled, though he is one of Toll's important figures. Toll also has an unfortunate fondness for such words and phrases as "perigrinatioous," (for well-traveled), "entrepreneurial [sic] ethos," "cliques of cohorts," "enthused," "nascent ethnic group," "syndrome of dependence," and "launched a journalistic career." This is too bad because Toll knows a great deal about his subject. A good editor could have helped to transform this book from a seriously flawed work into something quite good.

THOMAS F. GOSSETT
Wake Forest University

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 217. \$16.95.

Richard Griswold del Castillo's study of Mexican Americans in nineteenth-century Los Angeles is a worthy addition to the rapidly growing literature on the Chicano urban experience. A generally solid, constantly revealing book, it combines painstaking research, careful analysis, and clear exposition.

Following an introductory chapter synthesizing the pre-1846 history of California, the book proceeds topically. Four chapters, each encompassing the 1850-90 period, address such topics as socioeconomic changes, the development of Chicano consciousness, and the Chicano political decline. Thirty-six statistical tables, constructed mainly from the author's culling of multiple sources, provide fascinating insights into such varied subjects as year-by-year Chicano intermarriage, occupational shifts, jury participation, and changes in property-holding. The book would have been more readable and cohesive, however, had the author avoided pocking his text with lengthy, distracting, methodological discussions and instead placed these in explanatory footnotes or appendixes.

As portrayed by Griswold del Castillo, Los Angeles Chicanos emerge not as the homogeneous, passive victims of stereotypical fame, but as internally diverse, active participants in the simultaneous struggles to maintain their sociocultural fabric and to capture a part of the American Dream. The author effectively demonstrates that the Chicano decline occurred not because of cultural weaknesses but as the almost inevitable result of Anglo prejudice, numerical domination, and control of political and economic institutions.

In addition to its broad overview, the book is also

replete with interesting historical tidbits: while women headed only 13 percent of Los Angeles households in 1844, by 1880 they led more than 31 percent of Mexican-American families; in post-conquest Los Angeles Mexican Americans expanded their presence as bakers, blacksmiths, and carpenters, but disappeared completely from the ranks of hatmakers, masons, and tailors; and the Anglo-controlled Los Angeles school board rejected Chicano pleas for bilingual education three times during the 1850s.

The book's only major flaw is the author's inconsistency in using national and ethnic categories. At times he treats pre-1846 Los Angeles as part of Mexico, which it was. At times he seems to treat it as already part of the U.S. Southwest, which it was not. At times Los Angeles seems to be floating in nonnational space. For example, the table on birthplaces of 1844 Los Angelenos presents 2,018 as being born in Los Angeles, but only 110 as being born in northern Mexico (p. 9), most unlikely since Los Angeles was part of northern Mexico. Another table lists 1,469 Spanish-speaking persons in 1844 Los Angeles, but only 135 Mexican-born residents, with the Mexican-born composing only 9.2 percent of the city (p. 40). Then where were the other 1,334 Spanish-speaking residents born? Another table cites a "total Mexican-American work force" of 373 in 1844 (p. 53), which is dubious, since Los Angeles was then part of Mexico, not the United States, so there were probably few, if any, Mexican Americans in the city. It is a shame that Griswold del Castillo should have fallen into these categorical inconsistencies and inaccuracies, because they taint an otherwise admirable book and fine piece of scholarship.

CARLOS E. CORTÉS
University of California,
Riverside

WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH. *The Blind Boss & His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 347. \$19.95.

William A. Bullough has markedly increased our knowledge of both San Francisco and urban history by his political biography of Christopher Buckley. The book follows the career of this city boss from his earliest ventures into politics, to his salad days of the 1880s, to his subsequent eclipse. Bullough's main concerns are Buckley himself, his political strategies, the changing metropolis, and the increasingly obsolescent institutional context in which Buckley operated. Using this quadripartite model of analysis, Bullough has produced a precocious defense of the Blind Boss, which largely agrees with

the classical apologia for machine politics and bossism. In the author's skillful hands, the media monster—"The Blind White Devil"—is transformed into Christopher Augustine Buckley, self-made man, political realist, devoted husband and father, and sometime gentleman vintner from the Livermore Valley.

Although Buckley's personality and gifts are prominently featured, Bullough's volume is consistently structuralist. The tension between the structure of a dynamic metropolis and a static city charter produces the opportunities for informal government exploited by the boss, and the boss himself is conditioned in most ways by the city as well. In a sense, everything about the story is deterministic—urban growth makes the 1856 city charter obsolete and necessitates an informal government to supplement the formal one, and urban life creates and molds a political man who can cope with the city for about ten years. Then the metropolis changes again, rendering Buckley obsolete and necessitating new political men and structures better suited to its needs.

Some critics may be mildly disturbed by this structural determinism and perhaps, to a lesser extent, by the relative neglect of the socioeconomic bases of politics and of the analysis of election returns, or by the author's unwillingness to venture much beyond the boss-reform duality of urban political analysis. The main flaw, however, in this superb account of the Blind Boss is its episodic treatment of public policy, since much of the classical apologia for machine politics rests upon the assumption that bosses managed their cities better than their reform successors would. The many failures in the realm of public policy undermine the author's conviction that San Francisco's boss overcame the obsolescence of the charter, managed social and economic conflict, and so on.

Forthcoming studies that narrowly concentrate upon the policy or socioeconomic aspects of city politics may well challenge some of Bullough's findings, but they will merely supplement rather than replace this full, fair-minded, and subtle treatment of a misunderstood political figure.

ROGER W. LOTCHIN
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

CARL F. KAESTLE and MARIS A. VINOVSIS. *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980. Pp. xxi, 349. \$22.50.

The past decade or so has witnessed the emergence of an exciting and ideologically charged historiography of American public education. "Idealist" or

"democratic" interpretations of institutional innovation have been challenged by studies stressing themes of social control and class conflict. The historians engaged in this revisionist enterprise have been distinguished by their critical stance toward our educational past, but the genuine value and appeal of this body of work derives, I think, from another quality that is apparent in several key works: it is ambitious history marked by powerful interpretive thrusts and bold theoretical synthesis. In seeking the sources of educational change, these historians have looked toward broad social processes, most particularly urbanization and industrialization, in their pursuit of theory and interpretation.

Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, in their study of public education in nineteenth-century Massachusetts, question the central themes of this historiography. They also exemplify what seems to be a growing methodological conservatism in several areas of American historiography. On page one they announce that they "do not present a theory of educational development in this volume." If one might expect theory in what the dust jacket for this book calls "social science history," a different lesson is here offered for the profession. What one finds here instead is the disaggregation of broad questions and the inventive manipulation of quantitative data.

This relentless narrowing of questions works against the development of an over-arching thesis. It does, however, produce some important clarifications and amplifications of particular points, though the general thrust of the historiography they are challenging stands up better against the data than their commentary suggests. Probably their strongest contribution to our sense of nineteenth-century educational history derives from their distinction between rural and urban educational history. The recent literature has focused on urban schools; Kaestle and Vinovskis show that many of the conventional issues in education had different meanings in rural and urban contexts. For example, worries about school attendance took two different forms. In rural Massachusetts the proportion of school-age children attending school was high, but the intensity, or total class days in the school year, was low. In the city more were truants, but those who attended had a more intense educational experience. Emphasizing such rural-urban differences helps them to make another important point about centralization: much of the history of public education in the nineteenth century is the gradual extension of the urban model over rural education as well.

Kaestle and Vinovskis also work hard to distinguish, with chronological as well as analytical precision, between commercial and manufacturing

influences. Here too they make an important contribution: educational development seems to correlate positively with commercial indicators and inversely with manufacturing ones in respect to most key questions. What is most interesting about their consideration of economic variables, however, is the broad synthesizing concept that seems to be lurking, unloved and unembraced yet implicit, in their data. There seems to be a connection between educational development and the development of a capitalistic spirit in all economic sectors (rural and urban). But such a broad and diffuse theoretical synthesis would, no doubt, be suspect to historians so intent on "sharpening" historical questions, so explicitly hostile to causal statements phrased as "one to one relationships" as opposed to a series of ecological clusters, and so naively wary of ideology.

THOMAS BENDER
New York University

PAOLO E. COLETTA. *Bowman Hendry McCalla: A Fighting Sailor*. Washington: University Press of America. 1979. Pp. vii, 210. \$10.25.

The author of a *New York Times* obituary published in 1910 asserted that Bowman McCalla was probably one of "the three best known American naval officers of recent times," and Paolo E. Coletta considers him to have been a "minor major figure" (p. iv). Both statements seem exaggerated, the first because George Dewey, William T. Sampson, Winfield S. Schley, Alfred T. Mahan, and Robley D. Evans, to name but a few, must have been at least as well known seventy years ago; the second because McCalla's importance seems to have been slight when compared with that of several of his contemporaries.

Graduating from the Naval Academy at the end of the Civil War, McCalla served in routine fashion afloat and ashore until 1881, when he became detail officer in the Bureau of Navigation under the formidable Commodore John G. Walker. In this position, which he held for six years, McCalla was responsible for officer assignments. He also advocated various reforms, winning friends among his progressively inclined fellows while making enemies of some others. In his first command, he gained an unenviable reputation as a disciplinarian who resorted to illegal punishments. Complaints led to a general court martial and suspension from the Navy for three years. He then returned to active duty, distinguishing himself as a cruiser captain and landing-force commander in the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the Boxer Rebellion. His exploits—and the wealth acquired by marriage—enabled him to be restored to his original place on the Navy List. He was promoted

to flag rank but failed to obtain the fleet command he thought his due before his retirement in 1906.

In retirement, McCalla wrote a lengthy memoir, on which Coletta relies heavily, although the book's thirteen-page bibliography contains an impressive array of other sources. Reliance on one's subject's memoir, no matter how correct it may be with regard to dates, assignments, and so forth, is likely to be unwise; it has led Coletta to accept McCalla's views almost without question and to argue his case in very uncritical fashion. The most obvious example of Coletta's partiality is his attempt to explain McCalla's most flagrant misconduct—slashing an intoxicated sailor with his sword while the sailor was confined in double-irons. Less than a year later, McCalla disgraced his service and himself by his drunken antics in a foreign port, an incident that Coletta records virtually without comment. This lack of objectivity, beneficial to neither McCalla nor Coletta, overshadows the book's other defects, many of which could have been prevented by competent editing.

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON
University of Alabama

ALLON GAL. *Brandeis of Boston*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 271. \$16.50.

In this study of Louis D. Brandeis, lawyer, progressive, Zionist, and later Supreme Court jurist, Allon Gal has confined his account largely to Brandeis's Boston residency, from 1879 to 1916. Based on intensive study of a wide variety of sources, the author has sought to understand and explain Brandeis's social, ethical, and psychological development during these years.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Brandeis grew up in a prosperous, liberal, cultured family without any particular religious bent. After study in Kentucky and in Germany, Brandeis entered Harvard Law School in 1875, where he established friendships with both professors and fellow students, some of which he maintained for many years. Some two years after graduating at the top of his class, he joined in a law partnership with classmate Samuel D. Warren, a member of a prominent Boston family. For two decades this was a highly successful law firm that had as clients representatives of Boston's various ethnic groups including Brahmins, Jews, and Irish.

This mosaic changed, however, as Brandeis assumed a leading role in reform drives against special interest forces in the city. Illustrative of these crusades were his opposition to the New Haven Railroad merger that alienated some of Boston's banking leaders, his fight against the corrupt Democratic machine of John Francis Fitzgerald (Honey

Fitz), and his confrontation with the United Shoe Machinery Company that had the support of some of the city's oldest families. In the course of these campaigns Brandeis shifted from a Mugwump to a progressive and became friends with Robert M. La Follette and Woodrow Wilson. According to the author, the central pressure against President Wilson's appointment of Brandeis to his cabinet as attorney general came from the Boston community. During these years of struggle he became increasingly associated with Jewish organizations and identified himself more with Jewish society in Boston. Eventually, he became a leader in the Zionist movement, which he saw as "the best method for preserving the most notable accomplishments of Jewish civilization" (p. 207).

Though described as a biography, this work is rather more specialized than that. Gal, for example, seldom discusses Brandeis's family or social life except to stress his increasing alienation from Boston society. Essentially, this is a study of Brandeis's intellectual growth and those forces that helped mold his thought during his years as a Boston attorney. Within his self-imposed limits, Gal has written a carefully researched, erudite study of one of the great progressives of the twentieth century. It adds measurably to our knowledge of the man and the period.

ROBERT S. MAXWELL
Stephen F. Austin State University

PHILIP S. FONER. *Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I*. New York: Free Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 621. \$15.95.

Many book titles promise too much, but the title of this book is both broader and narrower than the contents. On the one hand, there was no "labor movement" in the colonial and early national periods and until the middle 1820s not even a work stoppage in which women participated. On the other hand, a chapter on black women before the Civil War, mostly free black women (a few of whom apparently attempted to form associations), is an unexpected bonus in a book about women and the labor movement. For background Philip S. Foner draws from his *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (1947-60). On this he superimposes an impressive richness of detail about working women and their efforts to organize.

According to Foner, some one hundred female weavers took part in the first factory workers' strike at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1824. In the 1830s women textile workers in New England frequently "turned out," and in the 1840s these operatives formed some of the earliest unions in American industry. Militant shoebinders founded the first na-

tional union of women workers, the Daughters of St. Crispin, in 1859. But these attempts fell victims to employer resistance, social disapproval, male antagonism, and hard times. In the post-Civil War period both the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor affirmed the equality of all workers and made at least sporadic efforts to organize women. In the Knights, particularly, thousands of women "found a sisterhood" and were among the most militant unionists of the 1880s. The American Federation of Labor, in its turn, gave lip service to the organization of women but only feeble support. The few women's unions that existed at the turn of the century were largely the work of the women themselves.

Approximately one-half of this book is concerned with the period from 1900 to 1915. Foner covers, among other topics, the work of the National Women's Trade Union League (founded in 1903 and the first national body whose purpose was to organize women workers), women's involvement in the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), the Waistmakers' Strike of 1909-10, and the Lawrence Strike of 1912—all topics treated elsewhere but here brought conveniently together. Foner's sympathies are clearly with the women.

A straightforward narrative account, *Women and the American Labor Movement* is a good treatment of the general subject for the years it covers. In addition to printed monographs, Foner has searched public documents, union records, a wide selection of newspapers and periodicals, and unpublished dissertations. His short biographies of women labor leaders are especially commendable. The book deserves a better index, for at least two-thirds of the index pages include errors in alphabetizing, a few so serious as to impair the usefulness of the book as a reference work. Foner plans a second volume to bring his subject to the present.

IRENE D. NEU
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JAMES P. JOHNSON. *The Politics of Soft Coal: The Bituminous Industry from World War I through the New Deal*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 258. \$13.50.

The history of American industries is in large part a success story, focused on the wealthy and powerful. In the studies of our modern economy and political economy, we see recounted again and again the affairs of the moguls and their giant corporate empires. It is thus refreshing to read in James P. Johnson's saga of soft coal's politics an engaging analysis of an industry that never quite made it. The author shows in this thoroughly researched and well-writ-

ten study how the industry's regional structure and intense competition thwarted all those who sought stability, either through private or public means.

The reader finds here no record of business dominance of public affairs. During World War I, the industry's erstwhile leaders so bungled things that the government took control of production and prices under the Fuel Administration. Similarly, in the twenties the national spokesman for soft coal became John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, who more than the coal capitalists led the efforts to bring competition under control. Again, in the New Deal years Lewis was dominant in creating a coal code under the National Recovery Administration and in pushing for the passage of the Guffey Acts, which brought the industry under the authority of the National Bituminous Coal Commission. For a time the NRA code seemed to work. Prices and profits started a slow upward climb. But only World War II rescued the industry from depression—as it did the rest of the economy.

There is little to criticize, much to praise about this book. While one might have wished for some entirely new ideas about the interpretive context, Johnson deserves applause for the skillful manner in which he uses his case study to answer some of the central questions that have dominated this field of history in recent years. Thus, he considers whether the analogue of war modeled American responses to the Great Depression and finds that the two situations were dissimilar, indeed were polar opposites, in most regards. Johnson also rejects the idea of industrial self-government as a central theme of business-government relations. Neither a liberal nor a New Left interpretation fully captures the political history of this fragmented industry. Johnson's conclusions are similar to those of K. Austin Kerr and Ellis W. Hawley, two authors who have made important contributions to our understanding of America's modern political economy. Given the high quality of Johnson's research, writing, and analysis, he fully deserves comparison with these accomplished scholars. Johnson's descriptive passages and interpretations stamp him as an author whose future work will have a significant impact upon this field of American history.

LOUIS GALAMBOS
Johns Hopkins University

JAMES B. LANE. *"City of the Century": A History of Gary, Indiana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1978. Pp. xi, 339. \$12.50.

How one evaluates this book depends much upon whether it is viewed as a scholarly historical account or as a popular journalistic presentation. According to the author, his intention was "to write a

general introduction to Gary's history with special emphasis on specific individuals—both common people and civic leaders" (p. x). The table of contents implies that the author has written a concise view of Gary's background and its general development from its founding in 1906 to the 1970s. As this reviewer proceeded through the book chapter by chapter, however, he became convinced that the table of contents and the subtitle, *A History of Gary, Indiana*, are more cosmetic than authentic.

There is ample justification for popular journalistic presentations, but seldom if ever can they serve as clones for scholarly histories. As a popular journalistic venture, "*City of the Century*" has considerable merit and appeal. Its sketches, though generally loosely related, offer useful information and perspectives about the context and atmosphere in which Gary was born and has since developed. Many sketches reflect familiarity with useful sources, while others make thin and one-sided use of available evidence. But viewed as a historical account, this book is disjointed, fragmentary, and inadequately researched. It suffers by comparison with *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* (1959), by Powell A. Moore, which covers the history of Gary to about 1933. Hopefully James B. Lane will subsequently produce a sequel to this volume that will both add to and update Moore's informative, readable, and scholarly volume.

DONALD F. CARMONY
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JAMES M. SMALLWOOD. *An Oklahoma Adventure: Of Banks and Bankers*. (Oklahoma Horizons Series.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, for the Oklahoma Heritage Association. 1979. Pp. xiv, 242. \$9.75.

Although many of the states in the Sunbelt and the Southwest experienced a spectacular surge of growth in the 1970s, the historical literature concerning their development is still exceedingly sparse. Since rapid population growth in these areas is likely to continue during the remainder of this century, the need for scholarly studies of their growth in the last one hundred years is particularly great. Among the many works needed to analyze the westward shift of power in America during this period, those dealing with the region's economic history are among the most essential. Almost every aspect of Western economic growth requires analysis in depth, and the field of banking is no exception.

James M. Smallwood's narrative account of the development of banks in Oklahoma from eighteenth-century beginnings to the present day is therefore welcome. With a generous sprinkling of

anecdotes he recounts the beginnings of merchant banking in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Oklahoma and increasing specialization by 1890 when the area became a territory. Thereafter, increasing population and the expansion of commerce and agriculture created a pressing need for banking services that was met by hundreds of new banks before statehood (1907). According to the author, these institutions functioned well, guided only by the bankers' self-restraint and by territorial regulations, copied directly from the older states. More than two-thirds of the book deals with the twentieth century: Smallwood describes the effects of the oil boom of the 1920s, the impact of the Great Depression and the Second World War, and the rise of agribusiness and the petrochemical industries after 1945 on Oklahoma banking.

The study is adequately researched and competently written. Smallwood combed the archives of the Oklahoma Bankers Association and the random records kept by more than a score of small rural banks. He also consulted government documents, newspapers, and magazines. In the absence of secondary works on the subject, the author had few guideposts and had to chart out virgin territory. This book may not be the last word on the history of banking in Oklahoma. But as the first word, it opens up a hitherto obscure field to further inquiry and thus makes a genuine contribution to the history of Oklahoma and the twentieth-century West.

GERALD D. NASH
University of New Mexico

JOHN SAMUEL EZELL. *Innovations in Energy: The Story of Kerr-McGee*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 542. \$17.50.

This book traces the history of a company noted for its innovative approaches to energy production. As John Samuel Ezell puts it, "The goal has been to write a 'traditional' history of a major corporate development with emphasis on the human elements who made it work" (p. xiii). This is precisely what he has done.

The firm began as Anderson and Kerr Drilling Company, which commenced contract oil-drilling operations in the flush Oklahoma oil fields of the late 1920s. Robert S. Kerr, a lawyer, and his brother-in-law James Anderson, a knowledgeable oilman, were in the right place at the right time. Their combined talents enabled the company to survive the era of excess production and economic depression of the 1930s. Anderson left the firm in 1936 and Dean A. McGee, chief geologist for Phillips Petroleum, joined it shortly thereafter. Kerr devoted his time increasingly to politics, serving as Oklahoma's governor and then as United States

Senator. However, he stayed in close touch with his company and maintained formal titles of leadership there throughout his public career, inevitably giving rise to charges of conflict of interest. Kerr was the enthusiastic risk-taker; McGee was his "balance-wheel." Together they made a formidable entrepreneurial team.

Kerr-McGee pioneered in offshore drilling after World War II. It remained prominent in this field, though it lost its leadership position because of McGee's caution. On the other hand, he led it to a position of national stature in integrated energy operations. In 1952, for example, the company acquired its first uranium-mining company and went on to become a key concern in this field. Meanwhile, petroleum operations were expanded. In the late 1960s, oil, gas, and contract drilling provided about two-thirds of the company's net income while uranium contributed about a quarter.

Senator Kerr died in 1963, leaving McGee to lead an expanding enterprise in such areas as fertilizer manufacture, coal mining, and helium production. Ezell ends his coverage of these developments in 1977 when Kerr-McGee had a gross annual income in excess of \$2 billion and ranked 101 on *Fortune's* list of the 500 largest industrial corporations.

As the history of a significant American energy company, this book appears at an opportune time. It records another American business success story, where, despite occasional reverses, hard work and talent win out. To the author's credit, he does not duck such issues as conflict-of-interest charges against Senator Kerr or the mysterious death of Karen Silkwood, a Kerr-McGee employee who was allegedly about to blow the whistle on the company's security practices in its uranium operations. However, little new light is shed on these matters, and the chronological organization of the book sacrifices some depth to breadth of coverage. The net result is a useful company history of the traditional type, as the author promised.

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
University of Maine,
Orono

DAVID E. KYVIG. *Repealing National Prohibition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1979. Pp. xix, 274. \$21.00.

David E. Kyvig's book promises an explanation of the repeal process. To provide it he focuses upon the organized antiprohibitionists, for two reasons. First, sufficient quantitative data is not available to analyze shifts in public opinion, and such analysis, if it were possible, would probably not improve our understanding of how the process developed. Second, the repeal movement played a key role by provid-

ing a means for shifts in public opinion to become politically effective.

The movement portrayed here is the same narrowly based group described by earlier scholars, although Kyvig draws attention to the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform and its claims to a membership larger than that of the WCTU. Leaders of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA) were distinguished both by their wealth and by their obsession with growing federal power; Kyvig emphasizes the latter over the former in explaining AAPA resistance to prohibition. No matter what their motives, major repeal organizations employed the same broad range of arguments. None made much progress until after 1929, when the Depression increased popular support for repeal. Meanwhile, AAPA leader John J. Raskob used his position as Democratic Party national chairman to commit the party to repeal, thereby creating a channel for rising repeal sentiment. Once repeal was accomplished, AAPA leaders' decentralist philosophy led them into futile opposition to the New Deal through the Liberty League. Kyvig concludes by arguing that prohibition's passing signified abandonment of the progressive belief in regulating individual behavior through law.

As a description of the leadership of the repeal movement, Kyvig's study adds depth to our understanding of motive and conduct, although the connection between ideas and action needs to be tested through comparison with dry leadership and with other wealthy businessmen. As an explanation of the repeal process it is inadequate. The plea of insufficient data rings hollow since Kyvig has not analyzed the county-level voting data already gathered for at least two states. His dismissal of voting data in advance simply reveals his ignorance of quantitative method. The assertion of organized antiprohibitionists' key role is supported only by following his subjects through the Democratic party's internecine struggles in 1931 and 1932. This procedure unfortunately cannot provide the assessment of the roles of antiprohibitionists outside the repeal organizations that his argument requires. The claim for repeal as a watershed in government's willingness to regulate individual behavior will not convince those who remember that prohibition itself was aimed at institutional change, nor those familiar with government action against groups such as cannabis users during and since the New Deal.

When a full study of repeal is written, *Repealing National Prohibition* will be useful for its examination of the repeal leadership. But Kyvig's book is not that study.

JACK S. BLOCKER, JR.
Huron College,
London, Ontario

MICHAEL L. BERGER. *The Devil Wagon in God's Country: The Automobile and Social Change in Rural America, 1893-1929*. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1979. Pp. 269. \$17.50.

Of all the unintended consequences of our automotive love affair, perhaps the most ironic was the car's modernization of rural life. Originally a tool of the back-to-nature movement at the turn of this century, the car was sold to affluent city dwellers seeking to escape a disturbing urban-industrial landscape. Motoring offered an easy return to the frontier experiences idealized by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893. When car manufacturers began to exploit the farm market after 1910, their pitch was similarly nostalgic: the automobile would preserve country life by ending the poverty and loneliness that drove so many rural people to the city. The results were very different. The car disrupted rural America's institutions, regionalized its commerce, and urbanized its social relationships.

In a thoughtful but somewhat disorganized discussion of rural family life, community relations, leisure, religion, education, and health, Michael L. Berger suggests the complex trade-offs facing country people as they switched from horse to car. In multiplying the number of miles one could travel in a day, the car upset a variety of traditions, values, and institutions that had depended on a smaller, horse-bound spatial radius. For example, while the car did help relieve the perennial isolation of farm people, especially women and children, it probably increased their dissatisfaction by raising expectations. Cars carried them to clubs, movies, dances, and regional schools, where they were exposed to subversive ideas. Moreover, while motorization increased the number and range of a family's social contacts, these acquaintanceships may have been more tentative, less sustaining than those with next-door neighbors, upon whom farmers relied so deeply in pre-car days. Similarly, as rural people traveled greater distances to more sophisticated stores and doctors, the smaller village entrepreneurs who had served carriage-borne clients went out of business. Motorized shoppers and patients now enjoyed more freedom and better quality, but these goods and services were rendered more impersonally. With the passing of the country store and country doctor, many small villages disappeared altogether. In all, the car substituted a more regionalized network of road-oriented consumers for the older, more localized community of land-locked producers.

In documenting these changes, Berger carefully avoids an easy nostalgia for the pre-car country life. Individuals clearly preferred the car. Yet Berger is far too reluctant to weigh the social costs and benefits. The book leaves too many issues unsettled. For example, at one point Berger implies that motoriza-

tion may have hurt many family farmers because it increased their production when agricultural markets were already saturated; prices thus began to fall just at the time that the costs of farming began to rise. Unfortunately, he does not pursue this, other than to allow that the automobile's alleged contribution to agricultural prosperity was "open to question" (p. 45).

Overall, the book contains much valuable information, but it lacks a clear thrust. Berger concludes that the "structure of rural social life" changed vastly (p. 212), but he does not define this structure very clearly. The book lacks the specific geographical focus of Norman Moline's *Mobility and the Small Town* (1971) or the Lynds' *Middletown*. It does not clearly differentiate between regions or between farm and small village. Yet, at the same time, Berger is too hesitant to generalize, to connect to a theory of social change. The book has a theme, but not a thesis. Berger does evoke the complexity of social change, but he does not really explain it.

WARREN J. BELASCO
*University of Maryland,
Baltimore County*

C. JOSEPH PUSATERI. *Enterprise in Radio: WWL and the Business of Broadcasting in America*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America. 1980. Pp. xii, 366. Cloth \$19.50, paper \$11.75.

C. Joseph Pusateri has written a fine business history of CBS-affiliate WWL, a New Orleans radio and television station unique not for its programming but its ownership. This is the only commercially significant station in the United States owned by a college or university, in this case Jesuit-run Loyola University. The author has made extensive use of WWL's surprisingly rich station files (which rarely survive), appropriate federal records in Washington, and the archives of Loyola University, 1922 to present. Pusateri focuses on business matters, problems of separation of church and state, evolution of broadcasting in the South, and Loyola's success in keeping the tax-exempt status of the university's largest source of revenue. There are also two chapters about station KWKH of Shreveport, the personal empire in the late 1920s of a genuine crank, W. K. Henderson, who attacked chain stores as "dirty low down daylight burglars" (p. 100) and who lined his own pocket by peddling Hello World Doggone Coffee. The Federal Radio Commission yoked KWKH and WWL together by ordering them to share the same wave length, which explains why a book about one radio station has much to say about another. Huey Long for a time befriended Henderson and broadcast frequently over KWKH.

The bargain basement appearance of Pusateri's book—paperback, two type faces, camera-ready

copy, six blank numbered pages—and its plodding style might lead some to assume the worst. Actually this is a fine contribution to our understanding of a generally ignored mass medium, for the author has uncovered such complete documentation as to how air time was sold, how legal battles were fought in Washington, and how the Jesuits agonized over having an educational station run on sound business principles, even though this meant finally allowing a weekly religious hour “even” for Baptists. Pusateri has missed some amusing ironies, but his research will allow less charitable readers to form their own conclusions. Particularly valuable is Pusateri’s careful treatment of WWL’s entry into television broadcasting, something the best book about an individual station, William Peck Banning, *Commercial Broadcasting Pioneer: The WEA Experiment* (1946) could not do. Business historians as well as students of mass media will be interested in Pusateri’s account of a modern industry’s growth amidst so many changing directives from Washington.

DAVID CULBERT

Louisiana State University

JEFFREY L. MEIKLE. *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925–1939*. (American Civilization Series.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 249. \$17.50.

Twentieth Century Limited is a pioneering study of the American origins of the industrial design profession. A handful of other scholarly studies of the profession’s formative years have recently appeared, but Jeffrey L. Meikle’s is easily the most comprehensive and penetrating to date.

As Meikle makes clear, the industrial design profession began in America and in the late 1920s. Its initial practitioners were barely influenced by contemporary developments in European art and architecture, which, one might otherwise assume, would have decisively affected them. Most early industrial designers, moreover, were already commercial artists or advertising and stage designers.

A combination of factors, Meikle convincingly shows, accounts for the profession’s beginnings: increases in the American standard of living and in leisure time; pervasive fears within American business of overproduction and underconsumption of goods for the new consumer mass markets; improvements in American art education and abandonment of the long-standing American sense of artistic inferiority vis-à-vis Europe; and, above all, the growing purchasing power of women. The motivation behind industrial design was thus as much economic as artistic.

Far from dampening the prospects of the fledgling profession, the Great Depression enhanced

them. For American business then desperately sought consumers of its products from among those still able to afford them. Where originally only individual items were (re)designed—ranging from pencil sharpeners to telephones to refrigerators—gradually whole offices and households began to be systematically treated, followed eventually by entire buildings and vehicles. “Streamlining” became the most popular style of industrial design and the symbol of the esthetic ideal of modernity, cleanliness, efficiency, and dynamism its practitioners all sought.

Meikle provides succinct but vivid biographical sketches of each of the most prominent industrial designers: Henry Dreyfuss, Norman Bel Geddes, Raymond Loewy, and Walter Dorwin Teague. Through both their forceful personalities and their influential design studios they attempted to transform America into a veritable technological utopia. The culmination of their collective efforts was the 1939 New York World’s Fair. As the Fair’s motto proclaimed: here was the “World of Tomorrow.”

Geddes’s General Motors Futurama gave 1960 as the date of utopia’s realization, but the America of 1960 resembled that of Futurama only in part: in its skyscrapers, superhighways, and other material improvements, but not in the social and cultural dimensions that Geddes and his fellow visionaries—like most earlier technological utopians—simply assumed would automatically follow those material changes. Streamlining itself, ironically, became an early—and unintended—victim of the planned obsolescence its proponents wished to apply everywhere else. Their utopia, they naively believed, not only would but, given its genius, should remain intact. Meikle’s clever title refers to the quantitative and perhaps the qualitative limits of their vision.

A modest discussion of the role of technological advance in the evolution of utopian thought would have placed *Twentieth Century Limited* in fuller historical perspective. But the book nevertheless stands as a model work in integrating art, architectural, cultural, and business history. Temple University Press deserves credit for producing a book that is at least as well designed as the objects its author describes.

HOWARD P. SEGAL

University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

C. HOWARD HOPKINS. *John R. Mott, 1865–1955: A Biography*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1979. Pp. xvii, 816. \$22.50.

Fifteen years of research have been devoted to this exhaustive and thoroughly documented biography. Few may remember that for sixty years Mott was a central figure in almost every world-wide Christian enterprise, that he was an intimate of presidents

from McKinley to Hoover and a friend of many other heads of state, and that in 1946 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. Mott liked to think of himself as a lay evangelist in the tradition of his mentor, Dwight L. Moody—and he was. But he was not cut quite to Moody's pattern, for he was a polished and sophisticated speaker who emerged as a leader of consequence during his student days at Cornell University. And his great gift was as an organizer, promoter, and chairman of the board.

Mott's salaried career was with the Y.M.C.A. For many years he was simultaneously general secretary both of the Intercollegiate and of the Foreign Departments of the Y.M.C.A. of the United States and Canada, and then for an extended period executive secretary of the Y.M.C.A. of the United States. Mott's greatest contributions, however, were made in areas of volunteer service. He was the moving spirit and dominating presence (the perennial president, chairman, or general secretary) of organizations he often was instrumental in founding—the Student Volunteer Movement, World Student Christian Federation, Foreign Mission Conference of North America, International Missionary Council, Church Peace Union, World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.s, Interchurch World Movement, World Council of Churches. Mott also engaged in a few diplomatic activities and served on several presidential committees and commissions.

Mott's career provides a window for viewing the Protestant enthusiasms that helped shape early twentieth-century America, and Hopkins's book provides almost every detail. A single flaw is a tendency to omit dates in the narrative, thus giving few pegs to place events in sequence (when, for example, was the WSCF founded?).

WINTHROP S. HUDSON
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

A. GLENN MOWER, JR., *The United States, The United Nations, and Human Rights: The Eleanor Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter Eras*. (Studies in Human Rights, number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 215. \$17.50.

Human rights represent one of the most persistent and potentially explosive areas of concern in international relations. The importance of this topic warrants more attention from historians than it has so far received. We are indebted to political scientist A. Glenn Mower, Jr., for this brief but penetrating account of America's record in the human rights field. Mower chose to limit his study to two periods, what he calls the Eleanor Roosevelt "era" and the Jimmy Carter era. This somewhat detracts from the value of the book, as an equally careful analysis of

our human rights experience for the 1950s and 1960s would have made this work an authoritative treatment of the topic.

Within the parameters he set for himself, Mower's work can best be described as workmanlike and competent. He carefully avoids becoming an advocate of either partisans of giving human rights a top priority in foreign policy making or those traditionalists who seek to mute human rights at every opportunity. He believes that there are so many variables when dealing with the matter that policy makers must approach each human rights situation on a case to case basis. A strong point of his work is to give us an appreciation of just how difficult it is for any administration to exert much leverage over other countries in the human rights field, and he does an excellent job in showing how the Washington bureaucracy functions in trying to sort out the conflicting information that flows into the State Department from other nations. Mower argues that human rights had a very high priority under Truman, which he attributes in large part to the unflagging zeal and influence of Eleanor Roosevelt. This accords human rights a higher priority than this reviewer had thought was the case during Truman's presidency, but Mower makes a convincing case for his view. Perhaps the most interesting part of the work is Mower's description of Eleanor Roosevelt's emergence as a champion of human rights; this portion of the book would make valuable reading for any student of this period.

As a whole this study deals with case histories of human rights diplomacy rather than examining in great detail the processes of decision making. Instances are given, usually briefly, of particular human rights issues, and the work would have been more valuable had the author given us some of these instances in greater detail. Mower believes that the Carter commitment is so strong that the achievements of his years will be seen as a separate era in the development of human rights diplomacy. In all, Mower has made a valuable contribution where it was badly needed.

THOMAS M. CAMPBELL
Florida State University

GEORGE C. HERRING. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*. (America in Crisis Series.) New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1979. Pp. xiii, 298. \$6.95.

Marilyn Blatt Young, in the 1979 Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lecture of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, lamented the recent trend in academic writing as well as in novels, movies, and the press to revise the history of the Vietnam War. Rather than confronting the effort of six

administrations in Washington to deny the right of self-determination and the immorality of the tactics employed by the American military, scholarly and popular accounts have rationalized intervention and the ultimate failure of American objectives. Guilt and defeat have led not only to revisionism but also to another discernible trend, that is, to forget about the war. As described by Josiah Bunting III in a paper, "Vietnam: A Memory Erased," presented at the 1978 Citadel Conference on War and Diplomacy, there has been a "virtual obliteration of the Vietnam War from our national consciousness." These reactions observed by Young, Bunting, and others underscore the need for clear, straightforward analysis of the Vietnam War. *America's Longest War* provides a response to revisionism and obliges its readers to confront fully the American-Vietnamese experience from 1950 to 1975.

George C. Herring's study calls attention to a number of recurrent patterns in the making of Vietnam policy: optimistic expectations, derived from the belief that American power could achieve "nation-building" as it had presumably done in other countries; ignoring of reports that questioned the prospects for a viable noncommunist government; following the "middle course" within the changing context of policy options; apprehension over the domestic and international implications of "losing" Vietnam. At the base of the involvement beginning with support of the French-backed Bao Dai regime in 1950 lay the unquestioned assumption that a noncommunist state in Vietnam was vital to American security. Throughout the ensuing quarter century that objective demanded a steadily increasing commitment of American resources. France's unwillingness to follow Washington's advice on military strategy and colonial policy so frustrated American leaders that they welcomed the demise of French power in 1954 and took the opportunity to foster unilaterally an anticommunist regime in the southern part of Vietnam. Yet by 1960 the government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem was under pressure from a renewed insurgency. To meet that crisis, the Cold War rhetoric of the Kennedy administration was translated into an ambitious program of counterinsurgency, which significantly increased the American stake in Indochina. The escalation of the Johnson years was based on misplaced confidence in the capability of air power and combat units to force Hanoi's acceptance of a divided Vietnam. American intervention saved the Saigon government, but all of Washington's efforts could not remedy its fundamental weaknesses. The Nixon administration, under intense domestic pressure to withdraw, encountered the intractability of both the North and South Vietnamese governments that only led to continued warfare in the name of "peace with honor." The ultimate collapse of the Saigon

regime two years after the vague settlement of 1973 suggested that the "American effort to create a bastion of anti-Communism south of the seventeenth parallel was probably doomed from the start." By attributing Vietnamese nationalist revolution to external forces, the United States failed to recognize its internal dynamics and found itself "at the mercy of local forces, a weak client, and a determined adversary."

This is the third major study of the war to appear within the last two years. Gunther Lewy's *America in Vietnam* upheld the legality and morality of American involvement; it ranks as perhaps the fullest revisionist account. *The Irony of Vietnam* by Leslie Gelb and Richard Betts argued that despite the failure of American objectives, the decision-making system worked effectively. Herring implicitly criticizes Lewy's thesis, while reinforcing, at least in part, the Gelb-Betts conclusions. Broader in scope than these other recent books, *America's Longest War* provides an insightful analysis of the influence of major leaders, public opinion, and bureaucratic competition on the making of America's Vietnam policy. In sum, Herring has written a thorough and judicious history of the Vietnam War.

GARY R. HESS

Bowling Green State University

PHILIP ABBOTT. *Furious Fancies: American Political Thought in the Post-Liberal Era*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 35.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. x, 265. \$23.95.

Furious Fancies is an able book about the complex world of contemporary American political thought. Philip Abbott explores many of the influential thinkers of our age: John Rawls, Daniel Bell, Robert Nozick, Robert Paul Wolff, among others. He also presents theorists widely known only in the parochial world of political science: Robert Dahl, Theodore Lowi, Henry Kariel, and John Schaar, to name four, but he managed to convince me that they merit broader attention. Abbott's range is wide, perhaps too extensive at times, though it is inevitably true that he leaves notable gaps. For example, he ignores the political thought of both religious and feminist thinkers.

Abbott contends that, while most American theorists believe they have abandoned much or all of liberalism and joined a post-liberal revolt, the truth is that there have been few escapees from liberalism. Like the brilliant view of Louis Hartz, Abbott's position depends on a broad (if more sophisticated) definition of liberalism. Also like Hartz perhaps his argument loses a bit of its cogency just because his definition of liberalism is so inclusive. In Abbott's hands, his view is stimulating and perhaps correct,

but any perspective on American political thought that sees Marcuse and Bell, Kariel and Dahl, Nozick and Schaar as creatures of liberalism may seem too broad.

The great strength of this book is its stimulating individual chapters. Many of them are excellent as single essays and deserve enthusiastic praise. This is particularly true of chapters that treat the liberationists (such as Marcuse), Robert Paul Wolff, W. C. McWilliams, and John Schaar. The discussions of Nozick, Dahl, and Kristol also shine. The chapter on Rawls is the weakest; it lacks direction and is not well integrated into the book. But it is an exception. Abbott also writes well, sometimes superbly. He is a delight to read.

Combined with the pleasing substance of his discussions of individuals, his writing sometimes gives a brilliant cast to this book. At points, however, there is too much of what Abbott concedes is "almost unremitting criticism" (p. 241). Much of it is unrelated to the argument of the book and occasionally gives the impression that intelligent and creative men are fools.

Abbott concludes his book with ideas toward resolution of the problems of American political thought. He proposes an interesting celebration of friendship as an alternative to the liberalism of strangers and the post-liberalism of emotive communitarians. His idea is intriguing and much more explanation (and defense) of it would have been welcome. But even so, Abbott has done a capable job and made a significant and laudable contribution to the study of American political theory. He deserves congratulations.

ROBERT BOOTH FOWLER
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

CANADA

A. B. MCKILLOP. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 287. Paper \$9.95.

In this original and ambitious volume A. B. McKillop attempts the novel task of sketching an outline of Canadian academic thought from 1840 to 1900. The early Victorians, he suggests, had little doubt that the critical spirit would undermine the essential tenets of the European intellectual heritage. In its defense they marshaled three systems of thought. The assertion of Thomas Reid that reason could not question the great, self-evident truths found a

welcome reception in colonial universities. Natural theology, as taught by the Canadian disciples of William Paley, staunchly proclaimed that design in nature was evidence of an immanent God. Finally, scientists such as William Dawson argued that Darwin, by theorizing on causation, transgressed the legitimate boundaries of Baconian empirical method. Such was "the triumvirate of intellectual orthodoxy that dominated many educated Anglo-Canadian minds" until the 1870s (p. 95).

Evolutionary naturalism shattered the intellectual constraint of the older ethos and ushered in an age that expressed its moral concern in terms of objectivity, tolerance, and respect for individual variation. W. D. LeSueur proclaimed a progressive view of history and an organic conception of social reality. John Watson and other idealists preached that history represented the evolution of reason and that freedom consisted not in denying external constraints but rather in acting in accordance with the dictates of this universal principle. Among their audiences were those like Salem Bland who would later become leaders in the Social Gospel movement. McKillop contends that many twentieth-century Canadian intellectuals reflected this philosophical persuasion.

In order to sustain his formulation, McKillop sprinkles the book with an array of supporting characters, at least some of whom are misconstrued. R. M. Bucke, for example, is said to have felt that "the mind and body were essentially distinct" (p. 162). In fact, Bucke built his reputation as a leading spokesman for somatic psychiatry on the argument that man's "moral nature" was a simple function of the sympathetic nervous system. Of greater significance, however, are a host of minor, indeed, nameless, characters—"the generations of senior arts and divinity students" taught by Watson and his colleagues (p. 216). McKillop is admittedly writing "internal" intellectual history, but the applicability of his thesis must be considered in broader terms. It seems highly improbable, for example, that many readers followed the likes of Watson through the thickets of Edward Caird's neo-Hegelian "objective idealism." Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie University was a convinced disciple of Watson's fellow-traveler, George Paxton Young, yet he never advanced beyond an intuitive appreciation of his philosophy. Remnants of Watson's metaphysical conclusions may have lingered in Canadian thought; his methodology clearly did not.

Despite such cavils, the book is a welcome contribution to the diminutive shelf of Canadian intellectual history. Although often marred by an opaque style, it is based on extensive research and is animated by the author's sympathetic humor and scholarly enthusiasm. Important themes in nineteenth-century Canadian thought are identified

and previously neglected individuals rescued from obscurity. More significantly, such thinkers are lifted beyond their colonial confines and placed in the larger context of Western thought.

S. E. D. SHORTT
Queen's University

HARVEY J. GRAFF. *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1979. Pp. xxii, 352. \$27.50.

Harvey J. Graff has used an imaginative array of quantitative and qualitative sources to investigate what he calls "the literacy myth" and its place in the relationships between schooling and society in the mid nineteenth century. The myth suggests that primary schooling and literacy are necessary for economic and social development, the establishment and maintenance of democratic institutions, and individual success and advancement. Graff is critical of historical and sociological treatises on education and modernization that feature statistical analyses of social trends without taking into account individuals and their perceptions, and he has used quantitative data on particular persons in three Ontario cities as his chief sources. Thoroughly familiar with recent studies of Anglo-American social, cultural, and educational history that bear on his topic, Graff also demonstrates sensitivity to the political and ideological implications of his research. Determined to stake out a frankly revisionist interpretation heavily indebted to notions of "cultural and ideological hegemony," Graff also makes readers aware of the "contradictory and complex" conclusions his research has generated. The result is a book that, while studded with overstatement, stands as the most useful and provocative exploration of its subject currently in print.

Graff begins his analysis with a survey of school reformers in Ontario who, drawing self-consciously from the examples provided by colleagues in England and the United States, established a public school system dedicated to socializing children to be "properly schooled, morally restrained" adults. Literacy, in this view, provided reformers a "central instrument and vehicle" that could be used in the "reordering and reintegration of the new nineteenth century society."

Having described the ideology of the reformers and educators, Graff uses his Ontario data to argue that while illiteracy may have limited individual success in the nineteenth century, literacy in no way ensured material prosperity or cultural progress. Literacy played at most "a reinforcing or mediating role" in a society where "class, ethnicity, and sex were the major barriers of social inequality." Al-

though valuable to the goals and needs of industrial capitalist society as well as to those of individuals, literacy did not benefit those who possessed it (usually imperfectly) in the ways advertised by its promoters. Nor did illiteracy bar the way to material success or even modest progress in the ways expected by those who persisted in describing the unschooled as a congeries of rootless degenerates whose outsider status threatened the stability of society and drained off resources necessary for future progress.

The heart of Graff's study, and his most original contribution, is his comparison of illiterates in the census of three Ontario cities (Hamilton, London, and Kingston) to a control group of literates in Hamilton. Fully aware of the limitations of such data, he examines these groups in terms of ethnicity, occupation, wealth, home ownership, family formation, persistence in the cities, inter-generational mobility, and school attendance. The illiterates (less than 10 percent of the population and disproportionately Irish Catholics and women) made up over one half of the unskilled common laborers, but of all the poor only 13 percent were illiterate. Graff shows that illiteracy did not "cause" or even serve as the "primary determinant" of either the pace of industrialization or criminal behavior. Within the cultural life of Ontario, literacy had at most an indirect effect, and Graff adds his voice to those who argue for a modification of modernization models to take into account the persistence of oral and visual communication as significant cultural features of industrial society.

Although the book suffers from a good deal of repetition, as well as a surfeit of words like "clearly" and phrases like "there can be no doubt," it ought to be carefully read and taken into account by all students of nineteenth-century Anglo-American social history.

WILLIAM ISSEL
San Francisco State University

LATIN AMERICA

HILDEGARD KRÜGER. *Der Cabildo von Asunción: Stadtverwaltung und städtische Oberschicht in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (1690-1730)*. (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, number 126.) Frankfurt am Main: Peter D. Lang. 1979. Pp. viii, 222.

For two hundred years after the Conquest of the 1530s the Paraguayan "creole-mestizo elite of Asunción was not only an extended family, but also a political-military community" (p. 111). This small

group, descended from the conquerors, sought economic advancement in the yerba mate trade, rather than in latifundia agriculture. Possession of small encomiendas of Indians gave social prestige to the upper class, as did rank in the provincial militia, but most important for the promotion of their interests was domination of the Cabildo, or City Council, of Asunción. By the 1600s positions on the Cabildo were generally no longer elective but purchased, and with no hesitation the elite of Asunción used their political power to safeguard and promote their own economic and social interests. In these pursuits, they ignored higher authority, deposed royal governors and elected temporary replacements in extreme circumstances, and confronted their competitors in the yerba trade, the Jesuit missions to the south.

Not only is this work the first to investigate Asunción's Cabildo for an extended period of the colony, but also it is refreshingly realistic because economic interests and social prestige factors are analyzed as motivations of the elite-dominated Cabildo, rather than the common nationalistic interpretation of that institution being a popular defender of the province's interests. The author discusses Spanish urban history, the conquest and creation of Paraguay, the subsequent isolation and neglect of the province, and the peculiarity of Asunción as a frontier city. Noteworthy are the sections defining the structure and functions of the Cabildo, the formation of the Asunción elite, and that class's social and economic interests.

The *clase capitular* of Asunción played a crucial role in the Comunero Rebellion of 1717-1735. The myth that this movement was a democratic precursor of Independence is again destroyed as the author demonstrates that domination of the yerba trade occasioned the rebellion in opposition to the damaging competition of the Jesuits. But, as a result, the elite lost internal power and prestige by 1730 when the rebellion escaped Cabildo control. The rise of the rural elements in defiance of the Cabildo and then the reimposition of royal authority in 1735 ended the political power of the elite.

Integral to this work are lists of Cabildo members during this forty-year era, their terms of service, methods of acquisition of office, and genealogical tables demonstrating elite kinship relationships. Sources are the *Actas Capitulares* of the Cabildo, the little used *Nueva Encuadernación, Testamentos*, and *Propiedades* of the Asunción Archive, and extensive secondary material. The chapter organization is rather erratic, but the book is an important contribution to Paraguayan history, the history of the colonial Río de la Plata, and Spanish American urban history.

JERRY W. COONEY
University of Louisville

ENRIQUE OTTE. *Las Perlas del Caribe: Nueva Cadiz de Cubagua*. Caracas: Fundacion John Boulton. 1977. Pp. 620.

Cubagua, a small desert island off the coast of Venezuela, was a focal point of intense economic activity in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It was the site of the Spanish settlement of Nueva Cádiz de Cubagua founded to exploit the pearl fisheries located near its shores. For some twenty-five years, until careless methods of exploitation destroyed its source of wealth, it was one of the most prosperous places in the Caribbean. It also was the center of a ruthless trade in Indian slaves utilized as divers. Enrique Otte, a longtime researcher in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, has written an account of the history of Cubagua based mainly on extensive data derived from documents in the sections of Justicia, Contratación, and Contaduría of that archive. The principal contribution of this volume is the use of these original sources, most of which have never been utilized before.

The work is divided into two parts. The first section deals with the exploitation of the pearl fisheries, the organization of the enterprise, and methods of extraction. The operations of the pearl trade are discussed as well. Part two describes the town of Nueva Cádiz de Cubagua, its economy and society. The volume also contains a long appendix containing transcribed documents relating to the text.

The establishment and continued existence of the settlement of Nueva Cádiz depended on a steady supply of water and Indian slaves that were secured from the Venezuelan mainland with great difficulty. In addition, the soil of Cubagua was so dry that the inhabitants were totally dependent on the import of food and other necessities. Maize and cassava were brought in from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico while wine, olive oil, and other staples came directly from Seville or via the Greater Antilles. From the beginning, the trade in food commodities was controlled by a select number of Sevillian merchants, their agents, and associates in the Caribbean. These same men, mainly Andalusians but also Basques and merchants from Burgos in addition to foreigners like the Genoese, monopolized the trade in slaves and pearls as well. Similarly, they also formed the governing elite of Nueva Cádiz. The author's presentation of the social structure of Nueva Cádiz is sketchy due to the fact that the primary records essential to the reconstruction of any local Hispanic society have been lost. This volume is further weakened by faulty style and organization. Much of the important information has not been incorporated into the text but has been relegated to the footnotes, a massive corpus of 2,086. Encumbered by this overwhelming apparatus, the book becomes dry and monotonous reading and is

likely to dissuade all but the most patient and persevering readers from pursuing it from beginning to end. Finally it lacks an appropriate conclusion that would have given the author an opportunity to further synthesize his material and to place it within a broader framework than he has done. In sum, despite the limitations of this volume, we must be grateful to the author for extracting an important collection of documents and making their contents available to historians.

RUTH PIKE
Hunter College,
City University of New York

DAVID NICHOLLS. *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 34.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 357. \$29.50.

Historians share with Diogenes the impossible task of searching for "the truth." Most historians recognize the limitations of their craft; it is only when we close the shutters on our lanterns and imagine what we want to see, even for a supposedly good cause, that our craft becomes craftiness. I do not disagree with David Nicholls that the writing of history influences the future, but I am troubled by his remark that "might it not therefore be better to recognize the fact and to write an account of the past which will have an impact on the future in a way which the author regards as beneficial . . ." (p. 16).

Despite my suspicion of what Nicholls may regard as beneficial for mankind, I did not find many cases of openly biased writing. One is his view of Dessalines as the champion of social justice. A person need not be an apologist of neo-colonialism, as Nicholls claims, to see in Dessalines something less

than a paragon of virtue. According to Nicholls, Dessalines tried to suppress mulatto-black conflict, considered himself the spokesman of disinherited blacks, and offered his own daughter Célimène in marriage to Pétion "as a token of his determination to break down colour lines" (p. 38). Of course Nicholls fails to point out the complications in Pétion's refusal: Célimène was pregnant by another man, and rumors were beginning to circulate as to Dessalines's impending overthrow. Furthermore, Nicholls applauds Marxist writer Jacques Stéphen Alexis for his correct view of the Haitian past and attacks black intellectuals of the Negritude tradition for blurring economic class conflict with racism.

The main thesis of Nicholls's book is that race generally united Haitians in the nineteenth century. Even though Haitians continued to consider France as the Mecca of culture and Africa as barbarous, they took pride in being black and strove to prove racial equality factual. Color, on the other hand, divided Haitians, mainly along cultural rather than racial lines. After the U.S. occupation in 1915, race also divided Haitians as black writers of the Negritude tradition took a racial stance in rejecting Haiti's colonial past. A generation ago the ideas of race and color found much elaboration in James Leyburn's *Haitian People*, but Nicholls has done a distinct service for the study of Haitian history by revealing their complexity.

By far the best feature of Nicholls's book is his excellent historiographical review. There is no other work in English that gives such thorough coverage of Haitian writers, the influences that worked upon them, and the goals that they wished to achieve. This should attract scholars, even those who find the deeply polemical tone of the author's work objectionable.

THOMAS O. OTT
University of North Alabama

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR. and HERMAN DAEMS, editors. *Managerial Hierarchies: Comparative Perspectives on the Rise of the Modern Industrial Enterprise*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 32.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. ix, 237. \$16.50.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., and HERMAN DAEMS, Introduction. ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., *The United States: Seedbed of Managerial Capitalism*. LESLIE HANNAH, *Visible and Invisible Hands in Great Britain*. JÜRGEN KOCKA, *The Rise of the Modern Industrial Enterprise in Germany*. MAURICE LÉVY-LEBOYER, *The Large Corporation in Modern France*. MORTON KELLER, *Regulation of Large Enterprise: The United States Experience in Comparative Perspective*. OLIVER E. WILLIAMSON, *Emergence of the Visible Hand: Implications for Industrial Organization*. HERMAN DAEMS, *The Rise of the Modern Industrial Enterprise: A New Perspective*.

CAROL R. BERKIN and CLARA M. LOVETT, editors. *Women, War, and Revolution*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1980. Pp. xiii, 310. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$9.75.

DARLINE GAY LEVY and HARRIET BRANSON APPLEWHITE, *Women of the Popular Classes in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795*. LEILA J. RUPP, "I Don't Call that *Volksgemeinschaft*": Women, Class, and War in Nazi Germany. KAREN BECK SKOLD, *The Job He Left Behind: American Women in the Shipyards During World War II*. MARYLYNN SALMON, "Life, Liberty, and Dower": The Legal Status of Women After the American Revolution. MARY DURHAM JOHNSON, *Old Wine in New Bottles: The Institutional Changes for Women of the People During the French Revolution*. BEATRICE BRODSKY FARNSWORTH, *Communist Feminism: Its Synthesis and Demise*. JOAN M. MALONEY, *Women in the Chinese Communist Revolution: The Question of Political Equality*. LOURDES CASAL, *Revolution and Conciencia: Women in Cuba*. BARBARA CORRADO POPE, *Revolution and Retreat: Upper-Class French Women After 1789*. JUDITH JEFFREY HOWARD, *Patriot*

Mothers in the Post-Risorgimento: Women After the Italian Revolution. BARBARA J. STEINSON, "The Mother Half of Humanity": American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I.

BARRY BARNES and STEVEN SHAPIN, editors. *Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture*. (Sage Focus Editions, number 6.) Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. 1979. Pp. 255. Cloth \$18.95, paper \$8.95.

CHRISTOPHER LAWRENCE, *The Nervous System and Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*. STEVEN SHAPIN, *Homo Phrenologicus: Anthropological Perspectives on an Historical Problem*. ROGER COOTER, *The Power of the Body: The Early Nineteenth Century*. ROY PORTER, *Creation and Credence: The Career of Theories of the Earth in Britain, 1660-1820*. STEVEN SHAPIN and BARRY BARNES, *Darwin and Social Darwinism: Purity and History*. JOAN L. RICHARDS, *The Reception of a Mathematical Theory: Non-Euclidean Geometry in England, 1868-1883*. BRIAN WYNNE, *Physics and Psychics: Science, Symbolic Action, and Social Control in Late Victorian England*. DONALD MACKENZIE and BARRY BARNES, *Scientific Judgment: The Biometry-Mendelism Controversy*. JOHN DEAN, *Controversy over Classification: A Case Study from the History of Botany*. JONATHAN HARWOOD, *Heredity, Environment, and the Legitimation of Social Policy*.

ANGELIKI E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, editor. *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1980. Pp. ix, 328. \$21.00.

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS, *The Term Neoterikoi (Innovators) in the Exabiblos of Constantine Armenopoulos and Its Cultural-Linguistic Implications*. GILBERT DAGRON, *Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth-Century Mopsuestia*. IVAN DJURIĆ, *Titles of the Rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire in the Eyes of the Byzantines*. IVAN DUJČEV, *Some Remarks on the Chronicle of Monemvasia*. DENO J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Important Recent Research in Byzantine-Western Relations: Intellectual and Artistic Aspects, 500-1500*. A. P. KAZDAN, *Two Letters of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: An Attempt at Reinterpretation*. ANGELIKI E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Saints and Society*

in the Late Byzantine Empire. ERNEST W. MCDONNELI, Monastic Stability: Some Socioeconomic Considerations. CHRYSSA MALTEZOU, A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Island of Kythira during the Venetian Occupation. NICOLAS OIKONOMIDIS, The Properties of the Deblitzenoi in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. AGOSTINO PERTUSI, The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City. STEVEN RUNCIMAN, The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors. ANDREAS N. STRATOS, The Naval Engagement at Phoenix. JOSEPH R. STRAYER, The Case of Bishop Guichard of Troyes. PETER TOPPING, Albanian Settlements in Medieval Greece: Some Venetian Testimonies. APOSTOLOS E. VACALOPOULOS, The Flight of the Inhabitants of Greece to the Aegean Islands, Crete, and Mane, during the Turkish Invasions (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries). SPEROS VRYONIS, JR., Travelers as a Source for the Societies of the Middle East, 900–1600. D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, Two Historical Parallels: The Greek Nation under Roman and Turkish Rule.

CLAUDE SUTTO, editor. *Le sentiment de la mort au moyen âge: Études présentées au Cinquième colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal*. (Collection "Exploration"/Études Médiévales.) Montreal: L'Aurore. 1979. Pp. 297.

CLAUDE SUTTO, Avant-propos. MICHEL HÉBERT, La mort: Impact réel et choc psychologique. RODRIGUE LAVOIE, Justice, criminalité et peine de mort en France au moyen âge: Essai de typologie et de régionalisation. BERNARD SAINT-PIERRE, Mourir au XV^e siècle: Le testament de Jeanne D'Entrecasteaux. CLAUDE DOLAN-LECLERC, Cortège funèbre et société au XVI^e siècle à Aix-en-Provence: La présence des pauvres. BRUNO ROY, Amour, fortune et mort—La danse des trois aveugles. ROLF MAX KULLY, Le laboureur de Bohême et son procès contre la mort. ADELE CHENE-WILLIAMS, Vivre sa mort et mourir sa vie: L'art de mourir au XV^e siècle. PIERRE BOGLIONI, La scène de la mort dans les premières hagiographies latines. GUY H. ALLARD, Dante et la mort. ELISABETH SCHULZE-BUSACKER, La complainte des morts dans la littérature occitane. DUJKA SMOJE, La mort et l'au-delà dans la musique médiévale. BRUNO ROY, Images de mort.

HANS-ULRICH WEHLER, editor. *Klassen in der europäischen Sozialgeschichte*. (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1,456.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. 280. DM 19.80.

HANS-ULRICH WEHLER, Vorüberlegungen zur historischen Analyse sozialer Ungleichheit. SIDNEY POLLARD, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in England: Mittel- und Oberklassen. ERIC J. HOBSBAWM, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in England: Die Arbeiterklasse. WOLFGANG MACER, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in Frankreich, 1630–1830. HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in Frankreich seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. JÜRGEN

KOCKA, Stand—Klasse—Organisation: Strukturen sozialer Ungleichheit in Deutschland vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert im Aufriss. M. RAINER LEPSIUS, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. VOLKER HUNECKE, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in Italien vom Ende des 18. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts. HANS-JÜRGEN PUHLF, Soziale Ungleichheit und Klassenstrukturen in den USA.

DEREK BAKER, editor. *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, c1500–c1750; Dedicated to Professor Clifford W. Dugmore*. (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, number 2.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, for the Ecclesiastical History Society; distributed by Biblio Distribution Centre. 1979. Pp. x, 326. \$28.50.

GEOFFREY ELTON, England and the Continent in the Sixteenth Century. W. D. J. CARGILL THOMPSON, The Two Regiments: The Continental Setting of William Tyndale's Political Thought. CLAIRE CROSS, Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century. DAVID LOADES, Anabaptism and English Sectarianism in the Mid-Sixteenth Century. PATRICK COLLINSON, Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches in Early Elizabethan London and Their Superintendent. BASIL HALL, The Early Rise and Gradual Decline of Lutheranism in England (1520–1600). JAMES K. CAMERON, John Johnson's *An comfortable exhortation of our mooste holy Christen faith and her frutes*: An Early Example of Scots Lutheran Piety. W. NIJENHUIS, Adrianus Saravia as an Eirenical Churchman in England and the Netherlands. C. DE JONGE, Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) and the English Separatists at Amsterdam. G. H. M. POSTUMUS MEYJES, Jean Hotman's *Syllabus* of Eirenical Literature. C. GRAYSON, James I and the Religious Crisis in the United Provinces, 1613–19. JOHN PLATT, Eirenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort. G. F. NUTTALL, Richard Baxter and *The Grotian Religion*. EAMON DUFFY, "Correspondence Fraternelle": The SPCK, the SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of the Spanish Succession. W. R. WARD, The Relations of Enlightenment and Religious Revival in Central Europe and in the English-Speaking World. KATHLEEN DUGMORE, Bibliography of the Writings of Clifford W. Dugmore.

JOHN BREWER and JOHN STYLES, editors. *An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1980. Pp. 400. \$24.00.

KEITH WRIGHTSON, Two Concepts of Order: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth-Century England. JOHN WALTER, Grain Riots and Popular Attitudes to the Law: Maldon and the Crisis of 1629. ROBERT W. MALCOLMSON, "A Set of Ungovernable People": The Kingwood Colliers in the Eighteenth Century. JOHN BREWER, The Wilkites and the Law, 1763–74: A Study of Radical Notions of Governance. JOHN STYLES, "Our Traitorous

Money Makers": The Yorkshire Coiners and the Law, 1760-83. JOANNA INNES, The King's Bench Prison in the Later Eighteenth Century: Law, Authority and Order in a London Debtors' Prison.

KENNETH LUNN and RICHARD C. THURLOW, editors. *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1980. Pp. 234. \$25.00.

KENNETH LUNN and RICHARD C. THURLOW, Introduction. KENNETH LUNN, Political Anti-semitism Before 1914: Fascism's Heritage? GISELA C. LEBZELTER, Henry Hamilton Beamish and the Britons: Champions of Anti-semitism. JOHN MORELL, Arnold Leese and the Imperial Fascist League: The Impact of Racial Fascism. ROBERT SKIDELSKY, Reflections on Mosley and British Fascism. RICHARD C. THURLOW, The Return of Jeremiah: The Rejected Knowledge of Sir Oswald Mosley in the 1930s. COLIN HOLMES, Anti-semitism and the BUF. JOHN STEVENSON, The BUF, the Metropolitan Police and Public Order. STUART RAWNSLEY, the Membership of the British Union of Fascists. PAUL HAYES, The Contribution of British Intellectuals to Fascism. PHILIP REES, Changing Interpretations of British Fascism: A Bibliographical Survey. NEILL NUGENT, Post-war Fascism?

THOMAS BARTLETT and D. W. HAYTON, editors. *Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation. 1979. Pp. ix, 232.

JAMES I. MCGUIRE, The Irish Parliament of 1692. DAVID HAYTON, The Beginnings of the "Undertaker System." DECLAN O'DONOVAN, The Money Bill Dispute of 1753. THOMAS BARTLETT, The Townshend Viceroyalty, 1767-72. P. D. H. SMYTH, The Volunteers and Parliament, 1779-84. A. P. W. MALCOMSON, "The Parliamentary Traffic of this Country." DAVID DICKSON, Middlemen. W. H. CRAWFORD, Change in Ulster in the late Eighteenth Century. MARIANNE ELLIOTT, Irish Republicanism in England: The First Phase, 1707-9.

ROBERT WHEATON and TAMARA K. HAREVEN, editors. *Family and Sexuality in French History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1980. Pp. ix, 274. \$22.50.

TAMARA K. HAREVEN, Foreword. ROBERT WHEATON, Introduction: Recent Trends in the Historical Study of the French Family. J.-L. FLANDRIN, Repression and Change in the Sexual Life of Young People in Medieval and Early Modern Times. BEATRICE GOTTLIEB, The Meaning of Clandestine Marriage. ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE, The Charivari and Religious Repression in France during the Ancien Régime. ROBERT WHEATON, Affinity and Descent in Seventeenth-Century Bordeaux. ETIENNE VAN DE WALLE, Motivations and Technology in the Decline of French Fertility. JOHN W. SHAFFER, Family, Class, and Young Women: Oc-

cupational Expectations in Nineteenth-Century Paris. LOUISE A. TILLY, Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat. GEORGE D. SUSSMAN, The End of the Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1874-1914. MARTINE SEGALIN, The Family Cycle and Household Structure: Five Generations in a French Village.

EDWARD JAMES, editor. *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 303. \$43.50.

J. N. HILLGARTH, Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Literary Aspects of the Visigothic Liturgy. E. A. THOMPSON, The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism. JACQUES FONTAINE, King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography. P. D. KING, King Chindasvind and the First Territorial Law-code of the Visigothic Kingdom. DIETRICH CLAUDE, Freedmen in the Visigothic Kingdom. ROGER COLLINS, Mérida and Toledo, 550-585. EDWARD JAMES, Septimania and its Frontier: An Archaeological Approach. MICHAEL HERREN, On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville. ROGER E. REYNOLDS, The "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: Its Origins, Early Manuscript Tradition, and Editions.

OTTO H. OLSEN, editor. *Reconstruction and Redemption in the South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1980. Pp. v, 250. \$17.50.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER, Florida: A Failure of Moderate Republicanism. SARAH WOOLFOLK WIGGINS, Alabama: Democratic Bulldozing and Republican Folly. WILLIAM C. HARRIS, Mississippi: Republican Factionalism and Mismanagement. JACK P. MADDEX, JR., Virginia: The Persistence of Centrist Hegemony. OTTO H. OLSEN, North Carolina: An Incongruous Presence. JOE GRAY TAYLOR, Louisiana: An Impossible Task.

FREDERICK C. LUEBKE, editor. *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, for the Center for Great Plains Studies, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. 1980. Pp. xxxiii, 237. \$15.95.

FREDERICK C. LUEBKE, Introduction. KATHLEEN NEILS CONZEN, Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities. ARRELL MORGAN GIBSON, The Great Plains as a Colonization Zone for Eastern Indians. RAYMOND J. DEMALLIE, Touching the Pen: Plains Indian Treaty Councils in Ethnohistorical Perspective. TIMOTHY J. KLOBEDANZ, Plainsmen of Three Continents: Volga German Adaptation to Steppe, Prairie, and Pampa. ROBERT C. OSTERGREN, Prairie Bound: Migration Patterns to a Swedish Settlement on the Dakota Frontier. JOHN A. HOSTETLER, The Old Order Amish on the Great Plains: A Study in Cultural Vulnerability. TERRY G. JORDAN, A Religious Geography of the Hill Country Germans of Texas. LINDA DEGH, Folk Religion as Ideology for Ethnic Survival: The

Hungarians of Kipling, Saskatchewan. BRUCE M. GARVER, Czech-American Freethinkers on the Great Plains, 1871-1914. BRADLEY H. BALTENSPERGER, Agricultural Change among Nebraska Immigrants, 1880-1900. JOSEF J. BARTON, Land, Labor, and Community in Nueces: Czech Farmers and Mexican Laborers in South Texas, 1880-1930. J. ALLEN WILLIAMS, JR. *et al.*, Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism in Nebraska.

MARTIN V. MELOSI, editor. *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 212.

MARTIN V. MELOSI, Environmental Crisis in the City: The Relationship between Industrialization and Urban Pollution. STUART GALISHOFF, Triumph and Failure: the American Response to the Urban Water Supply Problem, 1860-1923. JOEL A. TARR *et al.*, The Development and Impact of Urban Wastewater Technology: Changing Concepts of Water Quality Control, 1850-1930. R. DALE GRINDER, The Battle for Clean Air: The Smoke Problem in Post-Civil War America. MARTIN V. MELOSI, Refuse Pollution and Municipal Reform: The Waste Problem in America, 1880-1917. RAYMOND W. SMILOR, Toward an Environmental Perspective: The Anti-Noise Campaign, 1893-1932. STANLEY K. SCHULTZ and CLAY MCSHANE, Pollution and Political Reform in Urban America: The Role of Municipal Engineers, 1840-1920. SUELEEN M. HOY, "Municipal Housekeeping": The Role of Women in Improving Urban Sanitation Practices, 1880-1917.

JOHN D. MARTZ and LARS SCHOULTZ, editors. *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System*. (Westview Special Studies on Latin America and the Caribbean.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 271. \$24.50.

JOHN D. MARTZ and FREDERIC N. CLEAVELAND, Preface. JOHN D. MARTZ and LARS SCHOULTZ, Introduction. STEVEN W. HUGHES and KENNETH J. MIJESKI, Contemporary Paradigms in the Study of Inter-American Relations. JOHN S. GITLITZ and HENRY A. LANDSBERGER, The Inter-American Political Economy: How Dependable Is Dependency Theory? GUSTAVO LAGOS and ALBERTO VAN KLAVEREN, Inter-American Relations in Global Perspective. KENNETH M. COLEMAN, The Political Mythology of the Monroe Doctrine: Reflections on the Social Psychology of Hegemony. ENRIQUE A. BALOYRA, The Madness of the Method: The United States and Cuba in the Seventies. JOHN D. MARTZ, Democracy and the Imposition of Values: Definitions and Diplomacy. LARS SCHOULTZ, U.S. Diplomacy and Human Rights in Latin America. JOSEPH S. TULCHIN, The Impact of U.S. Human Rights Policy: Argentina. RICHARD L. CLINTON and R. KENNETH GODWIN, Human Rights and Development: Lessons from Latin America.

JOHN D. MARTZ and FREDERIC N. CLEAVELAND, Preface. JOHN D. MARTZ and LARS SCHOULTZ, Introduction. STEVEN W. HUGHES and KENNETH J. MIJESKI, Contemporary Paradigms in the Study of Inter-American Relations. JOHN S. GITLITZ and HENRY A. LANDSBERGER, The Inter-American Political Economy: How Dependable Is Dependency Theory? GUSTAVO LAGOS and ALBERTO VAN KLAVEREN, Inter-American Relations in Global Perspective. KENNETH M. COLEMAN, The Political Mythology of the Monroe Doctrine: Reflections on the Social Psychology of Hegemony. ENRIQUE A. BALOYRA, The Madness of the Method: The United States and Cuba in the Seventies. JOHN D. MARTZ, Democracy and the Imposition of Values: Definitions and Diplomacy. LARS SCHOULTZ, U.S. Diplomacy and Human Rights in Latin America. JOSEPH S. TULCHIN, The Impact of U.S. Human Rights Policy: Argentina. RICHARD L. CLINTON and R. KENNETH GODWIN, Human Rights and Development: Lessons from Latin America.

Documents and Bibliographies

The following collections of documents, bibliographies, and other similar works were received by the *AHR* between April 16, 1980 and June 12, 1980. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

- BIAUDET, JEAN CHARLES and FRANÇOISE NICOD, editors. *Correspondance de Frédéric-César de La Harpe et Alexandre I^{er}: Suivie de la correspondance de F.-C. de La Harpe avec les membres de la famille impériale de Russie. Volume 3, 1815-1824; 1788-1837.* Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière. 1980. Pp. 865.
- Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Berichtsjahr 1978.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1979. Pp. 832. DM 153.
- RENARD, JEAN-PIERRE, editor. *Helvetia Sacra. Part 1, Archidiocèses et diocèses. Volume 3, Le Diocèse de Genève; L'Archidiocèse de Vienne en Dauphiné.* Berne: Éditions Francke. 1980. Pp. 391. DM 105.
- RIEMER, ELEANOR S., and JOHN C. FOUT, editors. *European Women: A Documentary History, 1789-1945.* New York: Schocken Books. 1980. Pp. xxi, 258. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$6.95.
- WEBSTER, CHARLES. *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib, and Macaria.* (Research Publications of the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, number 11.) Oxford: Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine. 1979. Pp. 89. £2.00.

MEDIEVAL

- Analecta Hibernica.* Number 28, *Including the Report to the Taoiseach.* (Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na Héireann.) Dublin: Stationery Office, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1978. Pp. xix, 128.
- APPELT, HEINRICH, editor. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Volume 2, part 2, Die Urkunden Friedrichs I., 1158-1167.* [Text in Latin]. Assisted by RAINER MARIA HERKENRATH and WALTER KOCH. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica.) Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. 1979. Pp. viii, 770. Cloth DM 274, paper DM 258.
- HAREN, MICHAEL J., editor. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters. Volume 15, Innocent VIII: Lateran Registers, 1484-1492.* (Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na Héireann.) Dublin: Stationery Office, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1978. Pp. cxc, 764. £27.50.
- MORRIS, JOHN, editor and translator. *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals.* (History from the Sources.) London: Phillimore; distributed by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1980. Pp. 100. \$10.00.

BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- CLARKE, GILES. *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part 2, The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills.* Contributions by J. L. MACDONALD *et al.* (Winchester Studies, number 3.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xl, 468, xvii. \$98.00.
- GELLING, MARGARET. *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley.* (Studies in Early English History, number 7.) Leicester: Leicester University Press; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. 208. \$35.00.
- GWYNN, ROBIN D., editor. *A Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London from the Civil War to the Restoration, 1643-1659.* (Huguenot Society of London Quarto Series, number 54.) London: The Society. 1979. Pp. iv, 139.
- HALPERN, PAUL G., editor. *The Keyes Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Baron Keyes of Zeebrugge. Volume 2, 1919-1938.* (Publications of the Navy Records Office, number 121.) London: George Allen and Unwin, for the Navy Records Society. 1980. Pp. xiv, 468. £15.00.
- KER, IAN and THOMAS GORNALL, editors. *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman. Volume 4, The Oxford Movement, July 1833 to December 1834.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 412. \$55.00.
- LEHENY, JAMES, editor. *Joseph Addison: The Freeholder.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 283. \$46.00.
- NORTON, PHILIP. *Dissension in the House of Commons, 1974-1979.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xxxiv, 524. \$79.00.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- CARPENTER, KENNETH E. *Dialogue in Political Economy: Translations from and into German in the 18th Century.* (Kress Library Publications, number 23.) Boston: Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. 1977. Pp. 95. \$5.00.
- STEGELICH, WOLFGANG, editor. *Die Verhandlungen des 2. Unterausschusses des parlamentarischen Untersuchungsausschusses über die päpstliche Friedensaktion von 1917: Aufzeichnungen und Vernehmungsprotokolle.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1974. Pp. xvii, 409. DM 86.

EASTERN EUROPE

- CIESLAK, EDMUND, editor. *Raporty rezydentów francuskich w Gdańsku z okresu rozbiorów polski.* Volume 3, (Lata 1787-

1790) [Les rapports des résidents français à Gdańsk à l'époque des partages de la Pologne. Vol. 3, (Les années 1787-1790)]. (Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Gdańska, number 7.) Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe. 1976. Pp. xxiv, 381. 65 Zł.

SOVIET UNION

- LITVAK, B. G. *Ocherki istochnikovedeniia massovoi dokumentatsii XIX nachala XX v.* [Essays on Sources of Quantitative Documentation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century]. Moscow: Nauka. 1979. Pp. 293. 2 r. 40 k.
- PALM, CHARLES G. and DALE REED, compilers. *Guide to the Hoover Institution Archives.* (Hoover Bibliographical Series, number 59.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1980. Pp. 418. \$50.00.
- STAAR, RICHARD F., editor. *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs: 1980.* (Hoover Institution Publications, number 235.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1980. Pp. xxxi, 486. \$35.00.
- ZAIONCHKOVSKII, P. A., editor. *Istoriia dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v dnevnikh i vospominaniakh.* Volume 3, Part 1, 1857-1894 [History of Prerevolutionary Russia in Diaries and Memoirs. Vol. 3, Pt. 1, 1857-94]. Moscow: Kniga. 1979. Pp. 378. 2 r.
- ZVARICH, V. V., editor. *Numizmaticheskii slovar'* [Numismatic Dictionary]. 3d ed. Lvov: Vishcha Shkola, for Lvov State University. 1979. Pp. 224, and 52 plates. 2 r. 30 k.

UNITED STATES

- ANDERSON, JOHN Q. et al., editors. *Southwestern American Literature: A Bibliography.* Chicago: Swallow Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 445. \$30.00.
- DANN, JOHN C., editor. *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence.* (Clements Library Bicentennial Studies.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1980. Pp. xxvi, 446. \$20.00.
- ENGEMAN, THOMAS S. et al., editors. *The Federalist Concordance.* (Imprint Series, Monograph Publishing.) Ann Arbor: Wesleyan University Press; distributed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1980. Pp. xiv, 615. \$43.25.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951.* Volume 1, *National Security Affairs; Foreign Economic Policy.* (Department of State Publication, number 8975.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1979. Pp. xii, 1,774.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951.* Volume 2, *The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere.* (Department of State Publication, number 8962.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1979. Pp. xviii, 1,720.
- GREEN, FLETCHER M. and J. ISAAC COPELAND, compilers. *The Old South.* (Goldentree Bibliographies in American

History.) Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM. 1980. Pp. xvii, 173. Cloth \$16.95, paper \$10.95.

- HINDING, ANDREA, editor. *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States.* In two volumes. New York: R. R. Bowker. 1979. Pp. xix, 1,114; x, 391.
- JONES, GEORGE FENWICK and RENATE WILSON, translators and editors. *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited by Samuel Urlsperger.* Volume 5, 1738. (Wormsloe Foundation Publications, number 14.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1980. Pp. xxiii, 351. \$18.00.
- KARPEL, BERNARD, editor. *Arts in America: A Bibliography.* Volume 1, Sections A-G; volume 4, Index. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1979. Unpaginated.
- PILKINGTON, WALTER, editor. *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th-century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College.* Clinton, N.Y.: Hamilton College. 1980. Pp. xviii, 459. \$17.95.
- ROBINSON, GEORGE W., editor. *The Public Papers of Governor Bert T. Combs, 1959-1963.* (The Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1979. Pp. xxvi, 539. \$28.00.
- SHEPHERD, REBECCA A. et al., editors. *A Biographical Directory of the Indiana General Assembly.* Volume 1, 1816-1899. Indianapolis: Select Committee on the Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly. 1980. Pp. xxxi, 610. \$30.00.
- SIMS, JANET L., compiler. *The Progress of Afro-American Women: A Selected Bibliography and Resource Guide.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 378. \$29.95.
- SMITH, ALICE KIMBALL and CHARLES WEINER, editors. *Robert Oppenheimer: Letters and Recollections.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 376. \$20.00.
- THORNBROUGH, GAYLE et al., editors. *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher.* Volume 7, 1861-1862. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1980. Pp. xxxvi, 657. \$10.00.
- WILTSE, CHARLES M. and HAROLD D. MOSER, editors. *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Correspondence.* Volume 4, 1835-1839. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Dartmouth College. 1980. Pp. xxvi, 562. \$27.50.

LATIN AMERICA

- CANTÙ, FRANCESCA. *Pedro de Cieza de León e il "Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú"* (Studi de Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, number 8.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per L'Età Moderna Contemporanea. 1979. Pp. 517.
- NENTVIG, JUAN. *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764.* Translated, clarified, and annotated by ALBERTO FRANCISCO PRADEAU and ROBERT R. RUSMUSSEN. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1980. Pp. xxiv, 160. Cloth \$16.95, paper \$7.95.

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the AHR between April 16, 1980 and June 12, 1980. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

- ALEXANDER, RICHARD D. *Darwinism and Human Affairs*. (The Jessie and John Danz Lectures.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1979. Pp. xxiv, 317. \$14.95.
- BARON, SALO WITTMAYER. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200-1650*. Volume 17, *Byzantines, Mamelukes, and Maghribians*. 2d ed., rev. New York: Columbia University Press or Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. 1980. Pp. 434. \$30.00.
- CAMPBELL, LORNE. *Van der Weyden*. New York: Harper and Row. 1980. Pp. 95. \$17.95.
- CIPOLLA, CARLO M. *Storia economica dell'Europa pre-industriale*. (Nuova Collana Storica.) 3d rev. ed. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 1980. Pp. 348. L. 15,000.
- COHEN, G. A. *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 369. Paper \$8.95.
- EGGEBRECHT, ARNE et al. *Geschichte der Arbeit: Vom Alten Ägypten bis zur Gegenwart*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch. 1980. Pp. 463.
- EISELE, CAROLYN. *Studies in the Scientific and Mathematical Philosophy of Charles S. Peirce*. Edited by R. M. MARTIN. (Studies in Philosophy, number 29.) New York: Mouton; distributed by Walter de Gruyter, New York. 1979. Pp. xii, 386. DM 96.
- EMMER, P. C. and H. L. WESSELING, editors. *Reappraisals in Overseas History: Essays on Post-War Historiography about European Expansion*. (Comparative Studies in Overseas History, number 2.) Leiden: Leiden University Press; distributed by Kluwer Boston, Hingham, Mass. 1979. Pp. 417. \$35.80.
- FILIPPONE-THAUERO, GIUSTINO. *La Gran Bretagna e l'Italia: Dalla conferenza di Mosca a Potsdam, 1943-1945*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1979. Pp. 186.
- La France et l'Allemagne, 1932-1936*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1980. Pp. 417. 130 fr.
- FURSDON, EDWARD. *The European Defence Community: A History*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1980. Pp. viii, 360. \$25.00.
- GARDNER, RICHARD N. *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy in Current Perspective: The Origins and the Prospects of Our International Economic Order*. Reprint. New York: Columbia University Press. 1980. Pp. xlix, 423. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$7.50.
- GOLDSTEIN, THOMAS. *Dawn of Modern Science: From the Arabs to Leonardo da Vinci*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1980. Pp. xvii, 297. \$12.95.
- HAMMARSTRÖM, INGRID. and THOMAS HALL, editors. *Growth and Transformation of the Modern City*. Stockholm: Swedish Council for Building Research. 1979. Pp. 278.
- HARBISON, ROBERT. *Deliberate Regression*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1980. Pp. xix, 264. \$15.00.
- HAWKE, G. R. *Economics for Historians*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 237. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$8.95.
- HEINSOHN, GUNNAR. et al. *Menschenproduktion: Allgemeine Bevölkerungstheorie der Neuzeit*. (Edition Suhrkamp, number 914.) Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1979. Pp. 257.
- HOWSE, DEREK. *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xviii, 254. \$24.95.
- JANKUHN, HERBERT and REINHARD WENSKUS, editors. *Geschichtswissenschaft und Archäologie: Untersuchungen zur Siedlungs-, Wirtschafts-, und Kirchengeschichte*. (Vorträge und Forschungen, number 22.) Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1979. Pp. 657. DM 152.
- JOHNSON, R. J. *Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Human Geography since 1945*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1979. Pp. 232. \$34.95.
- KRAMER, JANE. *Unsettling Europe*. New York: Random House. 1980. Pp. xix, 217. \$9.95.
- KRANTZ, GROVER S. *Climatic Races and Descent Groups*. North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publishing House. 1980. Pp. 273. \$14.95.
- KRAUTHEIMER, RICHARD. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 389. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$16.50.
- LEIBENSTEIN, HARVEY. *Inflation, Income Distribution, and X-Efficiency Theory*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1980. Pp. 122. \$23.50.
- MENDES-FLOHR, PAUL R. and JEHUDA REINHARZ, editors. *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xix, 556. \$25.00.
- Modèles et moyens de la réflexion politique au XVIII^e siècle*. Volume 3, *Débats et combats idéologiques: Sociétés de pensée, Loges, Clubs... mythes*. (Actes du Colloque International des Lumières.) Lille: Publications de l'Université de Lille III. 1979. Pp. 354.
- MOSSE, GEORGE L. *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. Reprint. New York: Harper Colophon Books. 1980. Pp. xvi, 277. \$4.95.
- PALAZZOLO, GIORGIA ALESSI. *Prova legale e pena: La Crisi del sistema tra evo medio e moderno*. (Storia e Diritto, number 6.) Naples: Jovene Editore. 1979. Pp. viii, 213.
- PERLMUTTER, AMOS and VALERIE PLAVE BENNETT, editors. *The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 508. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$10.95.

- PHILLIPS, PATRICIA. *The Prehistory of Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1980. Pp. 314. \$17.50.
- REILLY, KEVIN. *The West and the World: A Topical History of Civilization*. New York: Harper and Row. 1980. Pp. xv, 570.
- ROULET, LOUIS-EDOUARD, editor. *Frontières et contacts de civilisation*. (Colloque Universitaire Franco-suisse.) Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière. 1979. Pp. 239.
- SHAFFER, ROBERT JONES, editor. *A Guide to Historical Method*. (Dorsey Series in History.) 3d ed., rev. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 272. \$9.50.
- TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *On Democracy, Revolution, and Society: Selected Writings*. Edited by JOHN STONE and STEPHEN MENNELL. (Heritage of Sociology.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1980. Pp. x, 391. \$27.50.
- TRUMP, D. H. *The Prehistory of the Mediterranean*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 310. \$19.95.
- TURVASI, FRANCESCO. *The Condemnation of Alfred Loisy and the Historical Method*. (Uomini e Dottrine, number 24.) Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1979. Pp. x, 204.
- WESSELL, LEONARD P., JR. *Karl Marx, Romantic Irony, and the Proletariat: The Mythopoetic Origins of Marxism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1979. Pp. 297. \$20.00.
- WHITTICK, ARNOLD. *Woman into Citizen*. Introduction by HELVI SIPILÄ. Reprint. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO. 1979. Pp. 327. \$27.50.
- WHITTOW, JOHN. *Disasters: The Anatomy of Environmental Hazards*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979. Pp. 411. \$18.95.

ANCIENT

- CAVEN, BRIAN. *The Punic Wars*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 308. \$25.00.
- DE GIOVANNI, LUCIO. *Chiesa e Stato Nel Codice Teodosiano*. (Saggio sul Libro, number 16.) Naples: Tempi Moderni Edizioni. 1980. Pp. 204.
- LAGUILLO MENÉNDEZ-TOLOSA, RAQUEL. *Aspectos de la realzada mítica: El problema de la sucesión en Grecia antigua*. (Fundación Juan March Serie Universitaria, number 116.) Madrid: Fundación Juan March. 1978. Pp. 48.
- WOLFRAM, HERWIG. *Geschichte der Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1979. Pp. x, 495. DM 135.

MEDIEVAL

- FUMAGALLI, VITO and GABRIELLA ROSETTI, editors. *Medioevo rurale: Sulle tracce della civiltà contadina*. (Problemi e Prospettive, Serie di Storia.) Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 1980. Pp. 459. L. 15,000.
- GARZELLA, G. et al. *Studi sugli strumenti di scambio a Pisa nel medioevo*. (Biblioteca del "Bollettino Storico Pisano," Historical Series, number 20.) Pisa: Pacini Editore. 1979. Pp. vi, 169. L. 14,000.
- HARRISON, DAVID. *England before the Norman Conquest*. Ipswich, Suffolk: Hadden Best. 1978. Pp. x, 564. £12.50.
- HILTON, R. H. *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages: The Ford Lectures for 1973 and Related Studies*. Reprint. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. 256. Paper \$13.95.
- LYON, BRUCE. *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England*. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton. 1980. Pp. xviii, 669. \$16.95.
- OTWAY-RUTHVEN, A. J. *A History of Medieval Ireland*. Introduction by KATHLEEN HUGHES. Reprint. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 454. \$25.00.

- PHILIPPIDES, MARIOS, translator. *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401-1477*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1980. Pp. 174. \$12.50.
- REUTER, TIMOTHY, editor. *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton*. Exeter: Paternoster Press. 1980. Pp. 140. £6.00.
- SIEBEN, HERMANN JOSEF. *Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche*. (Konziliengeschichte, Series B, Untersuchungen, number 1.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1979. Pp. xxv, 540. DM 136.

BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- ASH, MARINELL. *The Strange Death of Scottish History*. Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press. 1980. Pp. 166. £6.50.
- BAKER, T. F. T., editor. *A History of Middlesex*. Volume 6. (Victoria History of the Counties of England.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Historical Research, London. 1980. Pp. xx, 228. \$125.00.
- BRENDON, PIERS. *Eminent Edwardians*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1980. Pp. xvi, 255. \$10.95.
- CHALFONT, A. G. J., editor. *Waterloo: Battle of Three Armies*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1980. Pp. 239. \$17.95.
- CLARK, JON et al., editors. *Culture and Crisis in Britain in the Thirties*. London: Lawrence and Wishart; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. 279. \$18.75.
- DEVINE, T. M., editor. *Lairs and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment*. Dundee: Distributed by the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow. 1979. Pp. iv, 70. \$6.00.
- DREYER, FREDERICK A. *Burke's Politics: A Study in Whig Orthodoxy*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1979. Pp. 93. \$7.50.
- FLACKES, W. D. *Northern Ireland: A Political Directory, 1968-79*. New York: St. Martin's Press or Gill and Macmillan, Dublin. 1980. Pp. 212. \$25.00.
- IGNATIEFF, MICHAEL. *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850*. Reprint. New York: Columbia University Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 257. Paper \$6.50.
- KEITH-LUCAS, BRYAN and PETER G. RICHARDS. *A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century*. (The New Local Government Series, number 17.) Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1978. Pp. 266. Cloth \$18.75, paper \$8.75.
- LONGFORD, ELIZABETH. *A Pilgrimage of Passion: The Life of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1980. Pp. xi, 467. \$16.95.
- MATHIAS, PETER. *The Transformation of England: Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 324. \$18.50.
- MOSSNER, ERNEST CAMPBELL. *The Life of David Hume*. 2d ed. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. xx, 709. \$58.00.
- ROBERTS, CLAYTON and DAVID ROBERTS. *A History of England*. Volume 1, *Prehistory to 1714*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1980. Pp. xii, 452. Paper \$13.95.
- STONE, LAWRENCE. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. Abr. ed. New York: Harper Colophon Books/Harper and Row. 1979. Pp. 446. \$8.95.
- WEBB, R. K. *Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. 2d ed. New York: Harper and Row. 1980. Pp. xiv, 685. Paper \$12.95.

FRANCE

- CAYEZ, PIERRE. *L'industrialisation lyonnaise au XIXème siècle: Du grand commerce à la grande industrie*. In two volumes.

- Lille: Université de Lille III. 1979. Pp. 535; 536-1254.
 SZAJKOWSKI, ZOSA. *Jewish Education in France, 1789-1939*. Edited by TOBEY B. GITELLE. (Jewish Social Studies Monograph Series, number 2.) New York: Conference on Jewish Social Studies; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1980. Pp. xiv, 66. \$10.00.
 VOSS, JÜRGEN. *Geschichte Frankreichs*. Volume 2, *Von der frühneuzeitlichen Monarchie zur Ersten Republik, 1500-1800*. (Beck'sche Elementarbücher.) Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1980. Pp. 249. DM 22.
 WATTS, DEREK A. *Cardinal de Retz: The Ambiguities of a Seventeenth-Century Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. 300. \$39.95.
 YARDENI, MYRIAM, editor. *Les Juifs dans l'histoire de France: Premier colloque international de Haïfa*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1980. Pp. vi, 233. f. 68.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

- CORTADA, JAMES W., editor. *Spain in the Twentieth-Century World: Essays on Spanish Diplomacy, 1898-1978*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 30.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 294. \$22.95.
 FRASER, RONALD. *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War*. Reprint. New York: Pantheon Books. 1979. Pp. 628. \$7.95.
 DE MELO, ROMEU. *Introdução à liberdade*. (Manuais Universitários, number 16.) Lisbon: Moraes Editores. 1979. Pp. 124.

LOW COUNTRIES

- BRESCIANINO, CLEMENTINA. *Il Problema della neutralità nella politica estera Belga, 1936-1937*. Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1979. Pp. 168. L. 5,000.

NORTHERN EUROPE

- JAKOBSSON, SVANTE. *Osilia-Maritima, 1227-1346: Studier kring tillkomsten av svenska bosättningar i Balticum, i synnerhet inom biskopstiftet Ösel-Wiek* [Osilia-maritima, 1227-1346: Studies of the Establishment of Swedish Settlements in the Baltic Countries, Especially in the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek]. Summaries in English and German. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, number 112.) Uppsala: Textgruppen; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm. 1980. Pp. 172. 62.50 KR.
 TOMASSON, RICHARD F. *Iceland: The First New Society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 247. \$17.50.
 TOPHOLM, JENS. *Emil Marott, 1856-1940: Socialdemokrat med sociale og nationale særstandpunkter* [Emil Marott, 1856-1940: A Social Democrat with Distinctive Social and National Points of View]. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1980. Pp. ix, 155.
 YOUNG, G. V. C. *From the Vikings to the Reformation: A Chronicle of the Faroe Islands up to 1538*. Douglas, Isle of Man: Shearwater Press; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. 184. \$13.75.

GERMANY, AUSTRALIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- BENNINGHOVEN, FRIEDRICH and CÉCILE LOWENTHAL-HENSEL, editors. *Neue Forschungen zur Brandenburg-Preussischen Geschichte 1*. (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, number 14.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1979. Pp. 369.
 BENZ, WOLFGANG, editor. *Miscellanea: Festschrift für Helmut*

- Krausnick zum 75. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1980. Pp. 222. DM 38.
 EICHHOLTZ, DIETRICH and KURT GOSSWEILER, editors. *Faschismus Forschung: Positionen, Probleme, Polemik*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1980. Pp. 459. 28. M.
 FUCHS, WALTHER PETER. *Nachdenken über Geschichte: Vorträge und Aufsätze*. Preface by KARL DIETRICH ERDMANN. Edited by GUNTER BERG and VOLKER DOTTERWEICH. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1980. Pp. 374.
 GARLINSKI, JÓZEF. *The Enigma War*. U.S. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1980. Pp. xx, 219. \$14.95.
 GOOCH, JOHN. *Armies in Europe*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1980. Pp. x, 286. \$30.00.
 HERZSTEIN, ROBERT EDWIN. *The Nazis*. (World War II.) Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books. 1980. Pp. 208. \$10.95.
 HILGRUBER, ANDREAS. *Die gescheiterte Grossmacht: Eine Skizze des Deutschen Reiches, 1871-1945*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1980. Pp. 118. DM 22.
 KAPNER, GERHARDT. *Barocker Heiligenkult in Wien und seine Träger*. (Österreich Archiv.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. 1978. Pp. 147. S 176.
 MALAND, DAVID. *Europe at War, 1600-1650*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1980. Pp. viii, 219. \$17.50.
 MERTEN, DETLEF. *Der Katté-Prozess: Vortrag gehalten vor der Berliner Juristischen Gesellschaft am 14. Februar 1979*. (Schriftenreihe der Juristischen Gesellschaft e.V. Berlin, number 62.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1980. Pp. 48. DM 18.
 NAUCKE, WOLFGANG. *Grundlinien einer rechtsstaatlich-praktischen allgemeinen Straftatlehre*. (Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, number 16:1.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1979. Pp. 42. DM 16.
 OSSAR, MICHAEL. *Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller: The Realm of Necessity and the Realm of Freedom*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 194. \$24.95.
 SÆTER, MARTIN. *The Federal Republic, Europe, and the World: Perspectives on West German Foreign Policy*. (Norwegian Foreign Policy Studies, number 31.) Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1980. Pp. 119. \$15.00.
 SMELSER, RONALD M. *Das Sudetenproblem und das Dritte Reich, 1933-1938: Von der Volkstumspolitik zur nationalsozialistischen Aussenpolitik*. Translated from English by DIERK HILDEBRANDT. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 36.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1980. Pp. 241. Cloth DM 68, paper DM 28.
 VON ARETIN, KARL OTMAR FREIHERR. *Vom Deutschen Reich zum Deutschen Bund*. (Deutsche Geschichte, number 7; Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1455.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1980. Pp. 213. DM 15.80.
 WILD, M. T. *West Germany: A Geography of its People*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1980. Pp. 255. \$22.50.

ITALY

- HALL, M. BOAS et al. *Il Rinascimento: Interpretazioni e problemi*. (Collezione Storica.) Rome: Editori Laterza. 1979. Pp. viii, 398. L. 15,000.
 MILZA, PIERRE and SERGE BERSTEIN. *Le fascisme italien, 1919-1945*. (Collection Points, Série Histoire.) Rev. ed. Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1980. Pp. 434.

EASTERN EUROPE

- BEREND, IVÁN T. and GYÖRGY RÁNKI. *Underdevelopment and Economic Growth: Studies in Hungarian Social and Economic History*. Translated by ZSUZSA BEREND et al. Budapest:

- Akadémiai Kiadó; distributed by Heyden and Son, Philadelphia. 1979. Pp. 299. \$28.75.
- HELLER, CELIA S. *On the Edge of Destruction: Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars*. (Schocken Paperbacks on Jewish History and Life.) Reprint. New York: Schocken Books. 1980. Pp. xi, 369. \$8.95.
- WISNER, HENRYK. *Najjaśniejsza Rzeczpospolita: Szkice z dziejów Polski szlacheckiej XVI-XVII wieku* [Most Brilliant Commonwealth: Sketches from the History of the Polish Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. 1978. Pp. 283. 40 Zł.

SOVIET UNION

- ALIEV, F. M. *Missiia poslannika russkogo gosudarstva A. P. Volynskogo v Azerbaidzhan, 1716-1718 gg.* [The Mission of the Russian State Ambassador A. P. Volynskii in Azerbaidzhan, 1716-18]. Baku: Elm. 1979. Pp. 120. 95 k.
- ANDRONOV, S. A. *Bol'shevistskaia pečat' v trekh revoliutsiakh* [The Bolshevik Press in the Three Revolutions]. Moscow: Politizdat. 1978. Pp. 341. 1 r. 40 k.
- ARTSIKHOVSKII, A. V., editor. *Očerki russkoi kul'tury XVII veka: Chast' vtoraiia* [Essays on Russian Culture of the Seventeenth Century: Part Two]. Moscow: Moscow State University Press. 1979. Pp. 340. 2 r. 40 k.
- BIALIK, B. A., editor. *Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 godov i literatura* [The Revolution of 1905-07 and Literature]. Moscow: Nauka. 1978. Pp. 271. 1 r. 50 k.
- BUGANOVA, V. I., editor. *Predvoditeli krest'ianskikh voen v Rossii XVII-XVIII vv.* [Leaders of Peasant Wars in Russia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries]. Moscow: Kniga. 1979. Pp. 54. 15 k.
- IAKIMOV, A. T. *Dal'nii vostoč v ognie bor'by s interventami i beloguardistsami, 1920-1922* [The Far East in the Fire of Battle with Interventionists and White Guards, 1920-22]. Moscow: Nauka. 1979. Pp. 118. 50 k.
- LISKA, GEORGE. *Russia and World Order: Strategic Choices and the Laus of Power in History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 194. \$14.50.
- RAGSDALE, HUGH, editor. *Paul I: A Reassessment of His Life and Reign*. (UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 2.) Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies. 1979. Pp. xxiii, 188. \$6.95.
- RUD', A. S. et al. *Iz istorii trekh revoliutsii v Rossii: Posobie dlia uchitelei* [From the History of the Three Revolutions in Russia: A Textbook for Teachers]. Moscow: Prosveshchenie. 1976. Pp. 189. 50 k.
- SEDOV, V. V. *Proiskhozhdenie i ranniia istoriia slavian* [The Origin and Early History of the Slavs]. Moscow: Nauka. 1979. Pp. 153. 75 k.
- SIVACHEV, NIKOLAI V. and NIKOLAI N. YAKOVIEV. *Russia and the United States*. Translated by OLGA ADLER TITELBAUM. (The United States in the World: Foreign Perspectives.) Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 301. Paper \$5.95.
- SPIESS, KURT. *Periphere Sowjetwirtschaft: Das Beispiel Russisch-Fernost, 1897-1970*. (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, number 17.) Zurich: Atlantis. 1980. Pp. 200.
- TIUTIUKIN, S. V. et al., editors. *Rabochii klass Rossii v period burzhuažno-demokratičeskikh revoliutsii: Sbornik statei* [Russia's Working Class in the Period of Bourgeois-Democratic Revolutions: A Collection of Essays]. Moscow: Nauka. 1978. Pp. 151. 45 k.
- VESELOVSKII, S. B. *Trudy po istočnikovovedeniiu i istorii Rossii perioda feodalizma* [Works on Source Study and the History of Russia in the Period of Feudalism]. Moscow: Nauka. 1978. Pp. 341. 2 r. 16 k.

NEAR EAST

- BLAKE, G. H. and R. I. LAWLESS, editors. *The Changing Middle Eastern City*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1980. Pp. 273. \$28.50.
- BRECHER, MICHAEL. *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973*. (International Crisis Behavior Project.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1980. Pp. xvii, 479. \$24.95.
- DUPREE, LOUIS. *Afghanistan*. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. xxiv, 778. \$9.95.
- MANSFIELD, PETER, editor. *The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey*. 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. ix, 579. \$29.95.
- RODINSON, MAXIME. *Muhammad*. Translated by ANNE CARTER. 2d ed. New York: Pantheon. 1980. Pp. li, 362. Cloth \$15.95, paper \$5.95.

AFRICA

- HARFORD, HENRY. *The Zulu War Journal of Colonel Henry Harford, C.B.* Edited by DAPHNE CHILD. Reprint. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1980. Pp. 88. \$10.50.
- LABAND, J. P. C. and P. S. THOMPSON. *A Field Guide to the War in Zululand, 1879*. Cartography by B. MARTIN. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press; distributed by Lawrence Verry, Mystic, Conn. 1979. Pp. vii, 88.
- ROTBURG, ROBERT I. *Suffer the Future: Policy Choices in Southern Africa*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 311. \$15.00.

ASIA

- Actes du II^e Colloque international de Sinologie: Les rapports entre la Chine et l'Europe au temps des lumières*; Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaire de Chantilly, 16-18 Septembre 1977. (La Chine au Temps des Lumières, number 4.) Paris: "Les Belles Lettres." Collection Cathasia, with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1980. Pp. 272.
- ARASARATNAM, SINNAPPAH. *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore*. (Oxford in Asia Paperbacks.) 2d rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 239. Paper \$8.95.
- BORG, DOROTHY and WALDO HEINRICHS, editors. *Uncertain Years: Chinese-American Relations, 1947-1950*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 332. \$17.50.
- China: U.S. Policy Since 1945*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly. 1980. Pp. viii, 387. Paper \$10.95.
- DANIELS, KAY and MARY MURNANE, compilers. *Uphill all the Way: A Documentary History of Women in Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 335. \$27.95.
- DAVIS, WINSTON. *Dojo: Magic and Exorcism in Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 332. \$18.50.
- DEHERGNE, JOSEPH and DONALD DANIEL LESLIE, editors. *Juifs de Chine: À travers la correspondance inédite des Jésuites du dix-huitième siècle*. Preface by JACQUE GERNET. (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., number 41.) Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I. or Les Belles Lettres, Paris. 1980. Pp. xvii, 250, and 11 plates. 80 fr.
- FROLIC, B. MICHAEL. *Mao's People: Sixteen Portraits of Life in Revolutionary China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1980. Pp. 278. \$15.00.
- KAJIMA, MORINOSUKE. *The Diplomacy of Japan, 1894-1922. Volume 3, First World War, Paris Peace Conference, Washington Conference*. Tokyo: Kajima Institute of International Peace. 1980. Pp. 704.

MULLIGAN, JEAN, translator. *The Lute: Kao Ming's P'i-p'a chi*. (Translations from the Oriental Classics.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1980. Pp. 317. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$10.00.

UNITED STATES

ALEXANDER, HERBERT E. *Financing Politics: Money, Elections and Political Reform*. (Politics and Public Policy Series.) 2d ed. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 190. \$6.95.

AMAGHER, RICHARD W. *American Political Writers: 1588-1800*. (Twayne's United States Authors Series.) Boston: Twayne. 1979. Pp. 250. \$11.95.

BARBER, JAMES DAVID. *The Pulse of Politics: Electing Presidents in the Media Age*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1980. Pp. 342. \$14.95.

BLU, KAREN I. *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. (Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems, number 5.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 276. Cloth \$24.50, paper \$6.95.

BRUSTEIN, ROBERT. *Critical Moments: Reflection on Theatre & Society, 1973-1979*. New York: Random House. 1980. Pp. xx, 232. \$9.95.

BUENKER, JOHN D. et al. *Progressivism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman. 1977. Pp. viii, 152.

CAMPBELL, BRUCE A. and RICHARD J. TRILLING, editors. *Realignment in American Politics: Toward a Theory*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 352. \$22.50.

CARROLL, F. M. *American Opinion and the Irish Question, 1910-23: A Study in Opinion and Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1978. Pp. xi, 319. \$23.50.

CLARK, ELLA E. and MARGOT EDMONDS. *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 171. \$10.95.

CONDIT, KENNETH W. *The History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*. Volume 2, 1947-1949. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier. 1980. Pp. xvi, 567.

CRABB, CECIL V., JR., and PAT M. HOLT. *Invitation to Struggle: Congress, the President and Foreign Policy*. (Politics and Public Policy Series.) Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 234. \$6.95.

CRUDEN, ROBERT. *Many and One: A Social History of the United States*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1980. Pp. x, 441. \$15.95.

CUMMINGS, SCOTT, editor. *Self-Help in Urban America: Patterns of Minority Business Enterprise*. (National University Publications Interdisciplinary Urban Series.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1980. Pp. 236. \$18.50.

DAVIS, BURKE. *Sherman's March*. New York: Random House. 1980. Pp. x, 335. \$12.95.

DEUTRICH, MABEL E. and VIRGINIA C. PURDY, editors. *Clio Was a Woman: Studies in the History of American Women*. (National Archives Conferences, number 16.) Washington: Howard University Press. 1980. Pp. xviii, 352. \$19.95.

DONNER, FRANK J. *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1980. Pp. xvi, 554. \$17.95.

EGLOFF, FRANKLIN R. *Theodore Roosevelt: An American Portrait*. New York: Vantage Press. 1980. Pp. 186. \$7.95.

Elections '80. Washington: Congressional Quarterly. 1980. Pp. 163. \$6.95.

Every Four Years. (Smithsonian Exposition Books.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution; distributed by W. W. Norton, New York. 1980. Pp. 228. \$21.05.

FAHEY, JOHN. *The Days of the Hercules*. Moscow: University Press of Idaho. 1978. Pp. viii, 324. \$10.95.

FALCO, MARIA J. "Bigotry!": *Ethnic, Machine, and Sexual Politics in a Senatorial Election*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 34.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 200. \$18.95.

FEDER, JUDITH et al., editors. *National Health Insurance: Conflicting Goals and Policy Choices*. Washington: Urban Institute. 1980. Pp. xxi, 721. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.50.

FINK, GARY M. *Prelude to the Presidency: The Political Character and Legislative Leadership Style of Governor Jimmy Carter*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 40.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. xxvi, 225. \$22.95.

GARMON, GERALD M. *John Reuben Thompson*. (Twayne's United States Authors Series.) Boston: Twayne. 1979. Pp. 174. \$11.95.

GRABER, DORIS A. *Mass Media and American Politics*. (Politics and Public Policy Series.) Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press. 1980. Pp. xiii, 304. \$6.95.

GREEN, JAMES R. and HUGH CARTER DONAHUE. *Boston's Workers: A Labor History*. (National Endowment for the Humanities Boston Public Library Learning Library Program Publication, number 6.) Boston: Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston. 1980. Pp. 134. \$10.00.

A History of the Little Rock District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1881-1979. 2d ed., rev. Little Rock: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. 1979.

HOSTETLER, JOHN A. *Amish Society*. 3d ed., rev. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1980. Pp. xv, 414. Cloth \$22.50, paper \$6.95.

KARSTEN, PETER, editor. *The Military in America: From the Colonial Era to the Present*. New York: Free Press. 1980. Pp. x, 485. \$9.95.

KASSAY, JOHN. *The Book of Shaker Furniture*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1980. pp. xxii, 265. \$35.00.

LASH, JOSEPH P. *Helen and Teacher: The Story of Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan Macy*. (Radcliffe Biography Series.) New York: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence. 1980. Pp. xiv, 811. \$17.95.

LURIE, NANCY OESTREICH. *Wisconsin Indians*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1980. Pp. 66. \$2.00.

MCALLESTER, DAVID P. *Hogans: Navajo Houses and House Songs*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1980. Pp. 113. \$16.95.

MAGDOL, EDWARD and JON L. WAKELYN, editors. *The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Social History*. (Contributions in American History, number 86.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1980. Pp. xii, 386. \$27.50.

MARTELLONE, ANNA MARIA, editor. *La "questione" dell'immigrazione negli Stati Uniti*. (Problemi e prospettive.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 1980. Pp. 334. L. 12,000.

MEYER, DONALD. *The Positive Thinkers: Religion as Pop Psychology from Mary Baker Eddy to Oral Roberts*. Reprint. New York: Pantheon Books. 1980. Pp. xix, 396. Cloth \$15.95, paper \$5.95.

MILLER, JOHN CHESTER. *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery*. Reprint. New York: New American Library. 1980. Pp. xiv, 323. \$5.95.

MOMENT, GAIRDNER B. and OTTO F. KRAUSHAAR, editors. *Utopias: The American Experience*. Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press. 1980. Pp. vii, 251. \$12.50.

MORRISON, DOROTHY NAFUS. *Chief Sarah: Sarah Winnemucca's Fight for Indian Rights*. New York: Atheneum. 1980. Pp. xi, 170. \$9.95.

NICHOLAS, H. G. *The Nature of American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Pp. 134. Cloth \$12.95, paper \$4.95.

NORTH, DIANE M. T. *Samuel Peter Heintzelman and the Sonora*

- Exploring and Mining Company*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1980. Pp. xvii, 248. \$7.95.
- PALMER, GREGORY. *The McNamara Strategy and the Vietnam War: Program Budgeting in the Pentagon, 1960-1968*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 13.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1978. Pp. 169. \$15.95.
- PETERSON, EDWARD N. *The American Occupation of Germany: Retreat to Victory*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1978. Pp. 376. \$18.95.
- QUIMBY, IAN M. G. and SCOTT T. SWANK, editors. *Perspectives on American Folk Art*. New York: W. W. Norton, for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del. 1980. Pp. xvii, 376, \$21.95.
- RATNER, SIDNEY *et al.* *The Evolution of the American Economy: Growth, Welfare, and Decision Making*. New York: Basic Books. 1979. Pp. vi, 548. \$18.50.
- RUBIN, LOUIS D., JR., editor. *The American South: Portrait of a Culture*. (Southern Literary Studies.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1980. Pp. x, 379. \$22.50.
- SCHNABEL, JAMES F. *The History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*. Volume 1, 1945-1947. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier. 1980. Pp. xxi, 460.
- SCHNABEL, JAMES F. and ROBERT J. WATSON. *The History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*. Volume 3, *The Korean War*. In two parts. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier. 1980. Pp. xxi, 562; xvii, 563-1,117.
- SHELDON, CHARLES H. and FRANK P. WEAVER. *Politicians, Judges, and the People: A Study in Citizens' Participation*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 36.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980. Pp. xii, 206. \$18.95.
- STINSON, ROBERT. *Lincoln Steffens*. (Modern Literature Monographs.) New York: Frederick Ungar. 1980. Pp. viii, 168. \$9.95.
- STRUEVER, STUART and FELICIA ANTONELLI HOLTON. *Koster: Americans in Search of their Prehistoric Past*. Reprint. New York: Signet. 1980. Pp. 249. Paper \$2.95.
- THOREAU, HENRY D. *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Edited by CARL F. HOVDE *et al.* Historical Introduction by LINCK C. JOHNSON. (The Writings of Henry D. Thoreau.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. 610. \$25.00.
- TROUTT, MARGARET. *The General was a Lady: The Story of Evangeline Booth*. Nashville, Tenn.: A. J. Holman. 1980. Pp. x, 325. \$9.95.
- TUTTLE, SAM. *Sam Tuttle's Picture Book of Old Connecticut*. Scotia, N. Y.: Americana Review. 1979. Pp. ix, 133. \$8.95.
- WHIPPLE, A. B. C. *The Seafarers*. Volume 13, *The Clipper Ships*. Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life; distributed by Little, Brown, Boston. 1980. Pp. 176. \$10.95.
- WINTER, J. M., editor. *R. H. Tawney: The American Labour Movement and Other Essays*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1979. Pp. xxiv, 258. \$25.00.
- WOLF, STEPHANIE GRAUMAN. *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800*. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. Pp. xi, 361. \$6.95.
- YOUNGER, LILLYE. *Decatur County*. (Tennessee County History Series.) Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State University Press. 1979. \$10.00.

CANADA

- ARNOPOULOS, SHEILA MCLEOD and DOMINIQUE CLIFT. *The English Fact in Quebec*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 239. \$17.95.
- COLE, JEAN MURRAY. *Exile in the Wilderness: The Biography of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, 1790-1853*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 268. \$15.95.
- DAVIES, JOHN, editor. *Douglas of the Forests: The North American Journals of David Douglas*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1980. Pp. 188. \$14.95.
- JARRELL, RICHARD A. and NORMAN R. BALL, editors. *Science, Technology, and Canadian History*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 246. \$5.75.
- JUDD, CAROL M. and ARTHUR J. RAY, editors. *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1980. Pp. viii, 337. \$30.00.
- REID, DENNIS. "Our Own Country Canada": *Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada; distributed by University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1979. Pp. xvi, 454. \$29.95.
- MARY-ROUSSELIÈRE, GUY. *Qitdlarssuaq: L'histoire d'une migration polaire*. Preface by ANDRÉ LEROI-GOURHAN. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal. 1980. Pp. 188. \$13.95.

LATIN AMERICA

- GRAHAM, RICHARD. *Escravidão, reforma e imperialismo*. (Coleção Debates.) São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva. 1979. Pp. 195.
- SCHEIPS, PAUL J., editor. *The Panama Canal: Readings on its History*. Wilmington, Del. Michael Glazier. 1979. Pp. xvi, 359.

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

TO THE EDITOR:

Edward S. Laine's review of my book, *In Time of Storm: Revolution, Civil War, and the Ethnolinguistic Issue in Finland* (AHR, 85 [1980]: 655), left me puzzled. His approach was to criticize the book both for doing what it does not and for not doing what it does. This kind of shadow-boxing is misleading and confusing. He attacked the book for being "clearly in the Finnish nationalist tradition" and for "under-scor[ing]" the legal and legitimate basis of Finnish independence—unique and odd claims to anyone familiar with the book or with my previous publications and their reception. Both the upholders of and the opponents of the nationalist and legitimist traditions should be startled. Other critics, more knowledgeable about the topic than Laine, have taken the opposite view.

Academician Eino Jutikkala, the editor of the *Finnish Historical Review*, reviewed the book and commented that "it is national hubris to search emotion-based attachments for his motivation: . . . Finland is only a representative example to him of a country . . . nationalism and socialism created their own polarizations." Although complimenting me for "scholarly criticalness," Jutikkala criticized me for not adequately stressing Finnish aspirations for independence (*Uusi Suomi* [1979]). Another reviewer, Lauri Hyvämäki, wrote, "Sometimes it is said that a historian must have no fatherland, party, or relatives. Hamalainen fulfills the first two requirements excellently, for, although born in Finland, he analyzes coolly and objectively, as if from some other planet. . . . He keeps under tight cover any possible antipathies and sympathies . . . ; no native scholar could have gotten so much out of so difficult a topic in such a solid manner" (*Kanava*, 9 [1979]: 570–72).

As for my alleged fixation with legality, nowhere

have I underscored, or even mentioned, "legally obtained" or "legitimate" independence. Quite to the contrary, I do not think a narrowly legalistic approach to the revolution and civil war fruitful, and I expressed criticism of such narrow legalism in my book.

In commenting on my point about violence, Dr. Laine claimed that I have ignored earlier violence and forgotten the linkage between violence-activists-Jagers-White guards. In fact, I used precisely that theme in explaining the prominence of the Swedish speakers among the Whites, as should be clear to anyone who has read my book (for example, pp. 15–16, 73–75: "Younger . . . Swedish speakers . . . moved toward active resistance and . . . violence," and "the subsequent Jager movement . . . can be regarded as successor to the Activists"). Laine also ignored the difference between the impact of large-scale terror in the streets in front of crowds of onlookers and violence more removed from the public's eye.

Concerning Dr. Laine's doubt that a social revolution took place in Finland, available space allows the repeating of only a few principal indicators, such as the replacement of the previous ruling creed, power structure, and elite by a new dominant ideology and political, administrative, and judicial institutions manned by a new personnel of working-class origins, suppression of all nonsocialist political meetings, organizations, and publications, collapse of the former employers' authority, and redistribution of control and ownership of property.

To claim that a book takes positions that it does not and to pretend that it excludes matters that are integral parts of its theme are unfair, to say the least. Dr. Laine has set up a straw man to knock about—perhaps counting on the negative ring of the word "nationalist" in the Anglo-American scholarly tradition and upon the effect of guilt by association.

Dr. Laine's comment on my alleged "most significant . . . findings" make little sense to anyone with a knowledge of the topic. It does not speak well of his carefulness either to talk about "the immediate response" of a "faithful translation." I wonder also whether he read the book with care or whether he

failed to comprehend what he read. The text and findings should have been clear enough; other reviewers have understood them and judged the book significant enough to write knowledgeable and several-page-long reviews of it.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN
*University of Wisconsin,
Madison*

DR. LAINE REPLIES:

Clearly, Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen's recent "puzzled" state, no less than the bombast that it occasioned, has been an astonishing invention of his own manufacture. Indeed, a judicious reading of my review of his book will confirm that in no way—unfairly or otherwise—did I "attack" his work or person but rather credited them with a respectable place in the historiographical mainstream in the study of the modern Finnish state and, in so doing, recommended them to specialists in the field. Apparently still befuddled by the same delusion, Hamalainen now suggests that I, as a reviewer, should not have discussed what *his book did or did not do* in terms of its nature, content, or significance. In presenting such an argument, is he seriously advocating a wholesale reduction in the function and responsibilities of all reviewers in the pages of this journal, or is he just elevating his own work into a special category that would exempt it from the consideration of mere mortals? Were either of these notions less dangerous to the fundamental practice of intelligent criticism, I would not have bothered to respond to Hamalainen's outburst.

In the same vein, Professor Hamalainen's tactic to pit me against his colleagues in Finland, those with whom I have even less quarrel, is a distasteful canard. All reviewers bring to their work their own individual perceptions, experiences, and knowledge and, as well, are obliged to impart their syntheses in a manner best suited to their particular readership. Hence, this attempt so crudely to quantify and qualify book reviewers can only serve to debase us all. Whether or not Hamalainen is at present able to appreciate the fact, only the diversity of opinion possible under the current regime of nonimitative book reviewing guarantees his work a fair hearing in widely differing cultural milieus.

If—for argument's sake—a consensus had to be reached among all reviewers of Professor Hamalainen's book in North America, whose opinion should prevail? Since Hamalainen finds fault with mine, perhaps he would prefer that of Mauri Jalava (*Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 22 [1980]: 161–62), who noted the "tendentiousness in his historical analysis," particularly for seeing "the Civil War and the social revolution . . . ignited simultaneously on 27 January 1918." Then, of course, John H. Hodgson's views (*Canadian Journal of History*, 15 [1980]: 150–51)

might win out. He found in Hamalainen's work "what can best be called immature and partisan positions, such as numerous attacks on other scholars" (a point, I believe, also referred to in Hyvä-mäki's review cited by Hamalainen himself) and later even questioned the very *raison d'être* for the book by suggesting that it "offers very little that is new" and "does not answer one of the few questions that remain six decades after the civil war." At least my review would have provided a suitable book-jacket blurb—to wit, "Hamalainen's work is recommended for specialists in modern Finnish history."

In any event, I eagerly look forward to Professor Hamalainen's next review of someone else's book to see how well he practices what he preaches.

EDWARD W. LAINE
*Public Archives of Canada,
Ottawa*

TO THE EDITOR:

If, as the saying goes, the less one knows about a complex subject, the more difficult it is for him to explain it succinctly, then Richard H. Minear's review of my book, *Japan's Political Revolution under MacArthur* (AHR, 85 [1980]: 698), must raise some question as to the depth of his knowledge of the seven-year Allied occupation of Japan.

Though the fourteen chapters of my study are concerned essentially with such things as U.S. occupation policy, the SCAP-drafted constitution, MacArthur's differences with Washington, certain SCAP personalities, relations between SCAP staff sections and between American and Japanese officials, and the power of the Diet—subjects in which students of the occupation have a keen interest—Professor Minear brushes all of this aside with one innocuous sentence.

But he squandered the better part of one of his five paragraphs taking me to task for the few lines I devoted to a book review by Sir George Sansom, geisha, meetings I had with high Japanese military and Imperial Household persons, and a fuss involving two SCAP officials. He frittered away another paragraph questioning my digressive speculation as to whether MacArthur's proposed strategy for fighting the Korean War, if approved by the Truman administration, might have spared us the tragedy of the disastrous ten-year Vietnam War. His last two paragraphs are personal attacks on me for my aversion to a handful of American left-wing writers, who wanted occupied Japan to abolish the Japanese throne and establish a people's republic.

In sum, Professor Minear's total preoccupation with side issues and subordinate items can hardly be taken as a serious review.

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, SR.
Washington, D.C.

PROFESSOR MINEAR REPLIES:

As Justin Williams, Sr., concedes, my review does describe the contents of his book. It also lists the positions Mr. Williams held in the occupation and describes the sources upon which he based himself. The comments that he misconstrues as a personal attack are my attempt to capture his polemical style and describe his political stance. Studying the historian is, for me, far more than a "side issue" or "subordinate item."

RICHARD H. MINEAR
*University of Massachusetts,
 Amherst*

TO THE EDITOR:

I must thank you once again for the attention you have given, in the book review section of the *American Historical Review*, to "The States and The Nation" series of state histories (*AHR*, 85 [1980]: 702-11). All of us who worked so hard on the series to try to make it merit such attention are gratified by that and by the conclusions of your reviewers. We are equally grateful, however, for the unique pleasure you have made possible for us—the pleasure of discovering what good critical minds make of the series *as a series*. Some of our books had been reviewed by comparison before, but you have given us the first comprehensive assessment; and the resulting critical perspective on the character of the series is a great service. Thank you very much!

GERALD GEORGE
*American Association for
 State and Local History*

TO THE EDITOR:

James R. Leutze, in reviewing our *Hitler vs. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War* (*AHR*, 85 [1980]: 735), reported that he had only "minor complaints" about the book itself. Yet to him the front material, with its "real problems," is outrageously immodest. Actually, we did not write or even have an opportunity to soft-pedal the commendatory blurbs, and we are astonished that our critic revealed such ignorance of the publishing process.

Our preface, like many another, is conventionally personal. We explained why we wrote the kind of book we did, and we gratefully acknowledged assistance from a score or more of people, including a number of high-ranking naval officers, mostly veterans of World War II and its preliminaries. Some of these men provided us with valuable oral information, which in some cases they later set down in letters or memoranda. We have deposited all of these unique manuscript materials, plus others, in the

Bailey-Ryan collection at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

At no place in the book did we state that the Hitler-Roosevelt "feud" was *the* major cause of the clash between the two nations. But the insulting epithets on both sides certainly grew increasingly venomous prior to the declared hostilities after Pearl Harbor. As we stated in our "immodest" preface, we have for the first time put all of the maritime grievances on both sides in a military-diplomatic setting, and this list includes a number of little-known ships that will never be heard of again. Some of the major incidents, such as those involving the *Greer*, the *Kearny*, and the *Reuben James*, are reasonably well known but are needed to complete the lists for the general reader, whom we primarily had in mind. Naturally, we did little with other secondary accounts that cover these incidents less fully than we have, and we doubt the existence of the reviewer's multipage list of relevant sources that we have "overlooked." We may have looked at them and concluded that they contain nothing essential that we did not already have.

On the eve of Pearl Harbor there were millions of American isolationists who feared that Roosevelt was deliberately trying to drag the nation into Hitler's war. There are still a good many citizens of like mind, our "modest" reviewer to the contrary notwithstanding. The leading authority on Franklin Roosevelt, the Harvard professor who wrote one of our two blurbs, has said that we have done much to dispel this delusion.

THOMAS A. BAILEY
 PAUL B. RYAN
Stanford University

TO THE EDITOR:

I should like to add a brief note to Nancy Rosenblatt's review of my book, *A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow: Spanish Politics during the Reign of Alfonso XII, 1874-1885* (*AHR*, 85 [1980]: 645). I plead guilty to shortcomings in both organization and background—these are defects of every history book, particularly those written by others. In respect to the concept of an "internal constitution" used by Cánovas del Castillo, Rosenblatt is correct that elements of this concept had been developed much earlier, but more, I believe, from the *moderado* than from the liberal side. Cánovas was, however, the first to make it a substantial principle of political law, and he used it in ways rather different from those that either the *moderados* or the liberals had employed it previously. I would refer Rosenblatt to José Luis Commellas's treatment of the subject in his biography of Cánovas (pp. 157-74).

EARL R. BECK
Florida State University

Recent Deaths

BRAINERD DYER, emeritus professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, passed away on April 27, 1980, after several years of seriously declining health. Born in Wheaton, Illinois, on November 9, 1901, he received his A.B. in 1923 from Pomona College, where he was a Phi Beta Kappa, played varsity football and basketball, and joined Phi Delta, a local fraternity. At Harvard University he received the A.M. in 1925 and the Ph.D. in 1932; James Phinney Baxter III supervised his dissertation on the public career of William M. Evarts, a cabinet member under Andrew Johnson and Rutherford B. Hayes.

Dyer's teaching career began at Dartmouth College in 1926. In 1930 he joined the department at UCLA and served until his retirement in 1969; the university recalled him for one course the following year. From 1947 to 1953 he was chairman of the department, and in 1955-56 he was a Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Helsinki. His principal teaching areas were the Civil War and Reconstruction, and American constitutional history, though he regularly taught the freshman survey and graduate seminars. Eighteen doctoral students completed dissertations under his direction.

His dissertation became his first book, published in 1933; his second was *Zachary Taylor*, published by LSU Press in 1946. He wrote a dozen articles, mostly on Civil War topics, for such journals as the *Pacific Historical Review*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, *Journal of Negro History* and *Civil War History*. He also wrote a number of biographical sketches for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, about fifty scholarly reviews, and "Today in History," a daily column in the *Los Angeles Times*. This column reflected his pleasure in bringing history to the general public, as did his membership in the Civil War Round Table, his lectures for UCLA's University Explorer radio programs, his work with the Southern California Social Science Association, and his advisory status on state and national Civil War Centennial commissions.

He was chairman of the UCLA Letters and Science faculty in 1966-67 and secretary of the University of California Academic Senate (South) in

1963-64 and 1965-66. He served on committees of the Southern Historical Association and, in 1956-59, on the Board of Editors of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He chaired the program committee for the American Historical Association's San Francisco convention of 1965. The Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA chose him for its council in 1952-55, vice president in 1965-66, and president in 1966-67. His presidential address, "One Hundred Years of Negro Suffrage," appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review* in 1968.

UCLA colleagues remember Brainerd Dyer as a careful, thorough, and fair man who stressed attention to detail and efficient administration of department affairs. He had a strongly developed sense of professional responsibilities and set high standards of performance for himself and others. He had strong views and expressed them, often tartly, yet he did not hold grudges. We who were his doctoral students knew that he could be calmly scathing in seminar, and he marshaled his T.A. staff, sometimes more than we liked. But he would pore over dissertation chapters by the hours, correcting grammar as well as historical errors and summoning a conference within a week or so. He would pursue financial aid for other graduate students besides his own. And his freshman courses were laboratories in which we received a valued initiation into the rituals and responsibilities of being a professor.

Undergraduates considered his classes an initiation too, not only into scholarly expectations but also into the personal dimensions of being a "college educated" man or woman. For he took pains to "manage" a 400-seat auditorium (with seating chart) and occasionally suggested to errant students (by name) that there were certain recognized principles of civilized behavior. Yet he also personally read all the probable F and D papers after we had done so, arranged necessary tutoring, had almost daily office hours, and in one of the many subtle ways that showed his appreciation of a well-rounded college experience, made sure never to schedule a midterm the Monday following a home football game.

Brainerd Dyer is survived by his wife of more

than forty years, Karin, by two children, Martin and Elise, and by two brothers. His friends and colleagues will remember him for his careful scholarship and professional contributions, and many of us will recall our own favorite "Dyer story" as an additional tribute to a man whose work often carried him into the field of biography and who appreciated that our profession is central to the humanities.

JAMES E. SEFTON
California State University,
Northridge

ERNST M. POSNER died in Wiesbaden, Germany, on April 18, 1980. He was born in Berlin on August 9, 1892, and majored in philosophy, history, and languages at the University of Berlin. His studies were interrupted by service in the German army from 1914 to 18. He served in both the Eastern and Western Fronts and was awarded the Iron Cross after being wounded near the Polish frontier. He completed his doctorate in history in February 1920. Shortly thereafter he began an internship at the Prussian Privy State Archives where, after several examinations in 1921, he became a professional archivist. Within a few years he was a leading lecturer at the Institute for Archival Science and Advanced Historical Studies, published several articles on archives and Prussian history, and began drafting the *Acta Borussica*, a documentary history of eighteenth-century Prussian administration. As he studied U.S. constitutional history under Otto Hintze, Posner assisted American historians who were using the archival resources. He thus met Eugene Anderson, Samuel Flagg Bemis, Merle Curti, and Walter Dorn. Under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, *Hausreferent* Posner, of mixed Jewish-Christian heritage, was reduced in rank and prevented from completing the *Acta Borussica*.

At the suggestion of the American historians he visited the United States in 1938. Despite their urging, he returned to Berlin and, after the *Kry stallnacht* pogrom, was imprisoned in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. When a general obtained his release, Posner and his wife, Katherina, migrated to Sweden where he lectured on U.S. archives. By late summer of 1939 they were penniless American immigrants.

Solon J. Buck, who had recently transferred his course on archival theory and practice from Columbia University to the American University, selected Posner as course co-adjutor. When Buck was appointed Archivist of the United States in 1941, Posner became adjunct professor or archival history and current administration. He educated two generations of U.S. archivists in their profession and initiated the first graduate courses in records management.

Later, until his retirement in 1961, he served in the American University successively as professor of history and archival administration, director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, and dean of the Graduate School. In 1943 to 1944 he served successively on the Dinsmore Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe. He was active in the American Association of State and Local History, which gave him an award for distinguished service. His contributions to the deliberations of the International Council on Archives and the related Round Table gained him additional international acclaim. In 1955 he was elected president of the Society of American Archivists. A Guggenheim fellowship and a Fulbright grant in 1957 permitted a year of study at the Vatican and Italian archives. Unfortunately, his studies were interrupted by a heart attack.

The Federal Republic of Germany awarded him the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit after he rejected the presidency of the *Bundesarchiv*. Posner's publications included *American State Archives* (1964), *Archives of the Ancient World* (1972), and numerous articles on archives, including several concerning foreign archives for use by the U.S. Army. Some of the essays appear in the *Festschrift, Archives & the Public Interest* (1967). During a stay in Switzerland several years ago a leg was amputated. The Posners moved to Wiesbaden for additional treatments for this and other serious ailments. Archivists world wide honor an outstanding teacher, scholar, and gentleman. Speakers at the memorial service in the Cosmos Club, of which he was a member, expressed their love and appreciation for a friend who maintained a bright sense of humor despite his tribulations.

MEYER H. FISHBEIN
Military Archives Division,
National Archives and Records Service

ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER died January 30, 1979, at the age of 83. He had been living, with his wife, Alix, in their house at the sea-shore in Avalon, New Jersey. His last, impressive, work, *The United States and the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay*, published in 1976 by Harvard University Press, and articles and reviews done after that, attest to a highly developed analytical and critical acuity and to its endurance. His ability, apparent from his early books, *The Spanish American Frontier* (1927) and *The Mississippi Question* (1936), and integrity, like that acuity, continued unimpaired. He once confided that as a boy he collected and devoured the popular tales of heroism and high adventure writ-

ten by G. A. Henty, and certainly echoes of their tone are evident in his own writings. Early, a fine thread of romantic allusion now and again showed through the correct prose and objective stance of this Harvard Ph.D. trained principally in the diplomatic history of the United States. The results was a fascinating amalgam analagous to a Puritan mind atop a ruffled shirt. The combination owes something to his roots. He was born June 6, 1895, in Tuscaloosa, into a family proud of living in the South since 1622, and he resided in Knoxville from 1907 through undergraduate years at the University of Tennessee. It also reflected personal proclivities. A hint of the cavalier was always present in his manner and bearing. Equally obvious was the high value he put on honesty and forthrightness, an emphasis probably to some extent traceable to being the son of an Episcopalian minister. Above all, he displayed a highly developed sense of the rational ("in my extended family," he wrote in a memoir, "there was a strain of bookishness"). That sense, as time went on, became dominant in his writings and personality. He could, at length, work on the Enlightenment within an extremely fitting state of mind, and he enjoyed being elected, in 1953, to the American Philosophical Society, "dedicated to the promotion of useful knowledge." He reacted in similar fashion to being named an honorary member of learned societies in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay.

The entire body of his work, twenty books and a great number of articles and reviews, demonstrates a characteristic attention to detail, to clarity, to precision, and to literary quality. He preferred to write them by hand. After short stints teaching at Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University), Vanderbilt University, the University of Wisconsin, and what was then Western Reserve University, he spent nine years at Cornell, then accepted the newly created chair of Latin American history at the University of Pennsylvania, from which he retired in 1965. At Penn he hated administrative work, did not suffer fools patiently, and gained among students and colleagues alike a reputation for putting the incisive comment or question that often led to visible nervousness in his presence and to continuing awe outside it. During his long and eminent career there, he evoked a kind of respect now nearly extinct. Working with him was the sort of experience that makes graduate school legend. The heightened perception it engendered may not often come our way again. The print hanging on his office wall of a cat eyeing a mouse inspired no peace of mind, at least not in those who identified with the mouse.

To an unusual degree at the time for the dedicated scholar he was, Arthur Whitaker entered into current affairs, even to advising his country's government on Latin American and Spanish matters

and to becoming an officer of the State Department during and just after the Second World War. He once remarked in passing that he had drafted the Act of Chapultepec. In that optimistic heyday of inter-American cooperation, no one was more cautious in outlook yet guardedly hopeful. When wrong, he took pains to set the record straight; quite a few of his essays re-evaluate and update his own previous stands, whether on the Organization of American States, the tenure of Juan Perón, the military in Latin America, or the hemispheric idea.

Arthur Whitaker loved luncheons, especially with sherry beforehand. He enjoyed good company and good ceremony, but he scorned hollow pomposity and mindless chatter. Style was important to him. He excoriated overstatement for effect of any kind, and had least time for what, in one review article, he called "the screaming eagle school of history." His own books again and again touch on sectional and individual interests and on the economic and material aspects of international relations; in what may be his classic, *The United States and Latin American Independence*, and elsewhere, he mentioned frequently the importance of specific commercial motivation and of myriad domestic, regional pressures on the formulation of early United States policy, anticipating many of the younger revisionists. Yet, although definite, he was not doctrinaire; reacting to the oversimplification and selfcongratulation then more accepted in accounts of American history, he was content to point out the complexity of the past rather than to seek all-embracing explanations or to impose his own moral judgments. Himself the product of a rich, conserving, even minority tradition, in the 1920s he brought to a new field in this country, the history of Latin America, the fine qualities and only some of the limitations of a practitioner of what Garrett Mattingly has referred to as the imperial school of American history. His mentors at Harvard were Frederick Jackson Turner and Samuel Eliot Morison. The corpus of his own work reflects the influence of both, of Turner's fascination with the frontier and of Morison's sweeping transoceanic vision and sense of adventure. To these he added an emphasis on the Spanish and Latin American point of view. For time and place his outlook was a relatively cosmopolitan one, nurtured by studies at the Sorbonne and by nomination as a Rhodes scholar and perpetuated in continuing pleasure in traveling, conferring, and teaching in Latin America and Europe. Even so, he was most at home shedding light on relatively unexplored areas and regions, and where he turned up dirt and debris he tended to say so, succinctly. Difficult at times, and always demanding, he set a high standard for excellence in historical scholarship.

PEGGY K. LISS

Akron, Ohio

Compiled by MARK L. GROVER

The titles of articles in the *AHR* are printed in italics; titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R); communications by (C); collected essays by (E).

- "Aaron Burr," by Lomask, 717
 Abbott, Philip, "Furious Fancies: American Political Thought in the Post-Liberal Era," 1278
 "Abigail Adams," by Akers, 1259
 Abraham, Arthur, "Mende Government and Politics under Colonial Rule: A Historical Study of Political Change in Sierra Leone, 1890-1937," 184
 Abubakar, Sa'ad, "The Lāmibe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809-1901," 1244
 "Accounting for Genocide," by Fein, 118
 Achenbaum, W. Andrew (R), 197; "Old Age in the New Land: The American Experience since 1790," 974
 "The Action Française and Revolutionary Syndicalism," by Mazgaj, 1207
 Acton, Edward, "Alexander Herzen and the Role of the Intellectual Revolutionary," 175
 Adamec, Ludwig W. (R), 1243
 Adams, Abigail, 1259
 Adams, Arthur E. (R), 687
 Adamu, Mahdi, "The Hausa Factor in West African History," 689
 Adas, Michael (R), 1251; "Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order," 862
 Addy, George M. (R), 141
 "Adel im Wandel," by Sablonier, 1185
 Adler, Felix, 721
 "Adlig partipolitik vid 1800-talets mitt," by Lidman, 653
 "The Advent of War, 1939-40," by Douglas, 117
 "The Affairs of Daura," by Smith, 185
 "Africa and the Caribbean," edited by Craham and Knight (E), 255
 "African Historical Studies," by Ayandele (E), 255
 "African Proconsuls," edited by Gann and Duignan, 180
 "Africans and Creeks," by Littlefield, 985
 Agarossi, Elena and Bradley F. Smith, "Operation Sunrise: The Secret Surrender," 622
 "The Age of Constantine and Julian," by Bowder, 608
 "Agents of Manifest Destiny," by Brown, 1262
 "Aging and the Elderly," edited by Spicker *et al.*, 597
 "Aging, Death, and the Completion of Being," edited by Tassel (E), 251
 "Agrarnye problemy v sovetskoi ekonomicheskoi literature 20-kh godov," by Figurovskaia, 178
 "Agrarnyi vopros i melkoburzhuznye partii v Rossii v 1917 g.," by Ginev, 436
 "Agrarpolitik im 'Dritten Reich,'" by Grundmann, 1224
 "Agresja na Jugoslawie, 1941," by Kozenski, 935
 Agricultural history: Bew, "Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82," 400; Brockmeyer, "Antike Sklaverei," 864; Carter, "Farmlife in Northeast Scotland, 1840-1914," 403; Coppola, "Il mais nell'economia agricola lombarda," 671; Curtis, *Incumbered Wealth: Landed Indebtedness in Post-Famine Ireland*, 332-367; Earle and Hoffman, *The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800-1860*, 1055-94; Fryde, "The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326," 869; Grundmann, "Agrarpolitik im 'Dritten Reich,'" 1224; Hogendorn, "Nigerian Groundnut Exports," 186; Liebeschuetz, "Continuity and Change in Roman Religion," 866; McDonald and McWhiney, *The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation*, 1095-1118; Porisini, "Bonifiche e agricoltura nella bassa valle padana (1860-1915)," 161; Powell, "New Masters," 1264; Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, 891; Worster, "Dust Bowl," 732
 "Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland," by Whyte, 891
 Ajzner, Seweryn, "Związek Zawodowy, 1931-1939," 940
 Akenson, Donald Harman, "Between Two Revolutions: Islandmagee, County Antrim, 1798-1920," 1201
 Akers, Charles W., "Abigail Adams: An American Woman," 1259
 "Aktual'nye problemy sovetskoi istoriografii pervoi russkoi revoliutsii," edited by Naumov *et al.* (E), 1029
 "Alabama," by Hamilton, 702
 "Alaska," by Hunt, 709
 Albinski, Henry S. (R), 967
 "The Alcoholic Republic," by Rorabaugh, 1003
 Alegre, José María, "Las relaciones hispano-danesas en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII," 91
 "Alexander Herzen and the Role of the Intellectual Revolutionary," by Acton, 175
 Alexander, Robert J. (R), 248; "Juan Domingo Perón: A History," 489
 Alexander, Stella, "Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945," 674
 Alexander, Thomas, *Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Comment), 1150-54
 Alexander, Thomas G. (R), 709
 Allegra, Luciano and Angelo Torre, "La nascita della storia sociale in Francia: Dalla Commune alle 'Annales,'" 382
 Allen, John L. (R), 984

- Allen, Louis, "The End of the War in Asia," 960
 Allen, Peter, "The Cambridge Apostles: The Early Years," 125
 Allinson, Gary D., "Suburban Tokyo: A Comparative Study in Politics and Social Change," 699
 Allis, Frederick S., Jr., "Youth from Every Quarter: A Bicentennial History of Phillips Academy, Andover," 994
 Allmendinger, David F., Jr. (R), 994
 "Alloys and Automobiles," by Gray, 475
 Altholz, Josef L. (R), 600
 Altschul, Michael (R), 1181
 Altschuler, Glenn C., "Andrew D. White—Educator, Historian, Diplomat," 226
 "American Autobiography," by Couser, 972
 "American Character and Culture in a Changing World," edited by Hague (E), 494
 "An American Consular Officer in the Middle East in the Jacksonian Era," by Bryson, 211
 "American Dollars—Canadian Prosperity," by Cuff and Granatstein, 239
 "The American Revolution," edited by Fowler and Coyle (E), 492
 "The American West," edited by Steffen, 451
 "The American Woman in Transition," by Wilson, 723
 "American Working Class Culture," edited by Cantor (E), 255
 "Americans Import Merit," by Tidlow, 225
 "Americans on the Road," by Belasco, 1014
 "America's Longest War," by Herring, 1277
 "Amerikanskaia revoliutsiia i obrazovanie SShA," by Fursenko, 207
 Ameringer, Charles D. (R), 742
 "Amiens and Munich," by Presseisen, 113
 Ammerman, David L. (R), 205; "The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society" (E), 747
 Ammon, Harry (R), 1260
 Amodia, José (R), 406
 "The Anarchist Way to Socialism," by Fleming, 900
 Anchor, Robert (R), 110
 "Ancient China," edited by Roy and Tsien (E), 491
 Ancient history: Baldson, "Romans and Aliens," 1179; Birley, "The People of Roman Britain," 1180; Bowder, "The Age of Constantine and Julian," 608; Browning, "The Emperor Julian," 96; Chestnut, "The First Christian Histories," 608; Craik, "The Dorian Aegean," 1174; Eck, "Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit," 607; Harris, "War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.," 606; Havelock, "The Greek Concept of Justice," 605; Hopkins, "Conquerors and Slaves," 97; Huzar, "Mark Antony," 95; James, editor, "Visigothic Spain" (E), 1285; Kaplan, "Dictatorships and 'Ultimate' Decrees in the Early Roman Republic," 605; Knapp, "Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206–100 B.C.," 1178; Mosshammer, "The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition," 373; Nickel, "Xenophon," 604; Stockton, "The Gracchi," 1178; Syme, "History in Ovid," 96; Weeber, "Geschichte der Etrusker," 1176; Wilcoxon, "Athens Ascendant," 603; Willets, "The Civilization of Ancient Crete," 94
 Andaya, Barbara Watson, "Perak, The Abode of Grace: A Study of an Eighteenth-Century Malay State," 449
 Andersen, William D. (R), 651
 Anderson, Edgar (R), 950
 Anderson, J. K. (R), 604
 Anderson, M. S. (R), 1236; "Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789," 382
 Andrassy, Gyula, 428
 Andrés-Gallego, José, "El socialismo durante la dictadura, 1923–1930," 140
 "Andrew D. White," by Altschuler, 226
 Andrews, K. R. *et al.*, editors, "The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650" (E), 1028
 Anes, Rafael and Pedro Tedde, "Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844–1943," Vol. 2, "Los ferrocarriles y la economía," 1212
 "Anonimât na Khaze," by Bozhilov, 1187
Antebellum Planters and "Vormärz" Junkers in Comparative Perspective, by Bowman, 779–808
 Anthon, Carl G. (R), 666
 "Antike Sklaverei," by Brockmeyer, 864
 "Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939," by Holmes, 887
 "Antislavery Reconsidered," edited by Perry and Fellman (E), 747
 "Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly," by Bringhurst, 469
 "The Apaches," by Worcester, 714
 "The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645," by Firth, 119
 "Apostles of Culture," by Garrison, 994
 Appleby, Andrew B. (R), 891
 Appleby, Joyce (R), 715
 "L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781: Naissance d'une région," by Rouche, 1183
 "The Arabs and Medieval Europe," by Daniel, 98
 "Arbeiterbewegung und liberales Bürgertum in Deutschland, 1850–1863," by Offermann, 911
 Archeology: Smith and Watson, editors, "Early South East Asia" (E), 492
 Architectural history: Roth, "A Concise History of American Architecture," 970; Twombly, "Frank Lloyd Wright," 224
 "L'Archivio storico italiano," by Porciani, 1230
 Ardeleanu, Ion and Mircea Mușat, "La vie politique en Roumanie, 1918–1921," 163
 Aretz, Jürgen, "Katholische Arbeiterbewegung und Nationalsozialismus: Der Verband katholischer Arbeiter- und Knappenvereine Westdeutschlands, 1923–1945," 420; "Zeitgeschichte in Lebensbildern," Vol. 3, "Aus dem deutschen Katholizismus des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts" (E), 254
 Argersinger, Peter H., "A Place on the Ballot": *Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws*, 287–306
 "Aristocracy and People," by Gash, 1196
 "Arizona," by Powell, 708
 "Arkansas," by Ashmore, 708
 "Arkheologicheskie ocherki istorii novgorodskoi torgovli X–XIV vv.," by Rybina, 170
 "Armee, Politik und Gesellschaft in Deutschland, 1933–1945," by Müller, 1223
 "Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494–1789," by Corvisier, 876
 "The Arms of Kiangnan," by Kennedy, 192
 Armstrong, John A. (R), 437
 Arnesen, Peter Judd, "The Medieval Japanese Daimyo: The Ôuchi Family's Rule of Suô and Nagato," 694
 Arnstein, Walter L. (R), 126
 Aronson, James and Cedric Belfrage, "Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian, 1948–1967," 234
 Arsh, G. L. *et al.*, editors, "Russko-turetskaia voina 1877–1878 gg. i Balkany" (E), 746
 Art history: Bowlit, "The Silver Age," 435; Robertson, "Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World," 396; Taylor, "The Fine Arts in America," 971
 "Artisans of the New Republic," by Rock, 461
 Artola, Miguel *et al.*, "Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844–1943," Vol. 1, "El estado y los ferrocarriles," 1212
 "As We Saw Them," by Miyoshi, 983
 Ashley, James M., 464
 Ashley, William H., 1261

- Ashmore, Harry S., "Arkansas," 708
 Ashton, Robert, "The City and the Court, 1603-1643," 878
 Ashtor, E., "A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," 439
 Ashtor, Eliyahu, "The Jews of Moslem Spain," 614
 "Asian and African Systems of Slavery," edited by Watson (E), 1029
 Askew, William C. (R), 425
 "Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206-100 B. C.," by Knapp, 1178
 "Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915," by Mason, 1198
 "Athens Ascendant," by Wilcoxon, 603
 Atkins, G. Pope (R), 486
 Atkinson, Dorothy (R), 944
 Atkinson, R. F., "Knowledge and Explanation in History: An Introduction to the Philosophy of History," 368
 Attman, Arthur, "The Struggle for Baltic Markets: Powers in Conflict, 1558-1618," 113
 Aubert, Jacques *et al.*, "L'état et sa police en France (1789-1914)" (E), 254
 "Auguste de Colbert," by Ojala, 639
 "Aussenpolitik 1848," by Kraume, 658
 "Aussenpolitik in der Emigration," by Hahn, 167
 Austen, Ralph A. (R), 180
 Austensen, Roy A. (R), 413
 Austin, Herbert, 890
 "Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands since the First World War," edited by Livingston and Louis (E), 492
 "Autocrats and Academics," by McClelland, 943
 "Automobile Age Atlanta," by Preston, 733
 "Autonomie und Autokratie," by Schweitzer, 411
 Avakumovic, Ivan (R), 946
 Avrich, Paul (R), 1237
 Ayandele, E. A., "African Historical Studies" (E), 255; "Nigerian Historical Studies" (E), 255
- Babcock, Robert H. (R), 741
 Babiński, Grzegorz, "Lokalna Społeczność Polonijna w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki w Procesie Przemian," 231
 "Back to Kant," by Willey, 418
 Bacon, Ewa K. (R), 680
 Badash, Lawrence, "Radioactivity in America: Growth and Decay of a Science," 728
 Bade, Klaus J. (R), 912
 Badger, Reid, "The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture," 997
 Badian, E. (R), 1178
 Baer, George W. (R), 619
 Bagnall, Roger S. (R), 372
 "Bahia in the First Brazilian Republic," by Pang, 1025
 Baier, Stephen (R), 185
 Bailey, John W., "Pacifying the Plains: General Alfred Terry and the Decline of the Sioux, 1866-1890," 217
 Bailey, Kenneth K. (R), 478
 Bailey, Raymond C., "Popular Influence upon Public Policy: Petitioning in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 1256
 Bailey, Thomas A. and Paul B. Ryan, "Hitler vs. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War," 735; (C), 1297
 Baird, W. David, "The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People," 1254
 Baker, D. E. U., "Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: The Central Provinces and Berar, 1919-1939," 1250
 Baker, Derek, editor, "Medieval Women" (E), 252; "Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, c1500-c1750; Dedicated to Professor Clifford W. Dugmore" (E), 1284
 Baker, J. Wayne (R), 1173
 Baker, T. Lindsay, "The First Polish Americans: Silesian Settlements in Texas," 471
 Baklanova, L. A., "Rabochie Petrograda v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii (mart-iun' 1917 g.)," 686
 Balace, Francis, "La Belgique et la Guerre de Sécession, 1861-1865: Étude diplomatique," 905
 Baldwin, Barry (R), 867
 Baldwin, John W. (R), 1184
 Balfour, Michael, "Propaganda in War, 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany," 876
 Baldson, J. P. V. D., "Romans and Aliens," 1179
 "The Baltic States in Peace and War, 1917-1945," edited by Vardys and Misiunas, 169
 "Die baltische Krise, 1939-1941," by Myllyniemi, 681
 Bamba, Nobuya and John F. Howes, editors, "Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition," 697
 Banker, James R. (R), 925
 Bankwitz, Philip C. F. (R), 139
 Banning, Lance (R), 459
 Bannister, Robert C., "Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought," 992
 "The Barbary Coast," by Wolf, 951
 Barber, Malcolm, "The Trial of the Templars," 103
 Barker, Nancy Nicols, "The French Experience in Mexico, 1821-1861: A History of Constant Misunderstanding," 91
 Barker-Benfield, G. J. (R), 89
 Barkin, Kenneth D. (R), 660
 Barkun, Michael (R), 862
 Barlow, Frank, "The English Church, 1066-1154," 1180
 Barnes, Barry and Steven Shapin, editors, "Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture" (E), 1283
 Barnes, Thomas G. (R), 1190
 Barney, William L. (R), 988
 "The Baron of Beacon Hill," by Fowler, 1260
 Barr, Alwyn (R), 230
 Barrett, Leonard E. (R), 486
 Barros, James, "Office Without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, 1919-1933," 621
 Barsh, Russel Lawrence and James Youngblood Henderson, "The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty," 1255
 Bartlett, Thomas and D. W. Hayton, editors, "Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800" (E), 1285
 "Bartolomeo Scala, 1430-1497, Chancellor of Florence," by Brown, 925
 Barton, H. Arnold, "The Search for Ancestors: A Swedish-American Family Saga," 199
Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan, by Roden, 511-534
 Baskerville, Barnet, "The People's Voice: The Orator in American Society," 973
 Batatu, Hanna, "The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'athists, and Free Officers," 439
 Bate, Weston, "Lucky City: The First Generation of Ballarat, 1851-1901," 196
 Bater, James H. (R), 945
 Bates, J. Leonard (R), 452
 "Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert," by Kuchenbuch, 611
 Baxter, Annette K. (R), 993
 Baylen, J. O. (R), 393; 951
 "Be a Man," by Stearns, 1171

- Beattie, Hilary J., "Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T'ung-Ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties," 961
- Beck, Earl R., "A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow: Spanish Politics during the Reign of Alfonso XII, 1874-1885," 645; (C), 1297
- Bédarida, François *et al.*, "De Guillaume le conquérant au Marché commun: Dix siècles d'histoire franco-britannique" (E), 1028
- Bedford, Henry F. (R), 220
- "Beekmantown, New York," by White, 460
- "Been in the Storm So Long," by Litwack, 1265
- "Before Watergate," edited by Eisenstadt *et al.*, 452
- "The Beginnings of National Politics," by Rakove, 979
- Beik, William (R), 896
- Belasco, Warren J. (R), 1275
- Belasco, Warren James, "Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945," 1014
- Belfrage, Cedric and James Aronson, "Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian, 1948-1967," 234
- "La Belgique et la Guerre de Sécession, 1861-1865," by Balace, 905
- Bell, Rudolph M. (R), 717
- Bellamy, J. G. (R), 613
- Bellamy, John, "The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction," 1190
- Bellomo, Manlio, "Saggio sull'università nell'età del diritto comune," 615
- Belz, Herman, "Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era," 463
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, "The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain," 645
- Benda, Julien, 138
- Bender, Thomas (R), 213; 1269
- Bendersky, Joseph W. (R), 153
- Benecke, Gerhard (R), 908
- Benison, Saul (C), 272
- Benjamin, Gerald and Robert H. Connery, "Rockefeller of New York: Executive Power in the Statehouse," 234
- Benko, Stephen (R), 608
- Bennassar, Bartolomé, "The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," 903
- Bennett, Edward W. (R), 419; "German Rearmament and the West, 1932-1933," 154
- Bennett, Norman R. (R), 188; "A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar," 187
- Benson, Charles D. and William Barnaby Faherty, "Moonport: A History of Apollo Launch Facilities and Operations," 740
- "Bentham's Theory of the Modern State," by Rosenblum, 111
- Benz, Wolfgang *et al.*, "Einheit der Nation: Diskussionen und Konzeptionen zur Deutschlandpolitik der grossen Parteien seit 1945," 667
- Bercovitch, Sacvan (R), 972
- Bercuson, David J. (R), 1021
- Berg, Maxine, "The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815-1848," 1195
- Berger, Michael L., "The Devil Wagon in God's Country: The Automobile and Social Change in Rural America," 1275
- Bergier, Jean-François, editor, "Histoire des Alpes: Perspectives nouvelles/Geschichte der Alpen: In neuer Sicht" (E), 254
- Berkeley, George, 977
- Berkin, Carol R. and Clara M. Lovett, editors, "Women, War, and Revolution" (E), 1283
- Berkin, Carol Ruth and Mary Beth Norton, editors, "Women of America: A History" (E), 747
- Berlin, Ira, *Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America*, 44-78
- Berman, Larry, "The Office of Management and Budget and the Presidency, 1921-1979," 739
- Berman, Myron, "Richmond's Jewry, 1769-1976: Shabbat in Shocktoe," 1006
- Bernard, Paul B., "The Limits of Enlightenment: Joseph II and the Law," 668
- Bernard, Paul P. (R), 920
- Bernhard, Virginia, editor, "Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930" (E), 1030
- Bernstein, Alvin H. (R), 95
- Bernstein, John Andrew (R), 628
- Beros, Mateo Martinic, "Historia del Estrecho de Magallanes," 248
- Berrol, Selma C. (R), 725
- "Between Two Revolutions," by Akenson, 1201
- "Beverly Tucker," by Brugger, 209
- Bew, Paul (R), 1201; "Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82," 400
- Beyer, Peter, "Leipzig und die Anfänge des deutschen Eisenbahnbaus: Die Strecke nach Magdeburg als zweitälteste deutsche Fernverbindung und das Ringen der Kaufleute um ihr Entstehen, 1829-1840," 909
- "Beyond Death and Exile," by Stein, 1214
- "Beyond Geography," by Turner, 1252
- "Beyond Her Sphere," by Harris, 198
- Biale, David, "Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History," 86
- Bieder, Robert E. (R), 454
- Billings, Dwight B., Jr., "Planters and the Making of a 'New South': Class, Politics, and Development in North Carolina, 1865-1899," 466
- Billington, Monroe (R), 450
- Billington, Ray Allen (R), 1252
- Bingham, Alfred M., 1011
- Bingham, Edwin R. (R), 451; "Northwest Perspectives: Essays on the Culture of the Pacific Northwest" (E), 494
- Binion, Rudolph (C), 265
- Biography: Akers, "Abigail Adams," 1259; Clokey, "William H. Ashley," 1261; Coletta, "Bowman Hendry McCalla," 1270; Conte, "Un révolutionnaire-diplomate," 1241; Couser, "American Autobiography," 972; Dawidoff, "The Education of John Randolph," 1260; Fountain, "Roman Dmowski," 1234; Fowler, "The Baron of Beacon Hill," 1260; Gal, "Brandeis of Boston," 1271; Hopkins, "John R. Mott," 1276; Jordens, "Dayānanda Sarasvatī," 1248; Smith, "Francis Preston Blair," 1262
- Birke, Adolf M., "Pluralismus und Gewerkschaftsautonomie in England: Entstehungsgeschichte einer politischen Theorie," 887
- Birley, Anthony, "The People of Roman Britain," 1180
- "Bishop and Chapter," by Duggan, 108
- "Bishops by Ballot," by Mills, 1257
- Bisson, Thomas N., "Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and Its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon (c. A.D. 1000-c. 1225)," 104
- "Bitter Gourd," by Peterson, 443
- "Black Bostonians," by Horton and Horton, 1267
- "Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW," by Meier and Rudwick, 736
- "Black Education in New York State," by Mabey, 1005
- Black history: Belz, "Emancipation and Equal Rights," 463; Berlin, *Time, Space, and the Evolution of*

- Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America*, 44-78; Burkett, "Carveyism as a Religious Movement," 476; Ehrlich, "They Have No Rights," 988; Evans, *From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the Sons of Ham*, 15-43; Franklin, *Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History*, 1-14; Hine, "Black Victory," 1016; Horton and Horton, "Black Bostonians," 1267; Johnson and Johnson, "Propaganda and Aesthetics," 477; Litwack, "Been in the Storm So Long," 1265; Nieman, "To Set the Law in Motion," 990; Pleck, "Black Migration and Poverty," 1267; Sobel, "Trabelin' On," 989; Toll, "The Resurgence of Race," 1268; Van Deburg, "The Slave Drivers," 208
- Black, J. L. (R), 173
- "Black Migration and Poverty," by Pleck, 1267
- "Black Mineworkers in Central Africa," by Perrings, 957
- "Black Victory," by Hine, 1016
- Blackwell, William L. (R), 1168
- Blackwood, B. G., "The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60," 1192
- Blaine, Anita McCormick, 993
- Blaine, Martha Royce, "The Ioway Indians," 984
- Blair, Francis Preston, 1262
- Blanco, Richard L. (R), 1258; "Physician of the American Revolution: Jonathan Potts," 716
- Blanke, Richard (R), 146
- Blanshei, Sarah Rubin (R), 379
- Blasius, Dirk, "Kriminalität und Alltag: Zur Konfliktgeschichte des Alltagslebens im 19. Jahrhundert," 146
- Blazquez, J. M., "Economía de la Hispania Romana," 1177
- "The Blind Boss & His City," by Bullough, 1269
- Blocker, Jack S., Jr. (R), 1274
- Blodgett, Geoffrey (R), 226
- Blöndal, Sigfus, "The Varangians of Byzantium: An Aspect of Byzantine Military History," 101
- Bloomfield, Jon, "Passive Revolution: Politics and the Czechoslovak Working Class, 1945-1948," 938
- Bloomfield, Maxwell (R), 718
- Blouet, Brian W. and Frederick C. Luebke, editors, "The Great Plains: Environment and Culture" (E), 493
- Blumberg, Arnold (R), 91
- Blumberg, Barbara, "The New Deal and the Unemployed: The View From New York City," 734
- Blumenthal, Uta-Renate (R), 871
- Blumin, Stuart M. (R), 212
- Boase, Roger, "The Troubadour Revival: A Study of Social Change and Traditionalism in Late Medieval Spain," 105
- Bobango, Gerald J., "The Emergence of the Romanian National State," 936
- Bobb, Bernard E. (R), 742
- Bodde, Derk (R), 444
- Bode, Carl, "Maryland," 702
- Boer, Dick Edward Herman de, "Graaf en grafiek: Sociale en economische ontwikkelingen en het middleleeuwse 'Noordholland' tussen ±1345 en ±1415," 106
- Bogdanor, Vernon, "Devolution," 400
- Boles, John B. (R), 702
- Bolgar, R. R., editor, "Classical Influences on Western Thought, A.D. 1650-1870: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King's College, Cambridge, March 1977," 110
- Bölling, Rainer, "Volksschullehrer und Politik: Der Deutsche Lehrerverein, 1918-1933," 152
- "The Bolshevik Party in Revolution," by Service, 948
- "Bol'shevizatsiia XII armii severnogo fronta v 1917 g.," by Smol'nikov, 1240
- Bond, Gordon C., "The Grand Expedition: The British Invasion of Holland in 1809," 124
- "Bonds of Loyalty," by Luebke, 730
- Bonfil, Robert, "The Rabbinate in Renaissance Italy," 928
- "Bonifiche e agricoltura nella bassa valle padana (1860-1915)," by Porisini, 161
- Bonnifield, Paul, "The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression," 230
- Boocock, Sarane Spence and John Demos, editors, "Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family," 197
- Borah, Woodrow (R), 240; "Essays in Population History," Volume 3, "Mexico and California," 1022
- "Bor'ba techenii v russkoi istoriografii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veke," by Tsamutali, 685
- Boren, Henry C. (R), 1179
- "Boris Godunov," by Skrynnikov, 431
- Boritt, Gabor S. (R), 213
- Bornemann, Elka, "Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918," 1232
- Borst, Arno, "Mönche am Bodensee, 610-1525," 107
- Borst, Otto, "Schule des Schwabenlands: Geschichte der Universität Stuttgart," 1220
- Bortolotti, Franca Pieroni, "Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia, 1919-1926," 425
- Bos, Roeland Wilhelmus Johannes Marie, "Brits-Nederlandse handel en scheepvaart, 1870-1914: Een analyse van machtsafbrokkeling op een markt," 649
- Bosher, J. F. (R), 638
- Bossy, John, "The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850," 121
- "Bottai e la cultura fascista," by De Grand, 933
- Botz, Gerhard, "Wien vom 'Anschluss' zum Krieg: Nationalsozialistische Machtübernahme und politisch-soziale Umgestaltung am Beispiel der Stadt Wien 1938/39," 158
- Bouchard, Constance B. (C), 757
- Bouchard, Constance Brittain, "Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre," 871
- Bouwsma, William J. (R), 924
- Bowder, Diana, "The Age of Constantine and Julian," 608
- Bowen, Desmond (R), 893
- Bowker, Margaret (R), 877
- Bowlit, John E., "The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the 'World of Art' Group," 435
- "Bowman Hendry McCalla," by Coletta, 1270
- Bowman, Shearer Davis, *Antebellum Planters and "Vormärz" Junkers in Comparative Perspective*, 779-808
- Bowser, Frederick P. (R), 1024
- Boxer, Marilyn J. (R), 137
- Boyd, Carl, "The Extraordinary Envoy: General Hiroshi Ōshima and Diplomacy in the Third Reich, 1934-1939," 1248
- Boyd, Carolyn P. (R), 140; "Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain," 1214
- Boyd, Steven R., "The Politics of Opposition: Antifederalists and the Acceptance of the Constitution," 980
- Boyer, Paul, "Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920," 219
- Bozhilov, Ivan, "Anonimăt na Khaze: Bălgaria i Vizantiia na dolni Dunav v kraia na X vek," 1187
- Braatz, Werner E. (R), 650
- Bracken, John, 740
- Bradshaw, Brendan, "The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century," 892
- "The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind," by Kopf, 445

- "Brandeis of Boston," by Gal, 1271
 Brandon, Peter, editor, "The South Saxons" (E), 252
 Brantz, Rennie W. (R), 914
 Braunthal, Gerard (R), 917
 "Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964," 480
 Breines, Paul (C), 267
 Bremner, Robert H. (R), 90
 Breuilly, John (R), 657
 Brewer, John and John Styles, editors, "An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (E), 1284
 Bridenthal, Renate (C), 271
 Briggs, Asa (R), 630; "The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom," Vol. 4, "Sound and Vision," 132
 Bright, John, 126
 Bringham, Bruce, "Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly: The Standard Oil Cases, 1890-1911," 469
 Brisch, Hans and Ivan Volgyes, editors, "Czechoslovakia: The Heritage of Ages Past. Essays In Memory of Josef Korbel" (E), 254
 "Britain and her Buffer State," by McLean, 632
 "Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875-1878," by Millman, 618
 "Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945," by Wasserstein, 888
 "Britain and Vichy," by Thomas, 385
 "The British Electrical Industry, 1875-1914," by Byatt, 634
 "British Fascism," edited by Lunn and Thurlow (E), 1285
 "The British Government and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," by Edward, 636
 "British Intelligence in the Second World War," by Hinsley, 399
 "British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880," by Reber, 246
 "The British Pro-Boers, 1877-1902," by Davey, 131
 "British Socialists," by Pierson, 631
 "British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815," by Emsley, 1195
 "Brits-Nederlandse handel en scheepvaart, 1870-1914," by Bos, 649
 Brittain, W. Lambert (C), 757
 Brock, William R. (R), 1263; "Parties and Political Conscience: American Dilemmas, 1840-1850," 461
 Brockman, Norbert (R), 229
 Brockmeyer, Norbert, "Antike Sklaverei," 864
 Brodtkin, E. I. (R), 700
 "Brooklyn at Play," by Smith, 723
 Brown, Alison, "Bartolomeo Scala, 1430-1497, Chancellor of Florence: The Humanist as Bureaucrat," 925
 Brown, Benjamin F. (R), 424
 Brown, Charles H., "Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters," 1262
 Brown, E. Richard, "Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine and Capitalism in America," 727
 Brown, Jonathan C., "A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776-1860," 488
 Brown, Norman D. (R), 721
 Brown, Richard D., "Massachusetts," 705
 Brown, Victoria F. (R), 163; 936
 Brownell, Blaine A. (R), 1020
 Browning, Christopher R., "The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referat D III of Abteilung Deutschland, 1940-43," 156
 Browning Reed (R), 124; 882
 Browning, Robert, "The Emperor Julian," 96
 Bruce, Dickson D., Jr., "Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South," 987
 Brugger, Robert J., "Beverly Tucker: Heart over Head in the Old South," 209
 "Bruksarbetarfackföreningar," by Linström, 410
 Brundage, Anthony (R), 128
 Brunet, Michel (R), 238
 Brunhumer, Walter J. (C), 503
 Brym, Robert J. (C), 272
 Bryson, Thomas A., "An American Consular Officer in the Middle East in the Jacksonian Era: A Biography of William Brown Hodgson, 1801-1871," 211
 Buckland, Patrick, "The Factory of Grievances: Devolved Government in Northern Ireland, 1921-39," 894
 Buckley, Roger Norman, "Slaves in Red Coats: The British West India Regiments, 1795-1815," 242
 "Bulgarien—Hitlers eigenwilliger Verbündeter," by Hoppe, 935
 Bullough, Bonnie and Vern L. Bullough, "Sin, Sickness, & Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes," 89
 Bullough, Vern L. and Bonnie Bullough, "Sin, Sickness, & Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes," 89
 Bullough, Vern L., "Homosexuality: A History," 1171
 Bullough, William A., "The Blind Boss & His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco," 1269
 "Bündnis der Eliten," by Fischer, 418
 Burchfield, Joe D. (R), 129
 "The Bureau of Commerce in 1781 and Its Policies With Respect to French Industry," by Parker, 1204
 "Bureaucratic Politics," by Pemberton, 737
 "Burebista and His Time," by Crişan, 373
 Burg, B. R. (R), 205
 Burke, Peter, editor, "The New Cambridge Modern History," Vol. 13, "Companion Volume," 380
 Burkett, Randall K., "Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion," 476
 Burks, Ardath W. (R), 699
 Burman, Sandra, editor, "Fit Work for Women" (E), 746
 Burner, David, "Herbert Hoover: A Public Life," 474
 Burnham, John S. (C), 273
 Burns, Robert I. (R), 1210
 Burr, Aaron, 717
 Burstein, Stanley M. (R), 94
 Buse, D. K. (R), 1221
 Bush-Brown, Albert (R), 970
 Bushman, Richard L. *et al.*, editors, "Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin," 974
 Bushnell, David (R), 244
 Bushnell, John (R), 1240
 "Business Enterprises in Early New York," edited by Frese and Judd (E), 748
 "The Business of Enlightenment," by Darnton, 897
 Bustin, Edouard (R), 954
 Büttler, Hugo, "Gaetano Salvemini und die italienische Politik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," 425
 Byatt, I. C. R., "The British Electrical Industry, 1875-1914: The Economic Returns of a New Technology," 634
 Byrnes, James F., 1016
 "C. P. Trevelyan, 1870-1958," by Morris, 398
 "Der Cabildo von Asunción," by Krüger, 1280
 "California," by Lavender, 709
 Calkins, Kenneth R., "Hugo Haase: Democrat and Revolutionary," 1220
 Callahan, Raymond (R), 1194
 Callahan, William J. (R), 644; "Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century" (E), 253
 "Calvin wider die Neugierde," by Meijering, 1173
 "Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569," by Crew, 141
 Camarillo, Albert, "Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930," 1006

- "The Cambridge Apostles," by Allen, 125
 "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," edited by Mathias and Postan, 112; "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," edited by Mathias and Postan, 1168
 "The Cambridge History of Africa," edited by Fage, 952
 Cameron, John B., Jr. (R), 895
 Camp, Richard L. (R), 673
 Campbell, Alan B., "The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775-1874," 1199
 Campbell, F. Gregory (R), 93
 Campbell, John C. (R), 936
 Campbell, Thomas M. (R), 1277
 Campus, Eliza, "The Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance," 673
 Canary, Robert H. and Henry Kozicki, editors, "The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding," 1167
 Cannistraro, Philip V. (R), 933
 Cantor, Milton, editor, "American Working Class Culture: Explorations in American Labor and Social History" (E), 255
 Capitalism: Bossy, "The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850," 121; Tedlow, "Keeping the Corporate Image," 1013
 "Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations," edited by Fagen (E), 748
 "Capitalistes et pouvoir au siècle des lumières," by Lévy, 896
 Capp, Bernard, "English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press," 391
 Cappon, Lester J. (R), 204
 Carrasquilla Botero, Juan and Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia," 488
 Cardoso, Lawrence A. (R), 1006
 Cardozo, Manoel (R), 244
 Cares, Paul B. (R), 142
 "Carl von Clausewitz," by Marwedel, 413
 Carmony, Donald F. (R), 1272
 "Le Carnaval de Romans," by Ladurie, 136
 Carocci, Giampiero, "L'età dell'imperialismo," 619
 Caroli, Betty Boyd *et al.*, editors, "The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association" (E), 256
 Caron, François, "An Economic History of Modern France," 403
 Carr, Edward Hallett, "The Russian Revolution: From Lenin to Stalin," 686
 Carr, William, "Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics," 155
 Carroll, Peter N., "The Other Samuel Johnson: A Psychohistory of Early New England," 205
 Carter, Ian, "Farmlife in Northeast Scotland, 1840-1914: The Poor Man's Country," 403
 Cartwright, John R. (R), 184
 Cartwright, Joseph H. (R), 1266
The Case for Comparing Histories, by Grew, 763-778
 Casey, James, "The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century," 643
 Caspard, Pierre, "La Fabrique-Neuve de Cortaillood: Entreprise et profit pendant la Révolution industrielle, 1752-1854," 159
 Cassels, Alan (R), 162
 Castel, Albert, "The Presidency of Andrew Johnson," 1263
 Castile, George Pierre, "North American Indians: An Introduction to the Chichimeca," 201
 Castillo, Juan José, "Proprietarios muy pobres: Sobre la subordinación del pequeño campesino en España (La Confederación Nacional Católico-Agraria, 1917-1942)," 904
 "The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930," by Contreni, 102
 Catholic Church: Aretz, "Katholische Arbeiterbewegung und Nationalsozialismus," 420; Barlow, "The English Church, 1066-1154," 1180; Bouchard, "Spirituality and Administration," 871; Callahan and Higgs, editors, "Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century" (E), 253; Faury, "Cléricalisme et anticléricalisme dans le Tarn (1848-1900)," 1206; Gregory, "Vox Populi," 867; Larkin, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886-1888," 893; Little, "Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe," 98; Muldoon, "Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels," 867; O'Malley, "Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome," 926; Pelikan, "The Christian Tradition," 99; Pritchard, "Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England," 626; Richards, "The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752," 609; Stieber, "Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire," 374; Toscani, "Il clero lombardo dall'Antico Regime alla Restaurazione," 1229
 "Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England," by Pritchard, 626
 Catton, Bruce, "Michigan," 707
 Catudal, Honoré M., Jr., "The Exclave Problem of Western Europe," 619
 Cavallotti, Bianca Valota, "Nicola Iorga," 164
 Cayez, Pierre, "Métiers jacquard et hauts fourneaux aux origines de l'industrie lyonnaise," 404
 Ceaser, James W., "Presidential Selection: Theory and Development," 452
 Cecil, Lamar (R), 913
 Cell, John W. (R), 132
 Černý, František and Ljuba Kłosová, editors, "Dějiny českého divadla," Vol. 3, "Cinohra, 1848-1918," 165
 Chadhuri, K. N. and Clive J. Dewey, editors, "Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History," 1249
 Challinor, Joan R. and Allan J. Lichtman, editors, "Kin and Communities: Families in America," 453
 Chalmers, David (R), 472
 Chamberlin, Brewster S. (R), 917
 Chandler, Alfred D., Jr and Herman Daems, editors, "Managerial Hierarchies: Comparative Perspectives on the Rise of Modern Industrial Enterprise" (E), 1283
 Chandra, Vipin (R), 960
 Chang, Richard T. (R), 694; 983
 "Changing Images of the Family," edited by Tufte and Myerhoff (E), 251
 "Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province," by Baker, 1250
 Channing, Steven A., "Kentucky," 702
 Charak, Sukhdev Singh, "History and Culture of Himalayan States," Vol. 1, "Himachal Pradesh," Part 1, 195
 "Charanis Studies," edited by Laiou-Thomadakis (E), 1283
 "Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation," by Gillespie, 861
 "Charles VIII et les Italiens," by Denis, 924
 "Chartism," by Haraszi, 630
 Chary, Frederick B. (R), 935
 "Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery," by Cunliffe, 986
 Chaudhuri, Sashi Bhushan, "English Historical Writings on the Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859," 700
 Chavarria, Jesús, "José Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890-1930," 1024
 "Chavatte, ouvrier lillois," by Lottin, 896
 Chazanof, William (R), 222

- Ch'en, Jerome, "China and the West: Society and Culture, 1815-1937," 1246
- Ch'en, Paul Heng-Chao, "Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed," 960
- Cherepnin, L. V., "Zemskie sobory russkogo gosudarstva v XVI-XVII vv.," 941
- Chernukha, V. G., "Vnutrenniaia politika tsarizma s serediny 50-kh do nachala 80-kh gg. XIX v.," 942
- "Chernyshevskii ili Nechaev?" by Volodin *et al.*, 175
- "The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," edited by Tate and Ammerman (E), 747
- Chester, Edward W., "The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts: The Military and Economic Considerations," 1253
- Chestnut, Glenn F., "The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius," 608
- Cheyette, Fredric L. (R), 375
- "The Chicago Board of Trade, 1859-1905," by Lurie, 468
- "Chicanos in a Changing Society," by Camarillo, 1006
- "China and the West," by Ch'en, 1246
- "Chinese Communist Power and Policy in Xinjiang, 1949-1977," by McMillen, 693
- "The Chinese Experience," by Dawson, 190
- "Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols," by Ch'en, 960
- Chipman, Donald (R), 240
- "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," by Danziger, 454
- Chiro, Daniel (R), 163
- Chittolini, Giorgio, editor, "La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello stato del Rinascimento" (E), 1028
- Chou, Nailene (R), 963
- Christ, Karl, "Krise und Untergang der Römischen Republik," 606
- "The Christian Tradition," by Pelikan, 99
- "Christianity in European History," by Clebsch, 87
- "The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition," by Mosshammer, 373
- "Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century," edited by Callahan and Higgs (E), 253
- "Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium," by Nicol, 874
- "Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945," by Alexander, 674
- "Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-1570," by Houlbrooke, 877
- "The Church of the Covenant, 1637-1651," by Makey, 890
- Church, Roy, "Herbert Austin: The British Motor Car Industry to 1941," 890
- "Churchill, Cripps, and India, 1939-1945," by Moore, 700
- Ciampi, Gabriella, "I Liberali moderati siciliani in esilio nel decennio di preparazione," 424
- Cicero and Tacitus in Sixteenth-Century France*, by Salmon, 307-331
- "Cicero," by Mitchell, 865
- Cienciala, Anna M. (R), 681
- "Cities of the American West," by Reps, 713
- "City and Hinterland," by Miller, 212
- "City and Suburb," by Teaford, 470
- "The City and the Court, 1603-1643," by Ashton, 878
- "City of the Century," by Lane, 1272
- "The Civilization of Ancient Crete," by Willetts, 94
- "Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango," by Tosh, 186
- Clanchy, M. T., "From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307," 612
- Clark, C. M. H., "A History of Australia," Volume 4, "The Earth Abideth For Ever, 1851-1888," 967
- Clark, Charles E., "Maine," 705
- Clark, Norman H. (R), 1003; "Washington," 709
- Clark, Peter *et al.*, editors, "The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society" (E), 491
- Clark, Samuel, "Social Origins of the Irish Land War," 1201
- Clark, William S., 695
- Clarke, Garry E. (R), 214
- Clarkson, L. A. (R), 388
- Clary, David A. (R), 996
- "Class Conflict and Economic Development in Chile, 1958-1973," by Stallings, 248
- "Classical Influences on Western Thought, A.D. 1650-1870," edited by Bolgar, 110
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 413
- Clebsch, William A., "Christianity in European History," 87
- "Cléricalisme et anticléricalisme dans le Tarn (1848-1900)," by Faury, 1206
- Clifford, Deborah Pickman, "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Biography of Julia Ward Howe," 215
- Clifford, Geraldine Joncich (R), 727
- Clifford, Nicholas R. (R), 1247; "Shanghai, 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defence of Foreign Privilege," 693
- "Clio Unbound," by Ferguson, 625
- Clive, Alan, "State of War: Michigan in World War II," 736
- Clogg, Richard, "A Short History of Modern Greece," 427
- Clokey, Richard M., "William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West," 1261
- "Coal, Iron, and Slaves," by Lewis, 985
- Cobb, James C. (R), 1008
- Cochran, Bert, "Labor and Communism: The Conflict that Shaped American Unions," 232
- Cochran, Thomas C., "Pennsylvania," 705
- Cockburn, J. S. (R), 618
- Cocks, Geoffrey (C), 265
- Coffin, David R., "The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome," 926
- Coffman, Ralph J., "Solomon Stoddard," 455
- Cohen, Ronald D. and Raymond A. Mohl, "The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling," 725
- Cohn, Jan, "The Palace or the Poorhouse: The American House as a Cultural Symbol," 970
- Coke, Edward, 879
- Colbert, Auguste de, 639
- "Cold War on the Campus," by Sanders, 1018
- Coletta, Paolo E., "Bowman Hendry McCalla: A Fighting Sailor," 1270
- Colish, Marcia L. (R), 1227
- "Collective Insecurity," by Ostrower, 1008
- Collini, Stefan, "Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914," 631
- Collins, Irene, "Napoleon and his Parliaments, 1800-1815," 899
- Collins, Robert O. (R), 440
- "Colonial Connecticut," by Taylor, 715
- "Colonial Massachusetts," by Labaree, 1255
- "Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana," by Howard, 184
- "La colonie du minotaure," by Péliissier, 690
- "Colorado," by Sprague, 708
- Colton, Judith, "The Parnasse François: Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius," 637
- Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, by Sewell, 847-850

- Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, by Thrupp, 850-853
- "The Commonwealth Office, 1925-68," by Garner, 132
- Communism: Anderson, "Yenan and the Great Powers," 1247; Carr, "The Russian Revolution," 686; Harding, "Lenin's Political Thought," 947; Kovrig, "Communism in Hungary," 677; McMillen, "Chinese Communist Power and Policy in Xinjiang, 1949-1977," 693; Zimmermann, "Der Leninbund," 151
- "Communism in Hungary," by Kovrig, 677
- "Community Leadership and the Transformation of Freetown (1801-1976)," by Harrell-Bond, *et al.*, 441
- "Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840," by Ridgway, 981
- "Comparative Frontiers," by Steffen, 1252
- Comparative history: Alexander, *Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Comment), 1150-54; Bowman, *Antebellum Planters and "Vormärz" Junkers in Comparative Perspective*, 779-808; Engerman, *Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Comment), 1154-60; Grew, *The Case for Comparing Histories*, 763-778; Hill and Hill, *Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 828-846; McDonald and McWhiney, *Comment on Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Reply), 1160-63; Pessen, *Comment on Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Reply), 1163-66; Pessen, *How Different From Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?*, 1119-49; Sewell, *Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 847-850; Steffen, "Comparative Frontiers," 1252; Thrupp, *Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 850-853
- Conacher, J. B. (R), 126
- "The Concept of Zionist Dissent in the American Mind, 1917-1941," by Knee, 1012
- "A Concise History of American Architecture," by Roth, 970
- "Condillac Storico," by Guerci, 929
- Condin, Paul K. and John Higham, editors, "New Directions in American Intellectual History," 449
- "Conestoga Crossroads," by Wood, 978
- Conlon, Frank F. (R), 1250
- "The Connecticut Town," by Daniels, 976
- Connelly, Owen (R), 899
- Conner, Patrick (R), 396
- Connery, Robert H. and Gerald Benjamin, "Rockefeller of New York: Executive Power in the Statehouse," 234
- Connor, Patrick, "Savage Ruskin," 630
- "Conquerors and Slaves," by Hopkins, 97
- "Conradi und Hamburg," by Padderatz, 150
- "The Conscience of the Victorian State," edited by Marsh, 126
- "Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," edited by Merriman (E), 1028
- "Conservation of Coinage," by Bisson, 104
- "Conservative Millenarians," by Gottfried, 1217
- Constitutional history: Boyd, "The Politics of Opposition," 980
- "A Constitutional History of Australia," by McMinn, 967
- Conte, Francis, "Un révolutionnaire-diplomate: Christian Rakovski. L'Union soviétique et l'Europe (1922-1941)," 1241
- Conti, Vittorio, "Paolo Mattia Doria. Dalla repubblica dei togati alla repubblica dei notabili," 671
- "Continuity and Change in Roman Religion," by Liebeschuetz, 866
- Contreni, John J. (R), 376; "The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters," 102
- "Contributions to South Asian Studies," by Krishna (E), 747
- "Conversion to Islam," edited by Levzion (E), 255
- Conyngham, William J. (R), 1242
- Cook, Edward M., Jr. (R), 1255
- Cook, Ramsay (R), 238
- Cook, Sherburne F. and Woodrow Borah, "Essays in Population History," Volume 3, "Mexico and California," 1022
- Cooney, Jerry W. (R), 1280
- Copenhaver, Brian P., "Symphorien Champier and the Reception of the Occultist Tradition in Renaissance France," 135
- Coppa, Frank J. (R), 931
- Coppola, Gauro, "Il mais nell'economia agricola lombarda (dal secolo XVII all'Unità)," 671
- Corbin, Alain, "Les filles de nocce: Misère sexuelle et prostitution (19^e et 20^e siècles)," 1206
- Cordasco, Francesco (R), 1230
- Cordewiener, André, "Organisations politiques et milieux de presse en régime censitaire: L'Expérience liégeoise de 1830 à 1848," 408
- "Cornwallis," by Wickwire and Wickwire, 1194
- Cortada, James W. (R), 206
- Cortes, Carlos E. (R), 1268
- Corvisier, André, "Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789," 876
- "Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," by Diaconu, 380
- Couser, G. Thomas, "American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mode," 972
- Coverdale, John F. (R), 647
- "The Coward of Minden," by MacKesy, 392
- Cowen, David L. (R), 467
- Cowherd, R. G. (R), 1196
- Cowherd, Raymond G., "Political Economists and the English Poor Laws: A Historical Study of the Influence of Classical Economics on the Formation of Social Welfare Policy," 128
- Coyle, Wallace and William M. Fowler, Jr., editors, "The American Revolution: Changing Perspectives" (E), 492
- Craham, Margaret E. and Franklin W. Knight, editors, "Africa and the Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link" (E), 255
- Craig, Gordon A. (R), 1239
- Craik, Elizabeth M., "The Dorian Aëgean," 1174
- Cravens, Hamilton (R), 992
- Crecelius, Daniel (R), 182
- Creigh, Dorothy Weyer, "Nebraska," 707
- Crew, David F., "Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914," 661
- Crew, Phyllis Mack, "Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569," 141
- Crime: Bellamy, "The Tudor Law of Treason," 1190; Blasius, "Kriminalität und Alltag," 146; Hanawalt, "Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348," 613; Hawes, editor, "Law and Order in American History" (E), 493; Johnson, "Policing the Urban Underworld," 219; Lane, "Violent Death in the City," 997; Rennie, "The Search for Criminal Man," 237; Weisser, "Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe," 618; Williams, "The Police of Paris, 1718-1789," 898
- "Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348," by Hanawalt, 613
- "Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe," by Weisser, 618
- Crîșan, Ion Horațiu, "Burebista and His Time," 373

- "Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States," edited by Grew, 81
- "La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello stato del Rinascimento," edited by Chittolini (E), 1028
- Cristiani, Marta, "Dall'unanimitas all'universita da Alcuino a Giovanni Eriugena: Lineamenti ideologici e terminologia politica della cultura del secolo IX," 376
- Critchlow, Donald T. (R), 1015
- Croll, Elisabeth, "Feminism and Socialism in China," 444
- "Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660," by Dow, 1199
- Cronin, James E. (R), 633
- Cronin, Thomas E. (R), 452
- Cronon, E. David (R), 476
- Crowhurst, Patrick (C), 1043
- Crowther, M. A. (R), 884
- Crubellier, Maurice, "L'enfance et la jeunesse dans la société française, 1800-1950," 137
- Cruikshank, Charles, "Deception in World War II," 1189
- Cruikshanks, Eveline, "Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45,'" 1193
- Crummey, Robert O. (R), 431
- Cuff, R. D. and J. L. Granatstein, "American Dollars-Canadian Prosperity: Canadian-American Economic Relations, 1945-1950," 239
- Cuff, Robert D. (R), 468
- Culbert, David (R), 237; 1275
- "Cultura e mito dell'autonomia," by Soave, 673
- "The Cultural Limits of Revolutionary Politics," by Paul, 167
- "The Cultural Pattern in American Politics," by Kelley, 204
- "Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au XVIII^e siècle," by Quéniart, 637
- "A Culture in Conflict," by Palmer, 1021
- Cumbler, John T., "Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930," 220
- Cunliffe, Marcus, "Chatel Slavery and Wage Slavery: The Anglo-American Context, 1830-1860," 986
- Cunningham, Allan (R), 1243
- "The Cuno Government and Reparations, 1922-1923," by Rupieper, 1222
- "La Curie Romaine au début de la restauration," by Sande, 930
- Curran, Robert Emmett, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878-1902," 222
- Current, Richard N. (R), 465; 990; 1048
- Current, Richard Nelson, "Wisconsin," 707
- Curtis, George M., III (R), 459
- Curtis, L. P., Jr., *Incumbered Wealth: Landed Indebtedness in Post-Famine Ireland*, 332-367
- Curtiss, John Shelton, "Russia's Crimean War," 432
- Czartoryski, Pawel *et al.*, editors, "Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen" (E), 490
- "Czechoslovakia," edited by Volgyes and Brisch (E), 254
- "Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," Vol. 107, Number 4, "Generations," 90
- Daems, Herman and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., editors, "Managerial Hierarchies: Comparative Perspectives on the Rise of Modern Industrial Enterprise" (E), 1283
- Dahmus, Joseph H. (R), 859
- Dain, Norman (R), 226
- Dallas, George (C), 1042
- "Dall'unanimitas all'universita da Alcuino a Giovanni Eriugena," by Cristiani, 376
- Daly, James, "Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought," 390
- Dam, Nikolaos Van, "The Struggle for Power in Syria: Sectarianism, Regionalism and Tribalism in Politics, 1961-1978," 688
- Daniel, David P., "The Historiography of the Reformation in Slovakia," 165
- Daniel, E. Randolph (R), 107
- Daniel, Norman, "The Arabs and Medieval Europe," 98
- "Daniele Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-49," by Ginsborg, 931
- Daniels, Bruce C., "The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635-1790," 976
- Danilov, V. P., "Sovetskaia dokolkhoznaia derevnia: Naselenie, zemlepol'zovanie, khoziaistvo," 178
- "Danmark og det russiske spørgsmål, 1917-1924," by Jensen, 652
- Danziger, Edmund Jefferson, Jr., "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," 454
- Darnton, Robert, "The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800," 897
- "The Darwinian Revolution," by Ruse, 860
- Davey, Arthur, "The British Pro-Boers, 1877-1902," 131
- "David Hume and the History of England," by Wexler, 628
- Davidson, Eugene (R), 155
- Davies, Keith A. (R), 247
- Davis, Allen F. (R), 723; 994
- Davis, Cullom *et al.*, editors, "The Public and the Private Lincoln: Contemporary Perspectives" (E), 748
- Davis, John A., editor, "Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution" (E), 746
- Davis, Kenneth S., "Kansas," 708
- Davis, R. Hunt, Jr. (R), 959
- Davis, Ralph, "The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade," 392
- Davis, Thomas W. (R), 122
- Dawidoff, Robert (R), 209; "The Education of John Randolph," 1260
- Dawn, C. Ernest (R), 439
- "The Dawn of Modern Banking" (E), 252
- Dawson, Raymond, "The Chinese Experience," 190
- "The Day of the Carpetbagger," by Harris, 465
- "Dayānanda Sarasvatī," by Jordens, 1248
- Deak, Istvan, "The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849," 427
- Deán, Warren (R), 743
- Debo, Richard K., "Revolution and Survival: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1917-18," 178
- "Deception in World War II," by Cruikshank, 1189
- "The Deceptive Ash," by Schlegel, 484
- "The Decline of Bismarck's European Order," by Kennan, 1239
- Decsy, János, "Prime Minister Gyula Andrássy's Influence on Habsburg Foreign Policy: During the Franco-German War of 1870-1871," 428
- Deeb, Marius, "Party Politics in Egypt: The Wafd and its Rivals, 1919-1939," 689
- "De Friese Beweging in het tijdvak der Beide Wereldoorlogen," by Zondergeld, 651
- De Grand, Alexander (C), 274; 426
- De Grand, Alexander J., "Bottai e la cultura fascista," 933
- "De Guillaume le conquérant au Marché commun," by Bédarida *et al.* (E), 1028
- Deist, Wilhelm *et al.*, "Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der deutschen Kriegspolitik," 915
- "Dějiny českého divadla," edited by Černý and Klovská, 165
- De Jong, L., "Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog," 1215

- "Delaware," by Hoffecker, 705
 "Delta," by Lewis and Newton, 481
 Demény, Lajos *et al.*, editors, "Răscoala secuilor din 1595–1596. Antecedente, desfășurare și urmări," 163
 Demography: Cook and Borah, "Essays in Population History," 1022; Merrick and Graham, "Population and Economic Development in Brazil," 743
 "Demokratie und Staat bei Julius Fröbel, 1805–1893," by Kock, 148
 Demos, John and Sarane Spence Boocock, editors, "Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family," 197
 Denis, Anne, "Charles VIII et les Italiens: Histoire et mythe," 924
 Dennis, George T. (R), 1187
 "Les Députés du Commerce et l'Ordonnance de Mars 1673," by Lafon, 895
 Derfler, Leslie (R), 642
 Derry, T. K., "A History of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland," 409
 Despland, Michel, "La religion en occident: Évolution des idées et du vécu," 1172
 Desportes, Pierre, "Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," 870
 "Der deutsche Bürgerkrieg," Koch, 152
 "Die deutsche Politik Oxenstiernas und Wallenstein," by Suvanto, 906
 "Deutsche Politik und Handelspolitik unter Reichskanzler Leo von Caprivi, 1890–1894," by Weitowitz, 150
 "Deutsches Vermögen in den Vereinigten Staaten," by Kreikamp, 666
 "Deutschland in der Weltwirtschaft, 1944–1947," by Jerchow, 915
 "Deutschland und die Sozialistische Internationale nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," by Steininger, 916
 "The Devil Wagon in God's Country," by Berger, 1275
 "Devolution," by Bogdanor, 400
 Dewey, Clive J. and K. N. Chadhuri, editors, "Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History," 1249
 Dewey, John, 731
 Diaconu, Petre, "Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," 380
 Diakin, V. S., "Samoderzhavie, burzhauziia, i dvorianstvo v 1907–1911 gg.," 1238
 "The Diaries of George Washington," edited by Jackson and Twohig, 459
 Dick, Madelyn B. (R), 611
 "Dickens and Charity," by Pope, 127
 "Dictatorship and Political Dissent," by Maravall, 406
 "Dictatorships and 'Ultimate' Decrees in the Early Roman Republic," by Kaplan, 605
 "The Diehards," by Phillips, 131
 Diehl, James M. (R), 152
 Dietrich, Craig (R), 192
 Digby, Anne, "Pauper Places," 629
 "Dimensions in Urban History," by Hollingsworth and Hollingsworth, 712
 Dinnerstein, Leonard (R), 223
 "Diplomacy and Ideology," by Uldricks, 949
 "Diplomacy," edited by Lauren (E), 490
 Diplomatic history: Bornemann, "Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918," 1232; Boyd, "The Extraordinary Envoy," 1248; Garner, "The Commonwealth Office, 1925–68," 132; Gellman, "Good Neighbor Diplomacy," 1009; Kosáry, "Napoleon et la Hongrie," 1233; Lauren, editor, "Diplomacy" (E), 490; Ostrower, "Collective Insecurity," 1008; Rizvi, "Linlithgow and India, 447; Rosenstone, *Learning from Those 'Imitative' Japanese: Another Side of the American Experience in the Mikado's Empire*, 572–595; Tandrup, "Mod triumf eller tragedie," 1215; Uldricks, "Diplomacy and Ideology," 949
 "Diplomații unirii," by Vitcu, 676
 "A Disciplined Intelligence," by McKillop, 1279
 "Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers," by Franklin, 969
 "Discovering America, 1700–1875," by Savage, 969
 "District of Columbia," by Lewis, 702
 Diubaldo, Richard J., "Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic," 483
 "Divided and Conquered," by Gunsburg, 1209
 Dobkowski, Michael N., "The Tarnished Dream: The Basis of American Anti-Semitism," 223
 Dobney, Fredrick J., "River Engineers on the Middle Mississippi: A History of the St. Louis District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers," 1014
 Dodds, Gordon B., "Oregon," 709
 Doenecke, Justus D., "Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era," 1017
 Domhoff, G. William, "The Powers That Be: Processes of Ruling-Class Domination in America," 482
 "The Dominican Crisis," by Gleijeses, 486
 "Don i stepnoe Predkavkaz'e, XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX v.," edited by Pronshstein, 173
 Donnachie, Ian, "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland," 402
 "The Dorian Aegean," by Craik, 1174
 Doty, C. Stewart (R), 1208
 Douglas, Roy, "The Advent of War, 1939–40," 117
 Dow, F. D., "Cromwellian Scotland, 1651–1660," 1199
 Dower, J. W., "Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878–1954," 965
 Drake, Michael (R), 396
 Drew, K. F. (R), 1183
 Drieu La Rochelle, Pierre, 405
 "Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages," by Taylor, 240
 Drummond, Eric, 621
 Druzhinin, N. M., "Russkaia derevnia na perelome, 1861–1880 gg.," 944
 Duarte, José Napoleón, 742
 Duffy, Christopher, "Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1495–1660," 383
 Duggan, Lawrence G. (R), 614; "Bishop and Chapter: The Governance of the Bishopric of Speyer to 1552," 108
 Duignan, Peter and L. H. Gann, editors, "African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa," 180; "The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884–1914," 954
 Dukes, Paul (R), 207
 Duncan, T. Bentley (R), 183
 Dunn, John, editor, "West African States, Failure and Promise: A Study in Comparative Politics," 442
 Dunsdorfs, Edgars, "Pirmās latviešu bībeles vēsture," 950
 Durey, Michael, "The Return of the Plague: British Society and the Cholera, 1831–2," 1196
 "The Dust Bowl," by Bonfield, 230
 "Dust Bowl," by Worcester, 732
 "Dutch Shipbuilding before 1800," by Unger, 142
 Dyer, Alan D. (R), 1189
 Dykeman, Wilma, "Tennessee," 702
 "The Dynamite War," by Short, 397
 Earle, Carville (R), 978; *The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800–1860*, 1055–94
 Earle, Carville V. (R), 719
 "The Early Career of Lord North the Prime Minister," by Smith, 883
 "Early South East Asia," edited by Smith and Watson (E), 492
 Eastlake, Charles, 396
 Eastman, Crystal, "On Women and Revolution," 228

- Eastman, Max, 228
 Ebrey, Patricia (R), 961
 Eck, Werner, "Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit," 607
 Eckes, Alfred E., Jr., "The United States and the Global Struggle for Minerals," 479
 "Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle," by Riché, 868
 "Economía de la Hispania Romana," by Blazquez, 1177
 Economic history: Attman, "The Struggle for Baltic Markets," 113; Blazquez, "Economía de la Hispania Romana," 1177; Bos, "Brits-Nederlandse handel en scheepvaart, 1870-1914," 649; Bringham, "Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly," 469; Brown, "A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776-1860," 488; Caron, "An Economic History of Modern France," 403; Caspard, "La Fabrique-Neuve de Cortailod," 159; Cuff and Granatstein, "American Dollars-Canadian Prosperity," 239; Curtis, *Incumbered Wealth: Landed Indebtedness in Post-Famine Ireland*, 332-367; "The Dawn of Modern Banking" (E), 252; Fischer, "Die Weltwirtschaft im 20. Jahrhundert," 370; Frank, "Mexican Agriculture, 1521-1630," 240; Freedeman, "Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807-1867," 640; Frese and Judd, editors, "Business Enterprises in Early New York" (E), 748; Goldfrank, editor, "The World-System of Capitalism" (E), 250; Hocquet, "Le sel et la fortune de Venise," 161; Hou and Yu, editors, "Modern Chinese Economic History" (E), 491; Jones, "The Foundations of English Bankruptcy," 627; Karnes, "Tropical Enterprise," 1023; Kubicek, "Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice," 188; Latham, "The International Economy and the Undeveloped World, 1865-1914," 84; Lis and Soly, "Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe," 874; Lurie, "The Chicago Board of Trade, 1859-1905," 468; Mathias and Postan, editors, "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," 112; Mathias and Postan, editors, "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," 1168; McCalla, "The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872," 1020; Otte, "Las Perlas del Caribe," 1281; Parker, "The Bureau of Commerce in 1781 and Its Policies With Respect to French Industry," 1204; Popkin, "The Rational Peasant," 702; Rosenbaum and Sherman, "M. M. Warburg & Co., 1789-1938," 913; Rothermund, "Europa und Asien im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus," 80; Rupieper, "The Cuno Government and Reparations, 1922-1923," 1222; Smallwood, "An Oklahoma Adventure," 1273; Stumpo, "Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento," 1228; Tomlinson, "The Political Economy of the Raj, 1914-1947," 447; Walton and Shepherd, "The Economic Rise of Early America," 457
 "An Economic History of Modern France," by Caron, 403
 "Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice," by Kubicek, 188
 "Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece," by Schaps, 1175
 "The Economic Rise of Early America," by Walton and Shepherd, 457
 Edelman, Robert S. (R), 1238
 Edmonds, Anthony O. (R), 723
 Edmondson, C. Earl (R), 670
 "Edmund Ludlow," edited by Worden, 389
 Edmunds, R. David, "The Potawatomi: Keepers of the Fire," 202
 Edsman, Björn M., "Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics, c. 1900-1945: From Mensah Sarbah to J. B. Danquah," 1245
 Education: Allen, "The Cambridge Apostles," 125; Borst, "Schule des Schwabenlands," 1220; Cohen and Mohl, "The Paradox of Progressive Education," 725; Engs, "Freedom's First Generation," 1266; Franklin, "The Education of Black Philadelphia," 1004; Goor, "Jan Kompenie as Schoolmaster," 196; Green, "Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke," 468; Harrison, "Waiting for China," 962; Joerissen, "Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland, 1871-1918," 1219; Kaestle and Vinovskis, "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," 1269; Kaufman, "The University of Vermont College of Medicine," 467; Lloyd, "A Singular School," 995; Marder, "Stewards of the Land," 1231; McClelland, "Autocrats and Academics," 943; McClelland, "State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914," 1218; McKevitt, "The University of Santa Clara," 995; Rawski, "Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China," 191; Sanders, "Cold War on the Campus," 1018; Swanson, "Universities, Academics and the Great Schism," 611; Synnott, "The Half-Opened Door," 475; Tokiomi, "Sengo Nihon no Kyōiku Kaikaku," 698; Wagaw, "Education in Ethiopia," 956
 "Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China," by Rawski, 191
 "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," by Kaestle and Vinovskis, 1269
 "Education in Ethiopia," by Wagaw, 956
 "The Education of Black Philadelphia," by Franklin, 1004
 "The Education of John Randolph," by Dawidoff, 1260
 "Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296," edited by Stones and Simpson, 376
 Edward, Jill, "The British Government and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," 636
 "The Edwardian Age," edited by O'Day (E), 1028
 "Edwin G. Nourse—Economist for the People," by Knapp, 1015
 Egerton, George W. (R), 621
 Ehmke, Edwin G. (R), 929
 Ehrlich, Walter, "They Have No Rights: Dred Scott's Struggle for Freedom," 988
 "1866," by Riddleberger, 463
 "Einheit der Nation," by Benz, 667
 Eisenstadt, Abraham S. *et al.*, editors, "Before Watergate: Problems of Corruption in American Society," 452
 Ekberg, Carl J., "The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War," 405
 Ekechi, Felix K. (R), 953
 Ekirch, Arthur A., Jr. (R), 1002
 Eksteins, Modris (R), 876
 "El buen gobierno," Mazzone, 423
 "El Gobierno español del despotismo ilustrado ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos de América," by Ruigómez de Hernández, 206
 "El Oro de Moscú," by Viñas, 647
 "El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú (extractos del siglo XVII)," by Zavala, 1024
 "El socialismo durante la dictadura, 1923-1930," by Andrés-Gallego, 140
 "Electricity before Nationalisation," by Hannah, 635
 "Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries," by Heilbron, 601
 "Le elezioni nell'Italia unita," by Pacifici, 932
 "Elintarvikenhuolto ja-säännöstely Suomessa vuosina, 1914-1921," by Rantatupa, 412
 "Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930," edited by Bernhard (E), 1030
 Elkar, Rainer S., "Junges Deutschland in polemischen Zeitalter: Das schleswig-holsteinische Bildungsbürgertum in der ersten Hälfte des 19.

- Jahrhunderts; Zur Bildungsrekrutierung und politischen Sozialisation," 910
- Elkins, W. F., "Street Preachers, Faith Healers, and Herb Doctors in Jamaica, 1890-1925," 486
- "Ella Flagg Young," by Smith, 727
- Ellehøj, Svend *et al.*, editors, "Københavns Universitet, 1479-1979," 653
- Ellersieck, Heinz E. (R), 113
- Ellis, David Maldwyn, "New York: State and City," 199
- Elzy, Martin I. (R), 1019
- "Emancipation and Equal Rights," by Belz, 463
- "The Emergence of the Romanian National State," by Bobango, 936
- Emmons, Terence (R), 685
- "The Emperor Julian," by Browning, 96
- "Empire and Aftermath," by Dower, 965
- "Empires in Collision," by Pollak, 1251
- Emsley, Clive, "British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815," 1195
- "The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa," by Hargreaves, 956
- "The End of the Russian Imperial Army," by Wildman, 1241
- "The End of the War in Asia," by Allen, 960
- Endelman, Todd M. (R), 398; "The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society," 883
- "L'enfance et la jeunesse dans la société française, 1800-1950," by Crubellier, 137
- Engelmann, Larry, "Intemperance: The Lost War Against Liquor," 1003
- Engels, Donald (R), 371
- Engerman, Stanley, *Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Comment), 1154-60
- Engle, Arthur (R), 125
- "English Almanacs, 1500-1800," by Capp, 391
- English, Barbara, "The Lords of Holderness, 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society," 1181
- "The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850," by Bossy, 121
- "English Chuntries," by Kreider, 387
- "The English Church, 1066-1154," by Barlow, 1180
- "The English Clergy," by O'Day, 1192
- "The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640," edited by Clark *et al.*, (E), 491
- "The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815-1896," by Farnie, 633
- "English Historical Writings on the Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859," by Chaudhuri, 700
- English, John (R), 483
- "English Scientific Virtuosi in the 16th Centuries," by Shapiro and Frank (E), 491
- Engs, Robert F., "Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890," 1266
- Ennen, Edith, "The Medieval Town," 374
- Enteen, George (R), 948
- "Enterprise in Radio," by Pusateri, 1275
- "Entrepreneurs in Cultural Context," edited by Greenfield *et al.* (E), 745
- "Ephesus after Antiquity," by Foss, 1187
- Ermarth, Michael (R), 657
- Escott, Paul D., "Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives," 466
- "Essays in Population History," by Cook and Borah, 1022
- "The Establishment in Texas Politics," by Green, 230
- Estes, J. Worth, "Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America, 1760-1820," 1258
- "L'età dell'imperialismo," by Carocci, 619
- "L'état et sa police en France (1789-1914)," by Aubert *et al.* (E), 254
- Etherington, Norman, "Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland, and Zululand," 958
- Ethnic history: Luebke, editor, "Ethnicity on the Great Plains" (E), 1285; Stack, "International Conflict in an American City," 1011
- "Ethnicity on the Great Plains," edited by Luebke (E), 1285
- "Etika N. V. Shelgunova," by Peunova, 174
- "Europa und Asien im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus," by Rothermund, 80
- "Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento," by Simoncelli, 927
- Evans, Eric J. (R), 395
- Evans, R. J. W., "The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700: An Interpretation," 919
- Evans, Richard J. (R), 417; 1046
- Evans, Sara, "Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left," 236
- Evans, Sara M. (R), 726
- Evans, William McKee, *From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the Sons of Ham*, 15-43
- "The Evasive Neutral," by Weber, 117
- Evergates, Theodore (R), 1185
- "The Exclave Problem of Western Europe," by Catudal, 619
- "Exiles of Erin," by Lees, 396
- "The Extraordinary Envoy," by Boyd, 1248
- Eyck, Frank (R), 658
- Eyler, John M. (R), 1197; "Victorian Social Medicine: The Ideas and Methods of William Farr," 1197
- Ezell, John Samuel, "Innovations in Energy: The Story of Kerr-McGee," 1273
- Ezergailis, Andrew (R), 176
- Ezhov, V. A. *et al.*, editors, "Is istorii feodal'noi Rossii: Stat'i ocherki k 70-letiu co dnia rozhdeniia prof. V. V. Mavrodina" (E), 253
- "La Fabrique-Neuve de Cortaillod," by Caspard, 159
- "Facets of Taoism," edited by Welch and Seidel, 444
- "The Factory of Grievances," by Buckland, 894
- Page, J. D., editor, "The Cambridge History of Africa," Volume 2, "From c. 500 to AD 1050," 952
- Fagen, Richard R., editor, "Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations" (E), 748
- Faherty, William Barnaby and Charles D. Benson, "Moonport: A History of Apollo Launch Facilities and Operations," 740
- "The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War," by Ekberg, 405
- Fain, Haskell (R), 1167
- Fair, John D. (R), 400
- "Families in Former Times," by Flandrin, 875
- "Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America," edited by Hareven and Vinovskis, 711
- "Family and Sexuality in French History," edited by Hareven and Wheaton (E), 1285
- Family history: Barton, "The Search for Ancestors," 199; Bullough and Bullough, "Sin, Sickness, & Sanity," 89; Crubellier, "L'enfance et la jeunesse dans la société française, 1800-1950," 137; Demos and Boocock, editors, "Turning Points," 197; Flandrin, "Families in Former Times," 875; Hareven and Vinovskis, editors, "Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America," 711; Hareven and Wheaton, editors, "Family and Sexuality in French History" (E), 1285; Hareven, editor, "Transitions," 89; Lichtman and Challinor, editors, "Kin and Communities," 453; Nader, "The Mendoza Family in

- the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550," 1210;
Tentler, "Wage-Earning Women," 724
- Faragher, John Mack, "Women and Men on the Overland Trail," 210
- "Farmlife in Northeast Scotland, 1840-1914," by Carter, 403
- Farnie, D. A., "The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815-1896," 633
- Farquharson, J. E. (R), 1224
- Farrar, L. L., Jr. (R), 384
- Fascism: De Grand, "Bottai e la cultura fascista," 933; Lunn and Thurlow, editors, "British Fascism" (E), 1285; Roberts, "The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism," 426; Soucy, "The Fascist Intellectual," 405
- "Fascist Intellectual," by Soucy, 405
- Fass, Paula S. (C), 1045
- Fauray, Jean, "Cléricalisme et anticléricalisme dans le Tarn (1848-1900)," 1206
- Favier, Jean, "Philippe le Bel," 103
- Fay, Peter Ward (R), 962
- Fayard, Janine, "Les membres du conseil de Castille à l'époque modern (1621-1746)," 139
- Fedde, G. Bernhard (R), 652
- Fein, Albert (R), 224
- Fein, Helen, "Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust," 118
- Feingold, Henry L. (R), 888
- Feldman, Elliot J. and Neil Nevitte, editors, "The Future of North America: Canada, The United States, and Quebec Nationalism" (E), 494
- Feldman, Gerald (C), 276
- Feldman, Gerald D. (R), 663
- Feldstein, Stanley (R), 721
- Felix, David (R), 386; 1222
- Fellman, David (R), 1253
- Fellman, Michael and Lewis Perry, editors, "Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists" (E), 747
- "Feminism and Socialism in China," by Croll, 444
- "Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia, 1919-1926," by Bortolotti, 425
- "Ferdinand II.," by Franzl, 919
- Ferencz, Benjamin B., "Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation," 1225
- Ferguson, Arthur B., "Clio Unbound: Perceptions of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England," 625
- Ferrari, Giuseppe, 931
- Fichtner, Paula Sutter (R), 165; 919
- Field, Daniel (R), 1238
- Fields, Lanny B. (R), 693
- Fiering, Norman (R), 977
- Figurovskaia, N. K., "Agrarnye problemy v sovetskoi ekonomicheskoi literature 20-kh godov," 178
- Fika, Adamu Mohammed, "The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule, 1882-1940," 955
- Filler, Louis (C), 1045; "Progressivism and Muckraking," 473
- "Les filles de noce," by Corbin, 1206
- Filmer, Robert, 390
- "The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office," by Browning, 156
- "Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento," by Stumpo, 1228
- Findlay, James F. (R), 223
- "The Fine Arts in America," by Taylor, 971
- Fine, John V. A., Jr. (R), 1187
- Fine, Sidney, "Frank Murphy: The New Deal Years," 733
- Fine, William F., "Progressive Evolutionism and American Sociology, 1890-1920," 1000
- Finkelstein, Barbara, editor, "Regulated Children/Liberated Children: Education in Psychohistorical Perspective" (E), 1027
- "The First Christian Histories," by Chestnut, 608
- "The First Frontier," by Horowitz, 457
- "The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia," by Sears, 719
- "The First Polish Americans," by Baker, 471
- Firth, Katharine R., "The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645," 119
- Fischer, Fritz, "Bündnis der Eliten: Zur Kontinuität der Machtstrukturen in Deutschland, 1871-1945," 418
- Fischer, Wolfram, "Die Weltwirtschaft im 20. Jahrhundert," 370
- Fischer-Galati, Stephen (R), 164
- Fisher, Michael H. (R), 195
- "The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914," by Gray, 134
- "Fit Work for Women," edited by Burman (E), 746
- Fite, Gilbert C. (R), 732
- Flanagan, Thomas, "Louis 'David' Riel: Prophet of the New World," 238
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis, "Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality," 875
- Fleming, Marie, "The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisée Reclus and Nineteenth-Century European Anarchism," 900
- Fleming, Thomas, "New Jersey," 705
- Fleming, William J. (R), 1025
- Flemming, Jens, "Landwirtschaftlich Interessen und Demokratie: Ländliche Gesellschaft, Agrarverbände und Staat, 1890-1925," 663
- Flink, James J. (R), 475
- "Florida," by Jahoda, 702
- "The Florida Wars," by Peters, 209
- "Flugschriftenliteratur 1848 in Berlin," by Weigel, 657
- Flynn, George Q., "The Mess in Washington: Manpower Mobilization in World War II," 232
- Flynt, Wayne (R), 466
- "La fondation de l'empire Serbe," by Mavromatis, 615
- "Les fonderies et forges d'Alais à l'époque des premiers chemins de fer," by Locke, 900
- Foner, Eric, "Tom Paine and Revolutionary America," 715
- Foner, Philip S. (R), 992; "Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I," 1271
- Forbes, Jack D. (R), 714
- "Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America," by Sherman, 242
- Ford, Henry, 999
- Ford, Trowbridge H. (R), 134
- "Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700-1760," by Nunn, 742
- Forgie, George B., "Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age," 213
- Forgus, Silvia P. (R), 681
- "The Formation of a Modern Labor Force," by Schofer, 146
- Formisano, Ronald P. (R), 982
- "Forms of Order," by Freyer, 718
- Forster, Cornelius P., "The Uncontrolled Chancellor: Charles Townshend His American Policy," 205
- Forster, Robert and Orest Ranum, editors, "Medicine and Society in France" (E), 1028
- "The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St. John, 1530-1798," by Hoppen, 622
- Foss, Clive, "Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City," 1187
- Foster, E. C. (R), 987

- The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800-1860*, by Earle and Hoffman, 1055-94
- "The Foundations of English Bankruptcy," by Jones, 627
- "The Foundations of Modern Political Thought," by Skinner, 79
- Fountain, Alvin Marcus, II, "Roman Dmowski: Party, Tactics, Ideology, 1895-1907," 1234
- Fowler, Robert Booth (R), 1278
- Fowler, William M., Jr., and Wallace Coyle, editors, "The American Revolution: Changing Perspectives" (E), 492; "The Baron of Beacon Hill: A Biography of John Hancock," 1260
- Fox, Frank W. (R), 999
- Fox, Richard W., "So Far Disordered in Mind: Insanity in California, 1870-1930," 226
- "France and the Arab Middle East, 1914-1920," by Tanenbaum, 643
- "Francis Preston Blair," by Smith, 1262
- Frank, Andre Gunder, "Mexican Agriculture, 1521-1630: Transformation of the Mode of Production," 240
- "Frank Lloyd Wright," by Twombly, 224
- "Frank Murphy," by Fine, 733
- Frank, Robert G., Jr. and Barbara Shapiro, "English Scientific Virtuosi in the 16th Centuries: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, 5 February 1977" (E), 491
- Frank, Roberta (C), 270
- Frankland, Noble (R), 399
- Franklin, John Hope, *Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History*, 1-14
- Franklin, Vincent P., "The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900-1950," 1004
- Franklin, Wayne, "Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America," 969
- Frantz, Joe B., "Texas," 708
- Franzl, Johann, "Ferdinand II.: Kaiser im Zwiesplatt der Zeit," 919
- "Die französische Sicherheitspolitik in der Phase der Umorientierung, 1924-1926," by Wurm, 902
- "Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans," by Temporini, 866
- Fredricks, Shirley F. (R), 646
- Freed, John B. (R), 378
- Freedman, Charles E. (R), 403; "Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807-1867: From Privileged Company to Modern Corporation," 640
- "Freedom's First Generation," by Engs, 1266
- Freeman, James M., "Untouchable: An Indian Life History," 701
- Freidel, Frank (R), 733
- Fremdling, Rainer (R), 414
- "French Conservatism in Crisis," by Irvine, 1208
- "The French Experience in Mexico, 1821-1861," by Barker, 91
- "The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration," by Woloch, 899
- Frese, Joseph R. and Jacob Judd, editors, "Business Enterprises in Early New York" (E), 748
- "Freud's Early Psychology of the Neuroses," by Levin, 88
- Freyer, Tony Allan, "Forums of Order: The Federal Courts and Business in American History," 718
- Fried, Richard M. (R), 1017
- "Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918," by Bornemann, 1232
- Friedrichs, Christopher R., "Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720," 908
- "The Friends of Liberty," by Goodwin, 123
- Friguglietti, James (R), 1204
- Frings, Marie Luise, "Henry Clays American System und die sektionale Kontroverse in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1815-1829," 719
- Fröbel, Julius, 148
- "From Brown to Bakke," by Wilkinson, 481
- "From Dessalines to Duvalier," by Nicholls, 1282
- "From Humanism to Science, 1480-1700," by Mandrou, 616
- "From Memory to Written Record," by Clanchy, 612
- "From Ming to Ch'ing," edited by Spence and Wills, 691
- "From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture," by Kraut, 721
- From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the Sons of Ham*, by Evans, 15-43
- "The Frontier," edited by Savage and Thompson (E), 250
- Frost, Peter (R), 698
- Frucht, Richard (R), 676
- "The Frustration of Politics," by Thompson, 738
- Fry, Geoffrey K., "The Growth of Government: The Development of Ideas about the Role of the State and the Machinery and Functions of Government in Britain since 1780," 886
- Fryde, Natalie, "The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326," 869
- Frykenberg, Robert Eric, editor, "Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia," 966
- Fuller, Thomas (R), 186
- "The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840," by Wishart, 984
- "Furious Fancies," by Abbott, 1278
- Fursenko, A. A., "Amerikanskaia revoliutsiia i obrazovanie SSHa," 207
- Furth, Charlotte (R), 444
- "The Future of North America," edited by Feldman and Nevitte (E), 494
- Fyfe, Christopher (R), 441
- "Gaetano Salvemini und die italienische Politik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," by Büttler, 425
- Gagnon, Serge, "Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920: La Nouvelle-France de Garneau à Groulx," 238
- Gailey, Harry A. (R), 442
- Gal, Allon, "Brandeis of Boston," 1271
- Galambos, Louis (R), 1272
- Ganin, Zvi, "Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948," 1012
- Gann, L. H. and Peter Duignan, editors, "African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa," 180; "The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884-1914," 954
- Gardinier, David E. (R), 956
- Gargan, Edward T. (R), 382
- Garner, Joe, "The Commonwealth Office, 1925-68," 132
- Garrison, Dee (R), 450; "Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920," 994
- Gartner, Lloyd P. (R), 211; 1007
- Garver, Bruce M., "The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System," 166
- "Garveyism as a Religious Movement," by Burkett, 476
- Gash, Norman, "Aristocracy and People: Britain, 1815-1865," 1196
- Gatewood, Willard B., Jr. (R), 1005
- Gatzke, Hans W., "Germany and the United States: A 'Special Relationship?'" 1225
- Gaube, Heinz, "Iranian Cities," 688
- Gaustad, Edwin S., "George Berkeley in America," 977
- Gawalt, Gerard W., "The Promise of Power: The Emergence of the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1760-1840," 207
- Gelfand, Mark I. (R), 470
- Gellman, Irwin F., "Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933-1945," 1009

- Gelsinger, Bruce E. (R), 610
 Gemery, Henry A. and Jan S. Hogendorn, editors, "The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 603
 Gendron, François, "La Jeunesse Dorée: Épisodes de la Révolution française," 1205
 "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," edited by Parker and Smith (E), 253
 "The Generation of 1914," by Wohl, 1188
 "A Generation of Women," by Lagemann, 725
 "Genrejsningshåb og undergangsangst," by Nielsen, 651
 Geography: Worster, "Nature's Economy," 602
 "George Berkeley in America," by Gaustad, 977
 George, Gerald (C), 1297
 George, Margaret (R), 113
 Georgelin, Jean, "Venise au siècle des lumières," 928
 Georgescu, Valentin Al and Petre Strihan, "Judecata domnească în țara românească și Moldova (1611-1831)," Part 1, "Organizarea judecătorească," Vol. 1, (1611-1740)," 675
 Georgescu, Vlad (R), 1232
 Georgehallides, G. S., "A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926, with a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule," 1243
 "Georgia," by Martin, 702
 "The German Colonial Empire," by Smith, 912
 "The German Influence in France after 1870," by Mitchell, 901
 "German Rearmament and the West, 1932-1933," by Bennett, 154
 "Germany and the United States," by Gatzke, 1225
 "Gershom Scholem," by Biale, 86
 "Gesamtdeutsche Illusion und westdeutsche Realität," by Overesch, 156
 "Gescheiterte Reformation," by Rublack, 143
 "Geschichte der Etrusker," by Weeber, 1176
 "Geschiedenis der Provinciale Staten van Zuid-Holland, 1850-1914," by Riel, 905
 "Gewerkschaften und Politik zwischen Revolution und Inflation," by Potthoff, 914
 Geyer, Michael (R), 154
 Gibbons, Robert J. (R), 915
 Gibson, Mary (R), 425
 Gieske, Millard L., "Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative," 1010
 Giesley, Ralph E. (R), 924
 Gifford, Carey J. (R), 719
 Gilbert, Arthur N. (R), 89
 Gilbert, John M., "Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland," 1182
 Gildrie, Richard P. (R), 976
 Gill, Graeme J., "Peasants and Government in the Russian Revolution," 687
 Gillespie, Neal C., "Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation," 861
 Gillin, Donald G. (R), 692
 Gilpin, W. Clark, "The Millenarian Piety of Roger Williams," 455
 Gimbel, John (R), 156
 Gimpel'son, E. G., "Velikii Oktiabr' i stanovlenie sovetskoi sistemy upravleniia narodnym khoziaistvom (noiabr' 1917-1920 gg.)," 949
 Ginev, V. N., "Agrarnyi vopros i melkoburzhuaznye partii v Rossii v 1917 g.: K istorii bankrotstva neonarodnichestva," 436
 Ginsborg, Paul, "Daniele Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-49," 931
 Ginter, Donald (R), 883
 "Giuseppe Ferrari and the Italian Revolution," by Lovett, 931
 Givens, Robert D. (R), 173
 Glaab, Charles N. (R), 217
 Glasco, Laurence (R), 453
 Glassey, Lionel K. J., "Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675-1720," 881
 Glatfelter, R. Edward (R), 432
 Gleason, Philip (R), 730
 Gleijeses, Piero, "The Dominican Crisis: The 1965 Constitutionalist Revolt and American Intervention," 486
 Glick, Thomas F., "Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages," 872
 Glover, Michael, "A Very Slippery Fellow: The Life of Sir Robert Wilson, 1777-1849," 393
 "God's Frontiersmen," by Willis, 719
 Godunov, Boris, 431
 Golden, Peter B. (R), 380
 Goldfield, David R. (R), 733
 Goldfrank, Walter, editor, "The World-System of Capitalism: Past and Present" (E), 250
 Goldman, Ralph M., "Search for Consensus: The Story of the Democratic Party," 714
 Gonzalez Gomez, Antonio, "Moguer en la baja edad media (1248-1538)," 378
 "Good Neighbor Diplomacy," by Gellman, 1009
 Goodich, Michael (R), 377; 1171; "The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period," 375
 Goodman, Edward J. (R), 248
 Goodwin, Albert, "The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution," 123
 Goodwin, Gerald J. (R), 1257
 Goor, J. Van, "Jan Kompenie as Schoolmaster: Dutch Education in Ceylon, 1690-1795," 196
 Gordon, Bertram M. (R), 669
 Gordon, Donald C. (R), 196; 968
 Gordon, Linda (R), 236
 Gordon, Michael D. (R), 139
 "Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism," by Sizer, 214
 Gosselin, Edward A. (R), 135
 Gossett, Thomas F. (R), 1268
 Gottfried, Paul, "Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria," 1217
 Gould, Lewis L. (R), 1000
 "Government and Society in Afghanistan," by Kakar, 1243
 Gowans, Alan (R), 970
 "Graaf en grafiek," by Boer, 106
 "The Gracchi," by Stockton, 1178
 Graebner, Norman A. (R), 473
 Graff, Harvey J., "The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City," 1280
 Graham, Douglas H. and Thomas W. Merrick, "Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present," 743
 Graham, Roger (R), 740
 "Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution," edited by Davis (E), 746
 "Gramsci and Marxist Theory," edited by Mouffe (E), 1027
 Gramsci, Antonio (E), 746
 Gran, Peter (R), 181; "Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760-1840," 182
 Granatstein, J. L. and R. D. Cuff, "American Dollars-Canadian Prosperity: Canadian-American Economic Relations, 1945-1950," 239
 "The Grand Expedition," by Bond, 124
 Grant, H. Roger, "Insurance Reform: Consumer Action in the Progressive Era," 1000
 Grant, Robert M. (R), 373
 Grantham, Dewey W., "The Regional Imagination: The South and Recent American History," 450

- Gray, Malcolm, "The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914: A Study in Regional Adaptation," 134
- Gray, Ralph D., "Alloys and Automobiles: The Life of Elwood Haynes," 475
- "The Great American Fair," by Badger, 997
- "Great Britain and Denmark, 1914-1920," by Kaarsted, 623
- "Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the Polish Government in Exile (1939-1945)," by Kaciewicz, 681
- "The Great Impeacher," by Horowitz, 464
- "The Great Plains," edited by Blouet and Luebke (E), 493
- "The Great Turkes Defiance," by Waugh, 171
- "The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933," by Hawley, 731
- Greaves, Richard L. (R), 119
- "The Greek Concept of Justice," by Havelock, 605
- Green, David (R), 1009
- Green, Elizabeth Alden, "Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates," 468
- Green, George Norris, "The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957," 230
- Green, William A. (R), 242
- Greenbaum, Fred (R), 473
- Greene, Victor (R), 231
- Greenfield, Sidney *et al.*, editors, "Entrepreneurs in Cultural Context" (E), 745
- Greenleaf, Richard E. (R), 242
- Gregory, Timothy E. (R), 608; "Vox Populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.," 867
- Grendler, Paul F. (R), 671
- Grenville, Richard, 880
- "The Grenvillites, 1801-29," by Sack, 393
- Grew, Raymond, *The Case for Comparing Histories*, 763-778
- Grew, Raymond, editor, "Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States," 81
- Griffith, G. T. and N. G. L. Hammond, "A History of Macedonia," Vol. 2, "550-36 B.C.," 371
- Griffith, William E., "The Ostpolitik of the Federal Republic of Germany," 421
- Griffiths, Gordon (R), 407
- Griswold del Castillo, Richard, "The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History," 1268
- Gross, Hanns (R), 668; 1229
- Gross, Jan Tomasz, "Polish Society under German Occupation: The Generalgouvernement, 1939-1944," 168
- "Growing A Soul," by Spellman, 478
- "The Growth of Government," by Fry, 886
- Gruber, Helmut (R), 916
- Gruen, Erich S. (R), 606
- Grundmann, Friedrich, "Agrarpolitik im 'Dritten Reich': Anspruch und Wirklichkeit des Reichserbhofgesetzes," 1224
- "Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie," by Prinz, 1174
- "Grundzüge der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen," by Van Briessen, 92
- Gruner, Erich, editor, "Die Wahlen in den Schweizerischen Nationalrat, 1848-1919: Wahlrecht, Wahlsystem, Wahlbeteiligung; Verhalten von Wählern und Parteien: Wahlthemen und Wahlkämpfe," Vol. 1, "Erster und zweiter Teil," Vol. 2, "Anmerkungen," Vol. 3, "Tabellen, Grafiken, Karten," 160
- Gschädler, André (R), 1173
- Guarda, Gabriel, "Historia urbana del Reino de Chile," 247
- Guerci, Luciano, "Condillac Storico: Storia e politica nel 'Cours d'études pour l'instruction du Prince de Parme,'" 929; "Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni: Sparta, Atene e i 'philosophes' nella Francia del Settecento," 1203
- "Les guerres grises," by Pélissier, 690
- Gunnin, Gerry C. (R), 1200
- "Guns and Government," by Tomlinson, 1193
- Gunsburg, Jeffrey A., "Divided and Conquered: The French High Command and the Defeat of the West, 1940," 1209
- Günther, Klaus, "Sozialdemokratie und Demokratie, 1946-1966: Die SPD und das Problem der Verschränkung innerparteilicher und bundesrepublikanischer Demokratie," 917
- Gurock, Jeffrey S., "When Harlem Was Jewish, 1870-1930," 1007
- Gutton, Jean-Pierre, "La sociabilité villageoise dans l'ancienne France: Solidarités et voisinages du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle," 895
- Guzman, Gregory G. (R), 867
- Haase, Hugo, 1220
- Haberman, Ian S., "The Van Sweringens of Cleveland: The Biography of an Empire," 998
- Habicht, Christian, "Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," 1176
- Habsburg, Rudolf von, 421
- Hackmann, W. Kent (R), 392
- Haczyński, Leo John (R), 1235
- Hagan, William T. (R), 1254
- Hague, John A., editor, "American Character and Culture in a Changing World: Some Twentieth Century Perspectives" (E), 494
- Hahn, Hans Henning, "Aussenpolitik in der Emigration: Die Exildiplomatie Adam Jerzy Czartoryskis, 1830-1840," 167
- Haimson, Leopold H., editor, "The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905-1914," 434
- Haines, Roy Martin (R), 1180
- Halberstam, David, "The Powers That Be," 237
- Hale, Charles A. (R), 487
- "The Half-Opened Door," by Synnott, 475
- "Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove," by Estes, 1258
- Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd, "Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching," 726
- Hall, Thadd E. (R), 639
- Haller, John S., Jr. (R), 991
- Halperin, Charles J. (R), 171
- Halstead, Charles R. (R), 647
- Hamalainen, Pekka Kalevi, "In Time of Storm: Revolution, Civil War, and the Ethnolinguistic Issue in Finland," 655; "Luokka ja kieli vallankumouksen Suomessa," 655; (C), 1296
- Hamann, Brigitte, "Rudolf: Kronprinz und Rebell," 421
- "Hamburgischer Patriotismus und deutscher Nationalismus," by Zimmermann, 416
- "Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien, 1814-1860," by Krawehl, 659
- Hamerow, Theodore S. (R), 1217
- Hamilton, Virginia Van Der Veer, "Alabama," 702
- Hammett, Hugh B. (R), 987
- Hammond, John L., "The Politics of Benevolence: Revival Religion and American Voting Behavior," 982
- Hammond, N. G. L. and G. T. Griffith, "A History of Macedonia," Vol. 2, "550-36 B.C.," 371
- Hanawalt, Barbara A., "Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348," 613
- Hancock, John, 1260

- "Handbook of North American Indians," edited by Trigger, 203
- "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Belgien und dem Zollverein, 1830-1885," by Sydow, 659
- Handlin, Oscar, 974
- Handy, Robert T. (R), 982
- Hane, Mikiso (R), 194
- Hannah, Leslie, "Electricity before Nationalisation: A Study of the Development of the Electricity Supply Industry in Britain to 1948," 635
- Haraszti, Éva H., "Chartism," 630
- "Hard Rock Epic," by Wyman, 470
- Hardacre, P. H. (R), 880
- Harding, Neil, "Lenin's Political Thought," Volume 1, "Theory and Practice in the Democratic Revolution," 947
- Hardy, Deborah (R), 174
- Hareven, Tamara K. and Maris Vinovskis, editors, "Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America," 711; "Family and Sexuality in French History" (E), 1285
- Hareven, Tamara K., editor, "Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective," 89
- Hargreaves, John D., "The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa: Essays in Contemporary History," 956
- Harley, C. Knick (R), 633
- Harnetty, Peter (R), 447
- Harootunian, H. D. (R), 697
- Harper, Norman (R), 189
- Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. *et al.*, "Community Leadership and the Transformation of Freetown (1801-1976)," 441
- Harris, Barbara J., "Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History," 198
- Harris, Robert D. (R), 1204; "Necker, Reform Statesman of the Ancien Régime," 638
- Harris, Sheldon H. (C), 271
- Harris, William C. (C), 1047; "The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi," 465
- Harris, William V., "War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327-70 B.C.," 606
- Harrison, Brian (R), 448; "Waiting for China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, 1818-1843, and Early Nineteenth-Century Missions," 962
- Harrison, Gilbert A., "A Timeless Affair: The Life of Anita McCormick Blaine," 993
- Harrison, J. F. C., "The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850," 599; (R), 394
- "Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby," by Poen, 233
- Hartl, Johann H., "Die Interessenvertretungen der Industriellen in Russland, 1905-1914," 435
- Hasselmo, Nils, editor, "Perspectives on Swedish Immigration: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Swedish Heritage in the Upper Midwest, April 1-3, 1976, University of Minnesota, Duluth" (E), 256
- Hastings, Adrian, "A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975," 953
- Hauben, Paul J. (R), 643
- "Der Hauptausschuss des Deutschen Reichstags, 1915-1918," by Schiffers, 1221
- "The Hausa Factor in West African History," by Adamu, 689
- Havelock, Eric A., "The Greek Concept of Justice: From Its Shadow in Homer to Its Substance in Plato," 605
- Havens, Thomas R. H. (R), 965
- Havighurst, Walter, "Ohio," 707
- Hawes, Joseph M., editor, "Law and Order in American History" (E), 493
- Hawkins, Hugh (R), 475
- Hawley, Ellis W., "The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933," 731
- Haws, Charles H. (R), 890
- Hayes, Robert A. (R), 1025
- Haynes, Elwood, 475
- Hayton, D. W. and Thomas Bartlett, editors, "Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800" (E), 1285
- Haywood, Richard Mowbray (R), 946
- "Health Care in America," edited by Reverby and Rosner (E), 493
- "Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century," edited by Webster (E), 746
- Heilbron, J. L., "Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics," 601
- Heilbroner, Robert L., "Marxism: For and Against," 1170
- Heimsath, Charles H. (R), 965
- "Heinrich der Löwe," by Jordan, 378
- Helmreich, J. E. (R), 905
- Henderson, James Youngblood and Russel Lawrence Barsh, "The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty," 1255
- Hendrix, Scott H. (R), 143
- Henneman, John Bell (R), 104
- Henriksen, Thomas H., "Mozambique: A History," 958
- "Henry Clays American System and die sektionale Kontroverse in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1815-1829," by Frings, 719
- "Henry Ford," by Nye, 999
- Hentschel, Volker, "Wirtschaft und Wirtschaftspolitik im wilhelminischen Deutschland: Organisierter Kapitalismus und Interventionsstaat," 660
- "Herbert Austin," by Church, 890
- "Herbert Hoover," by Burner, 474
- Hernández de Alba, Guillermo and Juan Carrasquilla Bote, "Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia," 488
- Herring, George C. (R), 438; "America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975," 1277
- Hershberg, Theodore (R), 711
- Herwig, Holger H. (R), 116
- Herzen, Alexander, 175
- Hess, Gary R. (R), 1277
- "Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog," by De Jong, 1215
- "Hexenprozesse in Nordwestdeutschland," by Schormann, 1217
- Heyn, Udo (R), 911
- "A Hidden Revolution," by Rivkin, 863
- Higginbotham, Don (R), 1257
- Higgins, W. Robert, editor, "The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict, and Leadership. Essays in Honor of John Richard Alden," 978
- Higgs, David and William J. Callahan, editors, "Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century" (E), 253
- Higham, John (R), 219; "New Directions in American Intellectual History," 449
- Hildermeier, Manfred, "Die Sozialrevolutionäre Partei Russlands: Agrarsozialismus und Modernisierung im Zarenreich (1900-1914)," 946
- Hill, Alette Olin and Boyd H. Hill, Jr., *Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 828-846
- Hill, Boyd H., Jr. and Alette Olin Hill, *Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 828-846
- Hillgarth, J. N., "The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516," Vol. 2, "1410-1516, Castilian Hegemony," 105
- Himka, John-Paul (R), 679
- Hinduism: Kopf, "The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind," 445

- Hine, Darlene Clark, "Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas," 1016
- Hinsley, F. H., "British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations," 399
- "The Hippocratic Tradition," by Smith, 598
- Hirsch, Felix (C), 759
- Hirst, Derek (R), 879
- "His Own Counsel: The Life and Times of Lyman Trumbull," by Roske, 1264
- "Histoire des Alpes," edited by Bergier (E), 254
- "História da história do Brasil," by Rodrigues, 244
- "Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia," by Hernández de Alba and Carrasquilla Botero, 488
- "Historia de Marcos Paz," by Moline de Berardoni, 1025
- "Historia del Estrecho de Magallanes," by Beros, 248
- "Historia Económica y Social de España," edited by Vázquez de Prada, 1211
- "Historia urbana del Reino de Chile," by Guarda, 247
- "Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789," by Anderson, 382
- Historiography: Anderson, "Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789," 382; Canary and Kozicki, editors, "The Writing of History," 1167; Kremer, "Die Reformation als Problem der amerikanischen Historiographie," 858; Pascoe, "The Manufacture of Australian History," 968; Rodrigues, "História da história do Brasil," 244; Wilson, *Time and History in Japan*, 557-571
- "The Historiography of the Reformation in Slovakia," by Daniel, 165
- "History and Culture of Himalayan States," by Charak, 195
- "History and Human Existence," by Miller, 83
- "History in Ovid," by Syme, 96
- "A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975," by Hastings, 953
- "A History of Australia," by Clark, 967
- "The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom," by Briggs, 132
- "A History of Macedonia," by Hammond and Griffith, 371
- "A History of Scandinavia," by Derry, 409
- "History of Srinagar, 1846-1947," by Khan, 1250
- "A History of Technology," edited by Williams, 85.
- "A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar," by Bennett, 187
- "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland," by Donnachie, 402
- "The History of the 'Proletariat,'" by Naimark, 679
- "A History of the World," by Thomas, 1167
- "A History of Women in America," by Hymowitz and Weissman, 450
- Hitchcock, James (R), 626
- "Hitler," by Carr, 155
- "Hitler vs. Roosevelt," by Bailey and Ryan, 735
- Hittle, J. Michael, "The Service City: State and Townsmen in Russia, 1600-1800," 1236
- Hobhouse, L. T., 631
- Hobson, Wayne K. (R), 207
- Hočevar, Toussaint (R), 921
- Hocquet, Jean-Claude, "Le sel et la fortune de Venise," Vol. 1, "Production et monopole," 161
- Hodgson, William Brown, 211
- Hoffecker, Carol E., "Delaware," 705
- Hoffman, Donald (R), 909
- Hoffman, Ronald and Carville Earle, *The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800-1860*, 1055-94
- Hoffmann, Peter (R), 1223
- Hoffmann, Richard C. (R), 110
- Hogan, Michael J. (R), 1253
- Hogendorn, J. S. (R), 1244
- Hogendorn, Jan S., "Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development," 186; "The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 603
- Hohenberg, Paul M. (R), 404
- Høidal, Oddvar K. (R), 623
- Holl, Karl, editor, "Wirtschaftskrise und liberale Demokratie: Das Ende der Weimarer Republik und die gegenwärtige Situation," 154
- Hollingsworth, Ellen Jane and J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "Dimensions in Urban History: Historical and Social Science Perspectives on Middle-Size American Cities," 712
- Hollingsworth, J. Rogers and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth, "Dimensions in Urban History: Historical and Social Science Perspectives on Middle-Size American Cities," 712
- Holman, C. Hugh (R), 229
- Holmes, Blair R. (R), 668
- Holmes, Colin, "Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939," 887
- Holmes, Oliver W. (R), 1188
- Holoka, James P. (R), 1174
- Holt, Michael F. (R), 461
- Holtmann, Everhard, "Zwischen Unterdrückung und Befriedung: Sozialistische Arbeiterbewegung und autoritäres Regime in Österreich, 1933-1938," 670
- Homan, Gerlof D. (R), 905
- Hömig, Herbert, "Das preussische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik," 1222
- "Homosexuality," by Bullough, 1171
- Homze, Edward L. (R), 154; 1225
- "The Honor and Dignity of the Profession," by Landon, 229
- Hood, Stuart (R), 132
- Hoover, Dwight (R), 986
- Hoover, Herbert, 474
- Hopkins, C. Howard, "John R. Mott, 1865-1955," 1276
- Hopkins, Keith, "Conquerors and Slaves," 97
- Hoppe, Hans-Joachim, "Bulgarien—Hitlers eigenwilliger Verbündeter: Einer Fallstudie zur nationalsozialistischen Südosteuropapolitik," 935
- Hoppen, Alison, "The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St. John, 1530-1798," 622
- Horn, Hannelore *et al.*, editors, "Sozialismus in Theorie und Praxis: Festschrift für Richard Lowenthal zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. April 1978" (E), 251
- Horn, Norbert and Jürgen Kocka, editors, "Recht und Entwicklung der Grossunternehmen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Wirtschafts-, sozial- und rechtshistorische Untersuchungen zur Industrialisierung in Deutschland, Frankreich, England und den USA" (E), 745
- Horowitz, David, "The First Frontier: The Indian Wars and America's Origins, 1607-1776," 457
- Horowitz, Robert F., "The Great Impeacher: A Political Biography of James M. Ashley," 464
- Horton, James Oliver and Lois E. Horton, "Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North," 1267
- Horton, Lois E. and James Oliver Horton, "Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North," 1267
- Hoth, Wolfgang, "Die Industrialisierung einer rheinischen Gewerbestadt-Dargestellt am Beispiel Wuppertal," 415
- Hou, Chi-Ming and Tzong-Shian Yu, editors, "Modern Chinese Economic History: Proceedings of the Conference on Modern Chinese Economic History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, August 26-29, 1977" (E), 491

- Houlbrooke, Ralph, "Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-1570," 877
- "The House of Commons in the Twentieth Century," edited by Walkland, 889
- How Different From Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?* by Pessen, 1119-49
- "How Mongolia Is Really Ruled," by Rupen, 964
- Howard, Michael, editor, "Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict," 862
- Howard, Rhoda (R), 1245; "Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana," 184
- Howe, John (R), 974
- Howe, Julia Ward, 215
- Howes, John F. (R), 695; "Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition," 697
- Howlett, Charles F., "Troubled Philosopher: John Dewey and the Struggle for World Peace," 731
- "The Howling of the Coyotes," by Wallace, 990
- Huang, Pei (R), 962
- Hubbard, William H. (R), 146
- Hudson Charles (R), 209
- Hudson, Winthrop S. (R), 1276
- "Hugo Haase," by Calkins, 1220
- "The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition," by Sutherland, 1202
- Hulse, James W. (R), 900
- Hume, David, 628
- Humphreys, R. Stephen (C), 267
- "Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939," by Sakmyster, 1234
- Hunt, Michael H. (R), 729
- Hunt, William R., "Alaska," 709
- "Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland," by Gilbert, 1182
- Hurst, G. Cameron, III (R), 694
- Hurt, John J. (R), 895
- Hutchins, Francis G. (R), 446
- Hutchinson, C. Alan (R), 241
- Huzar, Eleanor G. (R), 96; "Mark Antony: A Biography," 95
- Hyer, Paul V. (R), 964
- Hyman, Harold M. (C), 504
- Hymowitz, Carol and Michael Weissman, "A History of Women in America," 450
- "I Liberali moderati siciliani in esilio nel decennio di preparazione," by Ciampi, 424
- I-chih, Fang, 443
- "Idaho," by Peterson, 709
- "The Idea of a Southern Nation," by McCardell, 988
- "The Idea of the American South, 1920-1941," by O'Brien, 229
- "Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego, 1864-1881," by Kozłowska-Sabatowska, 679
- "Ideologia poreformennogo samoderzhaviiia (M. N. Katkov i ego izdaniia)," by Tvardovskaia, 942
- "If All We Did Was to Weep at Home," by Kennedy, 992
- "Ignaz Seipel, Mensch und Staatsmann," by Rennhofer, 157
- "Il Catasto di Macerata dell'anno 1560 e la bolla 'Ubique Terrarum' di Paolo IV del 18 maggio 1557," by Moschetti, 670
- "Il clero lombardo dall'Ancien Regime alla Restaurazione," by Toscani, 1229
- "Il mais nell'economia agricola lombarda," by Coppola, 671
- "Illinois," by Jensen, 707
- "Illusions of Conflict," by Smith, 93
- Immigration and Emigration: Baker, "The First Polish Americans," 471; Malchow, "Population Pressures," 885; Nunn, "Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700-1760," 742; Rosoli, "Un secolo di emigrazione italiana, 1876-1976," 1230
- "The Imperial Bureaucrat," by Kuklick, 1245
- "Imperial Nomads," by Kwanten, 193
- Imperialism: Adas, "Prophets of Rebellion," 862; Carocci, "L'età dell'imperialismo," 619; Gann and Duignan, editors, "African Proconsuls," 180; Hargreaves, "The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa," 956; Howard, "Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana," 184; Smith, "The German Colonial Empire," 912
- "In a Rebellious Spirit," by Reid, 457
- In Defense of Servitude: American Proslavery and Russian Proserfdom Arguments, 1760-1860*, by Kolchin, 809-827
- "In Time of Storm," by Hamalainen, 565
- Incumbered Wealth: Landed Indebtedness in Post-Famine Ireland*, by Curtis, 332-367
- "Indiana," by Peckham, 707
- Indians: Bailey, "Pacifying the Plains," 217; Baird, "The Quapaw Indians," 1254; Barsh and Henderson, "The Road," 1255; Blaine, "The Ioway Indians," 984; Castile, "North American Indians," 201; Danziger, "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," 454; Edmunds, "The Potawatomis," 202; Horowitz, "The First Frontier," 457; Littlefield, "Africans and Creeks," 985; "Montalban" (E), 495; Ourada, "The Menominee Indians," 201; Perdue, "Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866," 200; Sherman, "Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America," 242; Trigger, editor, "Handbook of North American Indians," 203; Worcester, "The Apaches," 714
- "An Industrial Heritage," by Peterson, 222
- "Industrial Relations in the Coal Industry," by McCormick, 633
- "The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade," by Davis, 392
- "Die Industrialisierung einer rheinischen Gewerbestadt-Dargestellt am Beispiel Wuppertal," by Hoth, 415
- Industrialization: Artola *et al.*, "Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943," 1212; Berg, "The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815-1848," 1195; Byatt, "The British Electrical Industry," 634; Cayez, "Métiers jacquard et hauts fourneaux aux origines de l'industrie lyonnaise," 404; Chandler and Daems, editors, "Managerial Hierarchies" (E), 1283; Ezell, "Innovations in Energy," 1273; Farnie, "The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815-1896," 633; Gash, "Aristocracy and People," 1196; Hannah, "Electricity before Nationalisation," 635; Johnson, "Peasant and Proletarian," 1238; Johnson, "The Politics of Soft Coal," 1272; Kennedy, "The Arms of Kiangnan," 192; McCormick, "Industrial Relations in the Coal Industry," 633; Meikle, "Twentieth Century Limited," 1276; Murray, "The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850," 1200; Perrings, "Black Mineworkers in Central Africa," 957; Pierenkemper, "Die westfälischen Schwerindustriellen, 1852-1913," 1219; Preston, "Automobile Age Atlanta," 733; Tentler, "Wage-Earning Women," 724; Walker, "Iron Frontier," 999; Wyman, "Hard Rock Epic," 470
- "Inferior Courts, Superior Justice," by Wunder, 215
- "Innovations in Energy," by Ezell, 1273
- "Insurance Reform," by Grant, 1000
- Intellectual history: Guerri, "Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni," 1203; Higham and Condin, editors, "New Directions in American Intellectual History," 449; Kinmonth, *Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian*, 535-556; Manuel and Manuel, "Utopian Thought in

- the Western World," 858; McKillop, "A Disciplined Intelligence," 1279; Menozzi, "Letture politiche di Gesù," 1203; Royster, "A Revolutionary People at War," 1257; Trinkaus, "The Poet as Philosopher," 1227; Wohl, "The Generation of 1914," 1188
- "Intemperance," by Engelmann, 1003
- "Die Interessenvertretungen der Industriellen in Russland, 1905-1914," by Hartl, 435
- "International Conflict in an American City," by Stack, 1011
- "The International Economy and the Undeveloped World, 1865-1914," by Latham, 84
- International relations: Alegre, "Las relaciones hispano-danesas en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII," 91; Barker, "The French Experience in Mexico, 1821-1861," 91; Campus, "The Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance," 673; Ch'en, "China and the West," 1246; Chester, "The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts," 1253; Eckes, "The United States and the Global Struggle for Minerals," 479; Fagen, editor, "Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations" (E), 748; Gatzke, "Germany and the United States," 1225; Gleijeses, "The Dominican Crisis," 486; Kennan, "The Decline of Bismarck's European Order," 1239; Kerekes, "Von St. Germain bis Genf," 1227; Martz and Schoultz, editors, "Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System," 1286; Mower, "The United States, the United Nations, and Human Rights," 1277; Pajewski, "Odbudowa państwa polskiego, 1914-1918," 1235; Paterson, "On Every Front," 738; Pollak, "Empires in Collision," 1251; Presseisen, "Amiens and Munich," 113; Reid, "Time of Fear and Hope," 483; Riley, "The Union of England and Scotland," 401; Sakmyster, "Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939," 1234; Schlegel, "The Deceptive Ash," 484; Smith, "Illusions of Conflict," 93; Ullmann, "The United States in Prague, 1945-1948," 93; Van Briessen, "Grundzüge der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen," 92; Varg, "United States Foreign Relations, 1820-1860," 720; Velichi, "La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale (1850-1878)," 1232; Woods, "The Roosevelt Foreign-Policy Establishment and the 'Good Neighbor,'" 735
- "L'Internationale après Staline," by Marcou, 386
- "Interstate," by Rose, 1020
- Iorga, Nicola, 164
- Iosa, Mircea and Traian Lungu, "Viața politică în România, 1899-1910," 676
- "Iowa," by Wall, 707
- "The Ioway Indians," by Blaine, 984
- "Iranian Cities," by Gaube, 688
- "Ireland," by MacDonagh, 892
- "The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century," by Bradshaw, 892
- "Irish Elections, 1918-77," by O'Leary, 134
- "Iron Cages," by Takaki, 991
- "Iron Frontier," by Walker, 999
- Irschick, Eugene F. (R), 1250
- Irsigler, Franz, editor, "Quantitative Methoden in der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Vorneuzeit" (E), 251
- Irvine, William D., "French Conservatism in Crisis: The Republican Federation of France in the 1930s," 1208
- Isaac, Rhys (R), 1256
- Ishii, Takashi, "Meiji shoki no kokusai kankei," 694
- Islam: Gran, "Islamic Roots of Capitalism," 182; Levzion, "Conversion to Islam" (E), 255; Warburg, "Islam, Nationalism, and Communism in a Traditional Society," 440
- "Islam, Nationalism, and Communism in a Traditional Society," by Warburg, 440
- "Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages," by Glick, 872
- "Islamic Roots of Capitalism," by Gran, 182
- Issel, William (R), 1280
- "L'Italia liberale (1861-1900)," by Romanelli, 424
- "The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America," edited by Caroli *et al.* (E), 256
- "Iz istorii feodal'noi Rossii," edited by Ezhov *et al.* (E), 253
- Jack, Sybil M., "Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England," 388
- Jackson, Charles O. (R), 233
- Jackson, Donald (R), 969; "The Diaries of George Washington," Vol. 3, "1771-75, 1780-81," Vol. 4, "1784-June 1786," 459
- Jackson, George (R), 436
- Jackson, Harvey H., "Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia," 717
- Jackson, W. Turrentine (R), 1261
- Jacob, Margaret C. (R), 389
- Jacobs, Everett M. (R), 949
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. (R), 202; 975
- Jago, Charles J. (R), 1210
- Jahoda, Gloria, "Florida," 702
- James, Edward, editor, "Visigothic Spain: New Approaches" (E), 1285
- James, Joseph B. (R), 463
- James, Patricia, "Population Malthus: His Life and Times," 860
- "James Prescott Joule and the Concept of Energy," by Steffens, 600
- "Jan Kompenie as Schoolmaster," by Goor, 196
- "Japan's Political Revolution under MacArthur," by Williams, 698
- "The Jarring Interests," by Schwarz, 204
- Jay, Martin (R), 81
- Jeanneney, Jean-Noël and Jacques Julliard, "Le Monde de Beuve-Méry ou le mûrier d'Alceste," 139
- "Jefferson's English Crisis," by Spivak, 459
- Jeffrey, Robin, editor, "People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States" (E), 255
- Jeffries, John W. (R), 736; "Testing the Roosevelt Coalition: Connecticut Society and Politics in the Era of World War II," 478
- Jelavich, Barbara (R), 427; 618
- Jelinek, Yeshayahu (R), 935
- Jenks, William A. (R), 427; 1226
- Jennings, Francis (R), 1252
- Jensen, Bent, "Danmark og det russiske spørgsmål, 1917-1924: Dansk Ruslandspolitik fra bolsjevikernes magterobring til anerkendelsen af det bolsjevikiske regime de jur.," 652
- Jensen, Richard J., "Illinois," 707
- Jerchow, Friedrich, "Deutschland in der Weltwirtschaft, 1944-1947: Alliierte Deutschland- und Reparationspolitik und die Anfänge der westdeutschen Aussenwirtschaft," 915
- "La Jeunesse Dorée," by Gendron, 1205
- Jewell, Helen M. (R), 101
- "The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany," by Kaplan, 417
- "Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community," by Raphael, 1006
- "The Jews in the California Gold Rush," by Levinson, 211
- "Jews in the Eyes of the Germans," by Low, 913
- "The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830," by Endelman, 883

- "The Jews of Moslem Spain," by Ashtor, 614
Jimenez, Francisco Chacón, "Murcia en la centuria del quinientos," 1210
Jochens, Jenny (R), 107; 873
Joerissen, Peter, "Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland, 1871-1918," 1219
Joes, Anthony James (C), 274
"John Bracken," by Kendle, 740
"John Bright," by Robbins, 126
"John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672," by Rowen, 407
"John Horry Dent," by Mathis, 987
"John R. Mott, 1865-1955," by Hopkins, 1276
Johnson, Abby Arthur and Ronald Maberry Johnson, "Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century," 477
Johnson, Arthur M. (R), 469; 1273
Johnson, David R., "Policing the Urban Underworld: The Impact of Crime on the Development of the American Police, 1800-1887," 219
Johnson, G. Wesley (R), 442
Johnson, James P., "The Politics of Soft Coal: The Bituminous Industry from World War I through the New Deal," 1272
Johnson, Paul Barton (R), 887
Johnson, R. E. (R), 433
Johnson, Robert Erwin (R), 1270
Johnson, Robert Eugene, "Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century," 1238
Johnson, Ronald Maberry and Abby Arthur Johnson, "Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century," 477
Johnson, Samuel, 205
"Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807-1867," by Freedman, 640
Jonas, Manfred (R), 1008
Jones, E. L. (R), 403
Jones, George Hilton (R), 628
Jones, J. R., editor, "The Restored Monarchy, 1600-1688," 628
Jones, Oakah L., Jr., "Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain," 241
Jones, Robert E. (R), 1236
Jones, W. J., "The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period," 627
Jones, Wilbur Devereux (R), 93
"Jord i Jemtland," by Salvesen, 107
Jordan, David P., "The King's Trial: The French Revolution vs. Louis XVI," 1204
Jordan, Karl, "Heinrich der Löwe: Eine Biographie," 378
Jordan, William Chester, "Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership," 1183
Jordens, J. T. F., "Dayānanda Sarasvatī: His Life and Ideas," 1248
"José Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890-1930," by Chavarría, 1024
"José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972," by Webre, 742
"Josef II.," by Magenschab, 920
"Josef Václav Frič," by Žáček, 937
Joule, James Prescott, 600
Journalism: Belfrage and Aronson, "Something to Guard," 234; Briggs, "The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom," 132; Halberstam, "The Powers That Be," 237; Johnson and Johnson, "Propaganda and Aesthetics," 477; Mettig, "Russische Presse und Sozialistengesetz," 115
"Juan Domingo Perón," by Alexander, 489
"Juárez and Díaz," by Perry, 487
Judaism: Ashtor, "The Jews of Moslem Spain," 614; Berman, "Richmond's Jewry, 1769-1976," 1006; Biale, "Gershom Scholem," 86; Bonfil, "The Rabbinate in Renaissance Italy," 928; Dobkowski, "The Tarnished Dream," 223; Endelman, "The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830," 883; Holmes, "Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939," 887; Knee, "The Concept of Zionist Dissent in the American Mind, 1917-1941," 1012; Kraut, "From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture," 721; Lebzelter, "Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939," 398; Leuschen-Seppel, "Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich," 149; Low, "Jews in the Eyes of the Germans," 913; Raphael, "Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community," 1006; Twersky, editor, "Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature" (E), 1027; Wasserstein, "Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945," 888; Wistrich, editor, "The Left Against Zion" (E), 491
Judd, Jacob and Joseph R. Frese, editors, "Business Enterprises in Early New York" (E), 748
"Judecata domnească în țara românească și Moldova (1611-1831)," by Georgescu and Strihan, 675
Judt, Tony, "Socialism in Provence, 1871-1914: A Study in the Origins of the Modern French Left," 642
"Jugoslavija uoči i za vreme Drugog Svetskog Rata," by Slijepčević, 674
Julliard, Jacques and Jean-Noël Jeanneney, "Le Monde de Beuve-Méry ou le mûrier d'Alceste," 139
"Junges Deutschland in polemischen Zeitalter," by Elkar, 910
Jupp, James (R), 700
Kaarsted, Tage, "Great Britain and Denmark, 1914-1920," 623
Kacewicz, George V., "Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the Polish Government in Exile (1939-1945)," 681
Kaegi, Walter Emil, Jr. (R), 100
Kaestle, Carl F. and Maris A. Vinovskis, "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," 1269
Kafker, Frank A. (R), 897
Kagan, Richard L. (R), 903
Kaiser, Daniel H. (R), 170
"Kaiser Konstantin VI," by Speck, 100
"Die kaiserliche Politik auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongress (1643-1648)," by Ruppert, 909
Kakar, Hasan Kawun, "Government and Society in Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan," 1243
Kalabinski, Stanisław, editor, "Polska klasa robotnicza: Zarys dziejów," Vol. 1, Part 3, "Lata 1870-1918: Śląsk, Wielkopolska i Pomorze, Galicja, Śląsk Cieszyński, Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Niemczech, Kultura i obyczaje robotników," 680
Kaliuzhnaia, N. M., "Vosstanie ikhetuanei (1898-1901)," 963
Kaminsky, Howard (R), 872
Kanet, Roger E. (R), 949
"The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule, 1882-1940," by Fika, 955
"Kansas," by Davis, 708
Kapelle, William E., "The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135," 1181
Kaplan, Arthur, "Dictatorships and 'Ultimate' Decrees in the Early Roman Republic, 501-202 B.C.," 605

- Kaplan, Herbert H. (R), 392
 Kaplan, Lawrence (R), 371
 Kaplan, Lawrence S. (R), 483
 Kaplan, Marion A. (R), 662; 1045; "The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany: The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938," 417
 Kaplan, Steven Laurence (R), 898
 "Karaaku," by Maki, 695
 Karl, Barry D. (R), 737
 "Karl IV," by Spěvacek, 872
 "Karl Kautsky, 1854-1938," by Steenson, 662
 Karnes, Thomas L. (R), 735; "Tropical Enterprise: The Standard Fruit and Steamship Company in Latin America," 1023
 Karp, Walter, "The Politics of War: The Story of Two Wars Which Altered Forever the Political Life of the American Republic (1890-1920)," 1001
 Karsten, Peter, "Patriot-Heroes in England and America: Political Symbolism and Changing Values over Three Centuries," 371
 Kater, Michael H. (R), 152
 "Katholische Arbeiterbewegung und Nationalsozialismus," by Aretz, 420
 Katz, Martin (R), 942
 Kaufman, Burton (R), 479
 Kaufman, Martin (C), 264; "The University of Vermont College of Medicine," 467
 Kautsky, Karl, 662
 Kawashima, Yasuhide (R), 203
 Keep, John (R), 686; 1241
 "Keeping the Corporate Image," by Tedlow, 1013
 Keith, Henry Hunt (R), 744
 Keiu, Nakamura, 535-556
 Keller, Phyllis, "States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War," 729
 Keller, Robert H. (R), 1255
 Kelley, Donald R. (R), 625
 Kelley, Mary, editor, "Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History" (E), 1030
 Kelley, Robert, "The Cultural Pattern in American Politics: The First Century," 204
 Kellogg, Frederick (R), 676
 Kendle, John, "John Bracken: A Political Biography," 740
 Kennan, George F., "The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890," 1239
 Kennedy, Susan Estabrook (R), 724; "If All We Did Was to Weep at Home: A History of White Working-Class Women in America," 992
 Kennedy, Thomas L., "The Arms of Kiangnan: Modernization in the Chinese Ordnance Industry, 1860-1895," 192
 "Kentucky," by Channing, 702
 Kerekes, Lajos, "Von St. Germain bis Genf: Österreich und seine Nachbarn, 1918-1922," 1227
 Kern, Robert W., "Red Years, Black Years: A Political History of Spanish Anarchism, 1911-1937," 646
 Kessler, Clive S. (R), 702
 Kessler, Lawrence D. (R), 191
 Kett, Joseph F. (C), 264
 Kevles, Daniel J. (R), 728
 Khan, Mohammad Ishaq, "History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change," 1250
 Kieckhefer, Richard, "Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany," 109
 Kimball, Warren F. (R), 622
 "Kin and Communities," edited by Lichtman and Challinor, 453
 Kindleger, C. P. (R), 370; 900
 King, Walter J. (R), 1192
 "King William and the Scottish Politicians," by Riley, 133
 "The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century," by Casey, 643
 "The King's Trial," by Jordan, 1204
 Kinmonth, Earl H., *Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian*, 535-556
 Kinzer, Bruce L. (R), 886
 Király, Béla K. (R), 1233; "War and Society in East Central Europe," Volume 1, "Special Topics and Generalizations on the 18th and 19th Centuries" (E), 1029
 "Kirche und Partei im politischen Katholizismus," by Lewis, 669
 Kirchner, Walther (R), 1216
 Kishlansky, Mark A., "The Rise of the New Model Army," 879
 Kittelson, James M. (R), 656
 Klaitz, Joseph (R), 637
 "Klassen in der europäischen Sozialgeschichte," edited by Wehler, 1284
 "Klassovaia bor'ba v dokolkhoznoi derevne, 1921-1929 gg.," by Sidorov, 178
 Kleber, Brooks (R), 1014
 Klein, Dennis B. (R), 86
 Kleine-Ahlbrandt, W. Laird (R), 385
 Kleinman, Ruth (R), 1202
 Kleppner, Paul, "The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures," 218
 Kłosová, Ljuba and František Černý, editors, "Dějiny českého divadla," Vol. 3, "Činohra, 1848-1918," 165
 Knapp, Joseph G., "Edwin G. Nourse—Economist for the People," 1015
 Knapp, Robert C., "Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia, 206-100 B. C.," 1178
 "Knaves, Fools, Madmen, and that Subtle Effluvium," by Schwartz, 122
 Knee, Stuart E., "The Concept of Zionist Dissent in the American Mind, 1917-1941," 1012
 Knight, Franklin W. and Margaret E. Crahan, editors, "Africa and the Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link" (E), 255
 Knoppers, Jake (R), 649
 "Knowledge and Explanation in History," by Atkinson, 368
 "København's Universitet, 1479-1979," edited by Ellehøj *et al.*, 653
 Koch, Hannsjoachim W., "Der deutsche Bürgerkrieg: Eine Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Freikorps, 1918-1923," 152
 Kock, Rainer, "Demokratie und Staat bei Julius Fröbel, 1805-1893: Liberales Denken zwischen Naturrecht und Sozialdarwinismus," 148
 Kocka, Jürgen and Norbert Horn, editors, "Recht und Entwicklung der Grossunternehmen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Wirtschafts-, sozial- und rechtshistorische Untersuchungen zur Industrialisierung in Deutschland, Frankreich, England und den USA" (E), 745
 Koenigsberger, Dorothy, "Renaissance Man and Creative Thinking: A History of Concepts of Harmony, 1400-1700," 381
 Koh, B. C. (R), 194
 Kolakowski, Leszek, "Main Currents of Marxism: Its Rise, Growth, and Dissolution," Vol. 1, "The Founders," Vol. 2, "The Golden Age," Vol. 3, "The Breakdown," Translated by P. S. Falla, 81
 Kolchin, Peter, *In Defense of Servitude: American Proslavery and Russian Proserfdom Arguments, 1760-1860*, 809-827
 König, David Thomas, "Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692," 976

- "König und Reich," by Schubert, 1185
 "Königliche Gerichtsbarkeit und Streitfälle der Fürsten und Grafen im Südwesten des Reiches, 1250–1313," by Rödel, 614
 Kopf, David, "The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind," 445
 "The Korean Workers' Party," by Lee, 194
 Kornweibel, Theodore, Jr. (R), 477
 Koroscil, Paul M. (R), 619
 Kosáry, Domokos, "Napoleon et la Hongrie," 1233
 Kossuth, Louis, 427
 Kottman, Richard N. (R), 239
 Kovrig, Bennett (R), 1234; "Communism in Hungary: From Kun to Kádár," 677
 Kozenski, Jerzy, "Agresja na Jugoslawie, 1941," 935
 Kozicki, Henry and Robert H. Canary, editors, "The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding," 1167
 Kozłowska-Sabatowska, Halina, "Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego, 1864–1881," 679
 Krammer, Arnold (R), 117
 Kraschewski, Hans-Joachim, "Wirtschaftspolitik im deutschen Territorialstaat des 16. Jahrhunderts: Herzog Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1528–1589)," 655
 Kraume, Hans-Georg, "Aussenpolitik 1848: Die holländische Provinz Limburg in der deutschen Revolution," 658
 Kraut, Benny, "From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler," 721
 Krawehl, Otto-Ernst, "Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien, 1814–1860," 659
 Kreider, Alan, "English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution," 387
 Kreikamp, Hans-Dieter, "Deutsches Vermögen in den Vereinigten Staaten: Die Auseinandersetzung um seine Rückführung als Aspekt der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1952–1962," 666
 Kreissig, Heinz, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich: Die Eigentums und die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse," 372
 Krekić, Bariša (R), 615
 Kremer, Ulrich Michael, "Die Reformation als Problem der amerikanischen Historiographie," 858
 Krieger, Abraham D. (R), 393
 "Kriminalität und Alltag," by Blasius, 146
 "Krise und Untergang der Römischen Republik," by Christ, 606
 Krishna, Gopal, "Contributions to South Asian Studies" (E), 747
 Krüger, Hildegard, "Der Cabildo von Asunción: Stadtverwaltung und städtische Oberschicht in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (1690–1730)," 1280
 Kubicek, Robert V., "Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice: The Case of South African Gold Mining Finance, 1886–1914," 188
 Kuchenbuch, Ludolf, "Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Sozialstruktur der Familie der Abtei Prüm," 611
 Kuehn, Thomas (R), 423
 Kuklick, Henrika, "The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast, 1920–1939," 1245
 "Kul'turnye sviazi Rossii s evropeiskimi stranami v XV–XVII vv.," by Limonov, 683
 "Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland, 1871–1918," by Joerissen, 1219
 "Die Kur in Deutschland und Frankreich," by Reuling, 1186
 "Kuraaku no ichinen," by Ota, 695
 Kurtz, Ernest, "Not-God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous," 1003
 Kusin, Vladimir V. (R), 938
 Kuz'mina, T. F., "Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie soldatskikh mass Tsentra Rossii nakanune Oktiabria: Po materialam Moskovskogo voennogo okruga," 177
 Kwanten, Luc, "Imperial Nomads: A History of Central Asia, 500–1500," 193
 Kyvig, David E., "Repealing National Prohibition," 1274
 Labaree, Benjamin W., "Colonial Massachusetts: A History," 1255
 "Labor and Communism," by Cochran, 232
 Labor history: Campbell, "The Lanarkshire Miners," 1199; Cochran, "Labor and Communism," 232; Cumbler, "Working-Class Community in Industrial America," 220; Earle and Hoffman, *The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800–1860*, 1055–94; Foner, "Women and the American Labor Movement," 1271; Jack, "Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England," 388; Lee, "The Korean Workers' Party," 194; Lindstöm, "Bruksarbetarfackföreningar," 410; McDonald and McWhiney, *The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation*, 1095–1118; Meier and Rudwick, "Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW," 736; Orlov, "Volneniia na Urale v seredine XVIII veka," 1237; Palmer, "A Culture in Conflict," 1021; Rouillard, "Les syndicats nationaux au Québec de 1900 à 1930," 741; Schofer, "The Formation of a Modern Labor Force," 146; Schwantes, "Radical Heritage," 221; Stearns, "Paths to Authority," 136; Volkov, "The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany," 147
 LaCapra, Dominick (R), 83
 "Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia," by Jackson, 717
 Lafleur, Ingrid (R), 923
 Lafon, Jacqueline-Lucienne, "Les Députés du Commerce et l'Ordonnance de Mars 1673: Les juridictions consulaires, principe et compétence," 895
 Lagemann, Ellen Condliffe, "A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers," 725
 Laine, Edward W. (R), 655; (C), 1296
 Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki E., editor, "Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis" (E), 1283
 "The Lámibe of Fombina," by Abubakar, 1244
 Lamont, William M., "Richard Baxter and the Millennium: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution," 881
 Lampert, Nicholas, "The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State," 1242
 "The Lanarkshire Miners," by Campbell, 1199
 "The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640–60," by Blackwood, 1192
 "Land and Lineage in China," by Beattie, 961
 "Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858–82," by Bew, 400
 "Land, Landlords, and the British Raj," by Metcalf, 965
 "Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia," edited by Frykenberg, 966
 "Land und Politik," by Schumacher, 663
 "Landborna i Norden under äldre medeltid," by Lindkvist, 873
 Lander, J. R. (R), 869
 "Landlord and Labor in Late Imperial China," by Su and Lun, 192
 "Landlord William Scully," by Socolofsky, 722
 Landon, Michael de L., "The Honor and Dignity of the

- Profession: A History of the Mississippi State Bar, 1906-1976," 229
- Landow, George P. (R), 630
- "The Landrum-Griffin Act and Union Democracy," by McLaughlin and Schoomaker, 479
- "Landwirtschaftlich Interessen und Demokratie," by Flemming, 663
- Lane, James B., "'City of the Century': A History of Gary, Indiana," 1272
- Lane, Roger, "Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident, and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," 997
- Langer, Lawrence N. (R), 171
- "The Larger Hope," by Miller, 982
- Larkin, Emmet, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886-1888," 893; "The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the Fall of Parnell, 1888-1891," 893
- Larsen, Lawrence H. (R), 713; "The Urban West at the End of the Frontier," 217
- Larson, Bruce L. (R), 1010
- Larson, T. A., "Wyoming," 709
- "Las Perlas del Caribe," by Otte, 1281
- "Las relaciones hispano-danesas en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII," by Alegre, 91
- Lasch, Christopher (R), 482
- Laska, Vera (R), 1259
- Laslett, John H. M. (R), 1199
- Laslett, Peter (R), 1170
- Lass, William E., "Minnesota," 707
- Lasswell, Harold D. *et al.*, editors, "Propaganda and Communication in World History," Vol. 1, "The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times" (E), 250
- "The Last Romantic," by O'Neill, 228
- "The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547," by Lehmburg, 1191
- Latham, A. J. H., "The International Economy and the Undeveloped World, 1865-1914," 84
- "Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System," edited by Martz and Schoultz (E), 1286
- "The Latin American University," edited by Maier and Weatherhead (E), 256
- Latner, Richard B., "The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829-1837," 721
- Lauren, Paul Gordon, editor, "Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory and Policy" (E), 490
- Laurent, Pierre-Henri (R), 408; 1215
- Laux, James M. (R), 159
- Lavender, David S., "California," 709
- "Lavigerie in Tunisia," by O'Donnell, 182
- "Law and Order in American History," edited by Hawes (E), 493
- "Law and Politics," by Stevens, 130
- "Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts," by Konig, 976
- "The Lawful Revolution," by Deak, 427
- Lawson, Alan (R), 1011
- "Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics, c. 1900-1945," by Edsman, 1245
- Laxalt, Robert, "Nevada," 709
- Lazerson, Marvin (R), 725
- Learning from Those "Imitative" Japanese: Another Side of the American Experience in the Mikado's Empire*, by Rosenstone, 572-595
- Lebovics, Herman S. (R), 147
- Lebzelter, Gisela C., "Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939," 398
- Leclercq, Jean, "Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France: Psycho-Historical Essays," 377
- Lee, Chong-Sik, "The Korean Workers' Party: A Short History," 194
- Lee, David, D., "Tennessee in Turmoil: Politics in the Volunteer State, 1920-1932," 1008
- Lee, Loyd E. (R), 416
- Lee, Maurice, Jr. (R), 133
- Lee, R. Alton (R), 479
- Leed, Eric J., "No Man's Land: Combat & Identity in World War I," 384
- Lees, Andrew (R), 416
- Lees, Lynn Hollen, "Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London," 396
- "The Left Against Zion," edited by Wistrich (E), 491
- Legal history: Argersinger, "A Place on the Ballot": *Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws*, 287-306; Bernard, "The Limits of Enlightenment," 668; Brewer and Styles, editors, "An Ungovernable People" (E), 1284; Ch'en, "Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols," 960; Freyer, "Forms of Order," 718; Gawalt, "The Promise of Power," 207; Glassey, "Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675-1720," 881; Konig, "Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts," 976; Landon, "The Honor and Dignity of the Profession," 229; White, "Tort Law in America," 1253; Wilkinson, "From Brown to Bakke," 481; Wunder, "Inferior Courts, Superior Justice," 215
- "Legislatures in Development," edited by Smith and Musolf (E), 251
- Lehmann, Hans George, "Der Oder-Neisse-Konflikt," 917
- Lehmburg, Stanford E. (R), 877; "The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547," 1191
- "Leibherrschaft am Oberrhein im Spätmittelalter," by Ulbrich, 110
- "Leipzig und die Anfänge des deutschen Eisenbahnbaus," by Beyer, 909
- "Der Leninbund," by Zimmermann, 151
- "Lenin's Government," by Rigby, 437
- "Lenin's Political Thought," by Harding, 947
- Leon, George B. (R), 1231
- Leonard, Karen (R), 701
- "Less Than Slaves," by Ferencz, 1225
- "Letture politiche di Gesù," by Menozzi, 1203
- Leuschen-Seppel, Rosemarie, "Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich: Die Auseinandersetzungen der Partei mit den konservativen und völkischen Strömungen des Antisemitismus, 1871-1914," 149
- Leutze, James R. (R), 735
- Levack, Brian P. (R), 879
- Levesque, George A. (R), 1004
- Levin, Alfred (R), 434
- Levin, Kenneth, "Freud's Early Psychology of the Neuroses: A Historical Perspective," 88
- Levine, David and Keith Wrightson, "Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700," 624
- Levine, Mortimer (R), 892
- Levinson, Robert E., "The Jews in the California Gold Rush," 211
- Levtzion, Nehemia, editor, "Conversion to Islam" (E), 255
- Lévy, Claude-Frédéric, "Capitalistes et pouvoir au siècle des lumières," Volume 2, "La révolution libérale, 1715-1717," 896
- Lewis, Archibald R. (R), 98
- Lewis, David L., "District of Columbia," 702
- Lewis, Gavin, "Kirche und Partei im politischen Katholizismus: Klerus und Christlichsoziale in Niederösterreich, 1885-1907," 669
- Lewis, Ronald L. (R), 208; "Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865," 985
- Lewis, W. David and Wesley Phillips Newton, "Delta: The History of An Airline," 481

- "Liberalism and Sociology," by Collini, 631
 "Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni," by Guerci, 1203
 "Liberty and Empire," by Toohey, 122
 Libraries and Archives: Garrison, "Apostles of Culture," 994; Hernández de Alba and Carrasquilla Botero, "Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia," 488; McCoy, "The National Archives," 1019
 Lichtman, Allan J. and Joan R. Challinor, editors, "Kin and Communities: Families in America," 453
 Lidman, Tomas, "Adlig partipolitik vid 1800-talets mitt," 653
 Lidtke, Vernon (R), 662
 Liebel, Helen P. (R), 382
 Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., "Continuity and Change in Roman Religion," 866
 Lifton, Robert Jay *et al.*, "Six Lives, Six Deaths: Portraits from Modern Japan," 194
 "Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands, 1916–1918," by Zetterberg, 176
 "The Limits of Enlightenment," by Bernard, 668
 Limonov, Iu. A., "Kul'turnye svyazi Rossii s evropeiskimi stranami v XV–XVII vv.," 683
 Lincoln, Abraham (E), 748
 "Lincoln Steffens," by Palermo, 472
 Linder, Robert D. (R), 141
 Linderski, Jerzy (R), 607
 Lindkvist, Thomas, "Landborna i Norden under äldre medeltid," 873
 Lindström, Åke, "Bruksarbetarfackföreningar: Mettals avdelningar vid bruken i östra Västmanlands län före 1911," 410
 Ling, Dwight L. (R), 182
 Link, Arthur S., "Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace," 473
 "Linthgow and India," by Rizvi, 447
 Lipinski, L. P., "Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma v Belorussii," 947
 Lipscher, Ladislav, "Verfassung und politische Verwaltung in der Tschechoslowakei, 1918–1939," 429
 Lipton, David (R), 418
 Lis, Catharina and Hugo Soly, "Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe," 874
 "The Literacy Myth," by Graff, 1280
 Litoff, Judy Barrett (R), 215
 "The Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance," by Campus, 673
 Little, Lester K., "Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe," 98
 Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr., "Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War," 985
 Litwack, Leon F., "Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery," 1265
 "Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming," by Weber, 223
 Livingston, James C. (R), 861
 Livingston, William S. and William Roger Louis, editors, "Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands since the First World War" (E), 492
 Lloyd, Susan McIntosh, "A Singular School: Abbot Academy, 1828–1973," 995
 Locke, Robert R., "Les fonderies et forges d'Alais à l'époque des premiers chemins de fer: La création d'une entreprise moderne," 900
 Logue, Kenneth J., "Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780–1815," 402
 Logue, William (R), 138
 "Lokalna Społeczność Polonijna w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki w Procesie Przemian," by Babiński, 231
 Lomask, Milton, "Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756–1805," 717
 "London in the Age of Reform," edited by Stevenson (E), 490
 Long, Stewart L. (R), 635
 Loomie, Albert J. (R), 91
 "Lord Kelvin," by Sharlin, 129
 "The Lords of Holderness, 1086–1260," by English, 1181
 "The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850–1890," by Griswold del Castillo, 1268
 "Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844–1943," by Artola *et al.*, 1212
 "Los Paisanos," by Jones, 241
 Lotchin, Roger W. (R), 1269
 Lottin, Alain, "Chavatte, ouvrier lillois: Un contemporain de Louis XIV," 896
 Lougee, Carolyn C. (R), 875
 "Louis 'David' Riel," by Flanagan, 238
 "Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade," by Jordan, 1183
 Louis, William Roger and William S. Livingston, editors, "Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands since the First World War" (E), 492
 "Louisiana," by Taylor, 708
 Love, Glen A. and Edwin R. Bingham, editor, "Northwest Perspectives: Essays on the Culture of the Pacific Northwest" (E), 494
 Lovejoy, Paul E. (R), 955
 Lovell, John P., "Neither Athens nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition," 235
 Lovett, Clara M. (R), 424; "Giuseppe Ferrari and the Italian Revolution," 931; "Women, War, and Revolution" (E), 1283
 Lovin, Hugh T. (R), 221
 Low, Alfred D. (R), 158; 922; "Jews in the Eyes of the Germans: From the Enlightenment to Imperial Germany," 913
 Lowe, W. J. (R), 892
 Lower, J. Arthur, "Ocean of Destiny: A Concise History of the North Pacific, 1500–1978," 189
 Lowitt, Richard (R), 478
 Lowry, Martin, "The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice," 924
 Lucas, Stephen E. (R), 457
 "Lucky City," by Bate, 196
 Ludlow, Edmund, 389
 Luebke, Frederick C. (R), 729; "Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I," 730; "The Great Plains: Environment and Culture" (E), 493
 Luebke, Frederick C., editor, "Ethnicity on the Great Plains" (E), 1285
 Luft, David S. (R), 421
 Lukacs, John (R), 117; "1945: Year Zero," 387
 Lun, Luo and Jing Su, "Landlord and Labor in Late Imperial China: Case Studies from Shandong," 192
 Lundgreen-Nielsen, Kay, "The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study of the Policies of the Great Powers and the Poles, 1918–1919," 940
 Lundin, C. Leonard (R), 411
 Lungu, Traian and Mircea Iosa, "Viața politică în România, 1899–1910," 676
 Lunn, Kenneth and Richard C. Thurlow, editors, "British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain" (E), 1285
 "Luokka ja kielä vallankumouksen Suomessa," by Hamalainen, 655
 Lupton, Kenneth, "Mungo Park, the African Traveler," 442
 Lurie, Jonathan, "The Chicago Board of Trade, 1859–1905: The Dynamics of Self-Regulation," 468
 "Luther's House of Learning," by Strauss, 143
 Luttwak, Edward N. (R), 606
 Luzzatto, Samuel David, 930

- Lyon, Bryce (R), 103
 Lyon, E. Wilson (R), 468
 Lyon, Mary, 468
- "M. M. Warburg & Co., 1798–1938," by Rosenbaum and Sherman, 913
 Mabey, Carleton, "Black Education in New York State: From Colonial to Modern Times," 1005
 Macaulay, Neill (R), 245
 MacCaffrey, Wallace T. (R), 1191
 MacCurtain, Margaret and Donncha O'Corrain, editors, "Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension" (E), 253
 MacDonagh, Oliver, "Ireland: The Union and its Aftermath," 892
 "The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815–1848," by Berg, 1195
 MacIntyre, Alasdair (R), 605
 Maciuka, Benedict V. (R), 169
 MacKenzie, David (R), 683
 MacKesy, Piers, "The Coward of Minden: The Affair of Lord George Sackville," 392
 MacMillan, David S. (R), 1020
 Magenschab, Hans, "Josef II.: Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden," 920
 Maier, Charles S. (C), 276
 Maier, Joseph and Richard W. Weatherhead, editors, "The Latin American University" (E), 256
 "Main Currents of Marxism," by Kolakowski, 81
 Main, Jackson T. (R), 457
 "Maine," by Clark, 705
 Majeska, George P. (R), 101
 Makey, Walter, "The Church of the Covenant, 1637–1651: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland," 890
 Maki, John M., "Kuraaku: Sono eikō to zaseki," 695
 "The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700," by Evans, 919
 Malchow, Howard L., "Population Pressures: Emigration and Government in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," 885
 Malcolmson, Robert W. (R), 391
 Malfèr, Stefan, "Wien und Rom nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Österreichisch-italienische Beziehungen, 1919–1923," 422
 Mallakh, Dorothea E. El, "The Slovak Autonomy Movement, 1935–1939: A Study in Unrelenting Nationalism," 678
 Malthus, T. R., 860
 Mamatey, Victor S. (R), 673
 Mamsik, T. S., "Pobegi kak sotsial'noe iavlenie: Pripisnaia derevnia Zapadnoi Sibiri v 40–90-e gody XVIII v.," 432
 "Managerial Hierarchies," edited by Chandler and Daems (E), 1283
 Mandrou, Robert, "From Humanism to Science, 1480–1700," 616
 Manin, Daniele, 931
 Manning, Patrick (R), 689
 Manuel, Frank E. and Fritz P. Manuel, "Utopian Thought in the Western World," 858
 Manuel, Fritz P. and Frank E. Manuel, "Utopian Thought in the Western World," 858
 "The Manufacture of Australian History," by Pascoe, 968
 Manutius, Aldus, 924
 Maravall, José, "Dictatorship and Political Dissent: Workers and Students in Franco's Spain," 406
Marc Bloch and Comparative History, by Hill and Hill, 828–846
 Marcou, Lilly, "L'Internationale après Staline," 386
 Marcus Antonius, 95
 Marder, Brenda L., "Stewards of the Land: The American Farm School and Modern Greece," 1231
 Margolies, Morris B., "Samuel David Luzzatto: Traditionalist Scholar," 930
 Mariátegui, José Carlos, 1024
 Marino, John A. (R), 1228
 Marius, Richard (R), 858
 "Mark Antony," by Huzar, 95
 Marks, Sally (C), 276
 Marsh, Peter, editor, "The Conscience of the Victorian State," 126
 Martin, Albro (R), 998
 Martin, Benjamin F. (R), 1206
 Martin, Harold H., "Georgia," 702
 Martin, James Kirby (R), 979
 Martin, Phyllis M. (R), 690
 Martin, Rex (R), 368
 Martz, John D. and Lars Schoultz, editors, "Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System" (E), 1286
 Marwedel, Ulrich, "Carl von Clausewitz: Persönlichkeit und Wirkungsgeschichte seines Werkes bis 1918," 413
 Marxism: Heilbroner, "Marxism," 1170; Kolakowski, "Main Currents of Marxism," 81; Miller, "History and Human Existence," 83; Mouffe, editor, "Gramsci and Marxist Theory" (E), 1027; Sayer, "Marx's Method," 596
 "Marxism," by Heilbroner, 1170
 "Marxism-Leninism in the German Democratic Republic," by McCauley, 667
 "Marx's Method," by Sayer, 596
 "Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke," by Green, 468
 "Maryland," by Bode, 702
 Marzahl, Peter, "Town in the Empire: Government, Politics, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Popayán," 244
 Marzik, Thomas D. (R), 937
 Maser, Werner, "Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial," 665
 Mason, Bernard (R), 199
 Mason, T. W. (R), 420
 Mason, Tony, "Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915," 1198
 "Massachusetts," by Brown, 705
 Mastny, Vojtech (R), 369; "Russia's Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare, and the Politics of Communism, 1941–1945," 438
 Mathews, Jane De Hart (R), 228
 Mathews, Thomas (R), 243
 Mathias, Peter and M. M. Postan, editors, "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," Vol. 7, "The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise," Part 1, "Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia," 112; "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," Vol. 7, "The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise," Part 2, "The United States, Japan, and Russia," 1168
 Mathis, Ray, "John Horry Dent: South Carolina Aristocrat on the Alabama Frontier," 987
 Mattheisen, Donald J. (R), 145
 Maurer, David J. (R), 734
 Mavromatis, Leonidas, "La fondation de l'empire Serbe: Le kralj Milutin," 615
 Maxwell, Robert S. (R), 1271
 Mayer, George H. (R), 714
 Maynes, Mary Jo (R), 910
 Mazgaj, Paul, "The Action Française and Revolutionary Syndicalism," 1207
 Mazzone, Umberto, " 'El buon governo': Un progetto di riforma generale nella Firenze savonaroliana," 423
 McBriar, A. M. (R), 631
 McCaffrey, Lawrence J. (R), 400; 1201

- McCahill, Michael W., "Order and Equipose: The Peerage and the House of Lords, 1783-1806," 124
- McCalla, Bowman Hendry, 1270
- McCalla, Douglas, "The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans' Business," 1020
- McCann, Frank D. (R), 480
- McCardell, John, "The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860," 988
- McCarthy, Joseph M. (R), 102; 868
- McCauley, Martin, "Marxism-Leninism in the German Democratic Republic: The Socialist Unity Party (SED)," 667
- McClellan, Charles W. (R), 956
- McClellan, Woodford (R), 385
- McClelland, Charles E., "State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914," 1218
- McClelland, James C., "Autocrats and Academics: Education, Culture, and Society in Tsarist Russia," 943
- McCormick, B. J., "Industrial Relations in the Coal Industry," 633
- McCoy, Donald R., "The National Archives: America's Ministry of Documents, 1934-1968," 1019
- McCulloch, Samuel Clyde (R), 967
- McCurry, Charles (R), 374
- McDonald, Angus W., Jr. (R), 693; "The Urban Origins of Rural Revolution: Elites and the Masses in Hunan Province, China, 1911-1927," 692
- McDonald, Archie P. (R), 471
- McDonald, Forrest (R), 980; with Grady McWhiney, *Comment on Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Reply), 1160-63; *The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation*, 1095-1118
- McDougall, Mary Lynn (R), 640
- McDougall, Walter A. (C), 275; (R), 902
- McGann, Thomas F. (R), 246
- McGeoch, Lyle A. (R), 632
- McIntosh, Lachlan, 717
- McKay, John P. (R), 435
- McKelvey, James L. (R), 1195
- McKevitt, Gerald, "The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851-1977," 995
- McKillop, A. B., "A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era," 1279
- McKnight, Brian E. (R), 960
- McLaughlin, Doris B. and Anita L. W. Schoomaker, "The Landrum-Griffin Act and Union Democracy," 479
- McLean, David, "Britain and her Buffer State: The Collapse of the Persian Empire, 1890-1914," 632
- McLellan, David (R), 596
- McLoughlin, William G., "Rhode Island," 705
- McMillen, Donald H., "Chinese Communist Power and Policy in Xinjiang, 1949-1977," 693
- McMinn, W. G., "A Constitutional History of Australia," 967
- McNeill, William H. (R), 86; 934
- McSeveney, Samuel T. (R), 218
- McWhiney, Grady and Forrest McDonald, *Comment on Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Reply), 1160-63; *The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation*, 1095-1118
- Meaker, Gerald H. (R), 645; 904
- "A Mechanical People," by Siracusa, 213
- Medical history: Blanco, "Physician of the American Revolution," 716; Brown, "Rockefeller Medicine Men," 727; Durey, "The Return of the Plague," 1196; Estes, "Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove," 1258; Eyler, "Victorian Social Medicine," 1197; Forster and Ranum, editors, "Medicine and Society in France" (E), 1028; Poen, "Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby," 233; Reverby and Rosner, editors, "Health Care in America" (E), 493; Smith, "The Hippocratic Tradition," 598; Smith, "The People's Health, 1830-1910," 884; Vogel and Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolution" (E), 748; Webster, editor, "Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century" (E), 746; Youngson, "The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine," 1197
- "Medicine and Society in France," edited by Forster and Ranum, (E), 1028
- Medieval history: Barber, "The Trial of the Templars," 103; Bisson, "Conservation of Coinage," 104; Blöndal, "The Varangians of Byzantium," 101; Boase, "The Troubadour Revival," 105; Boer, "Graaf en grafiek," 106; Borst, "Mönche am Bodensee, 610-1525," 107; Bozhilov, "Anonimât na Khaze," 1187; Clanchy, "From Memory to Written Record," 612; Contreni, "The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930," 102; Daniel, "The Arabs and Medieval Europe," 98; Duggan, "Bishop and Chapter," 108; English, "The Lords of Holderness," 1181; Ennen, "The Medieval Town," 374; Favier, "Philippe le Bel," 103; Foss, "Ephesus after Antiquity," 1187; Glick, "Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages," 872; Gonzalez Gomez, "Moguer en la baja edad media (1248-1538)," 378; Goodich, "The Unmentionable Vice," 375; Hillgarth, "The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516," 105; Jordan, "Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade," 1183; Kapelle, "The Norman Conquest of the North," 1181; Kieckhefer, "Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany," 109; Leclercq, "Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France," 377; Little, "Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe," 98; Nicol, "Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium," 874; Pelikan, "The Christian Tradition," 99; Peri, "Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall'XI al XIII secolo," 379; Renardy, "Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140-1350," 1184; Reuling, "Die Kur in Deutschland und Frankreich," 1186; Rouche, "L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418-781," 1183; Sablonier, "Adel im Wandel," 1185; Salvesen, "Jord i Jemtland," 107; Schubert, "König und Reich," 1185; Speck, "Kaiser Konstantin VI," 100; Ulbrich, "Leibherrschaft am Oberrhein im Spätmittelalter," 110; Young, "The Royal Forests of Medieval England," 101
- "The Medieval Japanese Daimyo," by Arnesen, 694
- "The Medieval Town," by Ennen, 374
- "Medieval Women," edited by Baker (E), 252
- Meier, August and Elliott Rudwick, "Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW," 736
- Meier, Heinz K. (R), 160
- Meijering, E. P., "Calvin wider die Neugierde: Ein Beitrag zum Vergleich zwischen reformatorischem und patristischem Denken," 1173
- "Meiji shoki no kokusai kankei," by Ishii, 694
- Meikle, Jeffrey L., "Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939," 1276
- Melosi, Martin V., editor, "Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930" (E), 1286
- "Les membres du conseil de Castille à l'époque modern (1621-1746)," by Fayard, 139
- "Memorias," by Serrano Suñer, 647
- "Mende Government and Politics under Colonial Rule," by Abraham, 184
- "The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550," by Nader, 1210
- "The Menominee Indians," by Ourada, 201
- Menozzi, Daniele, "Lettura politica di Gesù: Dall'Antico Régime alla Rivoluzione," 1203
- Merkel, Peter H. (R), 421

- Merrick, Thomas W. and Douglas H. Graham, "Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present," 743
- Merriman, John M. (R), 136; editor, "Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe" (E), 1028
- Mertz, Paul E. (R), 230
- "The Mess in Washington," by Flynn, 232
- Metcalf, Michael F. (R), 409
- Metcalf, Thomas R., "Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century," 965
- "Métiers jacquard et hauts fourneaux aux origines de l'industrie lyonnaise," by Cayez, 404
- Mettig, Volker, "Russische Presse und Sozialistengesetz: Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Entstehung des Sozialistengesetzes aus russischer Sicht, 1869-1878," 115
- Metzger, Thomas A. (R), 443
- Metzger, Walter P. (R), 1018
- "Mexican Agriculture, 1521-1630," by Frank, 240
- Meyendorff, John (R), 874
- Meyer, Henry Cord (R), 114
- Meyer, Michael A. (R), 913
- Meyer, Roy M. (R), 201
- Meyers, Peter and Dieter Riesenberger, editors, "Der Nationalsozialismus in der historisch-politischen Bildung" (E), 746
- "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878-1902," 222
- Michaelis, Meir, "Mussolini and the Jews: German-Italian Relations and the Jewish Question in Italy, 1922-1945," 162
- Michelson, Paul E. (R), 675
- "Michigan," by Catton, 707
- Middleton, Charles R. (R), 124
- Midelfort, H. C. Erik (R), 1217
- "Migrant Kingdom," by Rasmussen, 959
- Milburn, Josephine F. (R), 184
- Military and naval history: Dobney, "River Engineers on the Middle Mississippi," 1014; Duffy, "Siege Warfare," 383; Gunsburg, "Divided and Conquered," 1209; Kishlansky, "The Rise of the New Model Army," 879; Short, "The Dynamite War," 397; Wildman, "The End of the Russian Imperial Army," 1241; Woloch, "The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration," 899
- "The Millenarian Piety of Roger Williams," by Gilpin, 455
- Miller, Amos C., "Sir Richard Grenville of the Civil War," 880
- Miller, David H. (R), 172
- Miller, David Harry (R), 609
- Miller, David W. (R), 894
- Miller, Donald L., "The New American Radicalism: Alfred M. Bingham and Non-Marxian Insurgency in the New Deal Era," 1011
- Miller, Forrest A. (R), 115; 943
- Miller, James (R), 430; 939; "History and Human Existence: From Marx to Merleau-Ponty," 83
- Miller, Marion S. (R), 672
- Miller, Martin A. (R), 684
- Miller, Roberta Balstad, "City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Regional Development," 212
- Miller, Russell E., "The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1770-1870," 982
- Miller, Samuel J., "Portugal and Rome c. 1748-1830: An Aspect of the Catholic Enlightenment," 141
- Miller, Thomas Lloyd (R), 216
- Miller, William (R), 1014
- Millett, Allan R. (R), 235
- Millman, Richard, "Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875-1878," 618
- Mills, Frederick V., Sr., "Bishops by Ballot: An Eighteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Revolution," 1257
- Milton, John R., "South Dakota," 707
- "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory," by Clifford, 215
- Minear, Richard H. (R), 698; (C), 1297
- Minihan, Janet O. (R), 129
- "Minnesota," by Lass, 707
- "Minnesota Farmer-Laborism," by Gieske, 1010
- Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History*, by Franklin, 1-14
- Misiunas, Romuald J. and V. Stanley Vardys, editors, "The Baltic States in Peace and War, 1917-1945," 169
- "Mississippi," by Skates, 708
- "Missouri," by Nagel, 708
- Mitchell, Allan, "The German Influence in France after 1870: The Formation of the French Republic," 901
- Mitchell, Harvey (R), 899
- Mitchell, Thomas N., "Cicero: The Ascending Years," 865
- Miyoshi, Masao, "As We Saw Them: The First Japanese Embassy to the United States (1860)," 983
- "Mod triumf eller tragedie," by Tandrup, 1215
- "Modern Chinese Economic History," edited by Hou and Yu (E), 491
- Moehs, Teta E. (R), 1186
- "Moguer en la baja edad media (1248-1538), by Gonzalez Gomez, 378
- Mohl, Raymond A. and Ronald D. Cohen, "The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling," 725
- Mohr, James C. (R), 464
- Moline de Berardoni, Enriqueta E., "Historia de Marcos Paz: Desde sus origines hasta la creación del Partido, 1636-1880," 1025
- "Mönche am Bodensee, 610-1525," by Borst, 107
- "Le Monde de Beuve-Méry ou le mélier d'Alceste," by Jeanneney and Julliard, 139
- "Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140-1350," by Renardy, 1184
- Monkkonen, Eric H. (R), 219
- "Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France," by Leclercq, 377
- "Montalban" (E), 495
- "Montana," by Spence, 709
- "Moonport," by Benson and Faherty, 740
- Moore, J. Preston (R), 1023
- Moore, James R. (R), 860; "The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900," 600
- Moore, John Hebron (R), 1264
- Moore, R. J., "Churchill, Cripps, and India, 1939-1945," 700
- "Morals and Markets," by Zelizer, 722
- Morgan, Anne Hodges and H. Wayne Morgan, "Oklahoma," 708
- Morgan, David W. (R), 151
- Morgan, H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan, "Oklahoma," 708
- Morgan, M. Gwyn (R), 605
- Morison, Elizabeth Forbes and Elting E. Morison, "New Hampshire," 705
- Morison, Elting E. and Elizabeth Forbes Morison, "New Hampshire," 705
- Mörner, Magnus, "Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia," 1023
- Morris, A. J. A., "C. P. Trevelyan, 1870-1958: Portrait of a Radical," 398
- "Morris Hillquit," by Pratt, 227
- Morris, Warren B., Jr., "The Revisionist Historians and

- German War Guilt," 664; "The Road to Olmütz: The Career of Joseph Maria von Radowitz," 413
- Moschetti, Guiscardo, "Il Catasto di Macerata dell'anno 1560 e la bolla 'Ubique Terrarum' di Paolo IV del 18 maggio 1557," Vol. 1, "Contributo metodologico storico giuridico sulla formazione del Castasto e sulle complesse vicende di un' imposta pontificia nello Stato della Chiesa," 670
- Mosshammer, Alden A., "The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition," 373
- Mouffe, Chantal, editor, "Gramsci and Marxist Theory" (E), 1027
- Moulton, Edward C. (R), 445
- Moulton, Gary E. (R), 200
- Mower, A. Glenn, Jr., "The United States, the United Nations, and Human Rights: The Eleanor Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter Eras," 1277
- "Mozambique," by Henriksen, 958
- Mudroch, Vaclav, "The Wyclif Tradition," 859
- Muldoon, James, "Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550," 867
- Mulholland, Daniel (R), 178
- Müller, Klaus-Jürgen, "Armee, Politik und Gesellschaft in Deutschland, 1933-1945: Studien zum Verhältnis von Armee und NS-System," 1223
- Münch, Paul, "Zucht und Ordnung: Reformierte Kirchenverfassungen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Nassau-Dillenburg, Kurpfalz, Hessen-Kassel)," 143
- Mundy, John Hine (R), 870
- Mungello, David E. (C), 503
- "Mungo Park, the African Traveler," by Lupton, 442
- Munholland, J. Kim (R), 641
- "Murcia en la centuria del quinientos," by Jimenez, 1210
- Murphy, Frank, 733
- Murphy, Paul L. (R), 481; "World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States," 1002
- Murray, Norman, "The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History," 1200
- Murray, Robert K. (R), 731
- Muşat, Mircea and Ion Ardeleanu, "La vie politique en Roumanie, 1918-1921," 163
- Musolf, Lloyd D. and Joel Smith, editors, "Legislatures in Development: Dynamics of Change in New and Old States" (E), 251
- "Mussolini and the Jews," by Michaelis, 162
- Musson, A. E. (R), 112
- Mwansasu, Bismarck U. and Cranford Pratt, editors, "Towards Socialism in Tanzania," 188
- Myerhoff, Barbara and Virginia Tufte, editors, "Changing Images of the Family" (E), 251
- Myllyniemi, Seppo, "Die baltische Krise, 1938-1941," 681
- Myres, Sandra L. (R), 210
- Nader, Helen, "The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550," 1210
- Nagel, Paul C., "Missouri," 708
- Nagle, D. Brendan (R), 1177
- Naimark, Norman M., "The History of the 'Proletariat': The Emergence of Marxism in the Kingdom of Poland, 1870-1887," 679
- Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: *A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian*, by Kinmonth, 535-556
- "Napoleon and his Parliaments, 1800-1815," by Collins, 899
- "Napoleon et la Hongrie," by Kosáry, 1233
- "Napoleon's Diplomatic Service," by Whitcomb, 639
- Narochitskaia, L. I., "Rossiia i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie na Balkanakh, 1875-1878 gg.: K stoletiiu russko-turetskoi voiny, 1877-1878 gg.," 683
- "La nascita della storia sociale in Francia," by Allegra and Torre, 382
- "Naselenie Rossii v kontse XVII-nachale XVIII veka," by Vodarskii, 172
- Nash, Gary B. (R), 457
- Nash, Gerald D. (R), 1273
- Nash, Roderick (R), 456; 708
- "The National Archives," by McCoy, 1019
- "National Parks," by Runte, 996
- Nationalism: Clifford, "Shanghai, 1925," 693; Mallakh, "The Slovak Autonomy Movement, 1935-1939," 678; Pélissier, "La colonie du minotaure," Pélissier, "Les guerres grises," 690; Smith, "Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," 369; Solberg, "Oil and Nationalism in Argentina," 246; Williamson, "Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI," 636
- "Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," by Smith, 369
- "Der Nationalsozialismus in der historisch-politischen Bildung," edited by Meyers and Riesenberger, (E), 746
- "Natural Order," edited by Barnes and Shapin (E), 1283
- "Nature's Economy," by Worster, 602
- Naumov, V. P. *et al.*, editors, "Aktual'nye problemy sovetskoi istoriografii pervoi russkoi revoliutsii: Sbornik statei" (E), 1029
- "Nay-Saying in Concord," by Stoehr, 462
- Neale, Walter C. (R), 966
- "Nebraska," by Creigh, 707
- Nechaev, Sergei, 684
- Necker, Jacques, 638
- "Necker, Reform Statesman of the Ancien Régime," by Harris, 635
- "Neither Athens nor Sparta," by Lovell, 235
- Nelli, Humbert S. (R), 237
- Nelson, Daniel (R), 722
- Nelson, Keith L. and Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "Why War? Ideology, Theory, and History," 596
- Nelson, Lynn H. (R), 378
- Nesbit, Robert C. (R), 707
- Neu, Irene D. (R), 1271
- Neuhaus, Helmut, "Reichstag und Supplikationsausschuss: Ein Beitrag zur Reichsverfassungsgeschichte der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," 907
- Neusner, Jacob (R), 863
- "Nevada," by Laxalt, 709
- Nevitte, Neil and Elliot J. Feldman, editors, "The Future of North America: Canada, The United States, and Quebec Nationalism" (E), 494
- "The New American Radicalism," by Miller, 1011
- "The New Cambridge Modern History," edited by Burke, 380
- "The New Deal and the Unemployed," by Blumberg, 734
- "New Directions in American Intellectual History," edited by Higham and Condin, 449
- "New Hampshire," by Morison and Morison, 705
- "New Jersey," by Fleming, 705
- New, John F. H. (R), 121
- "New Masters," by Powell, 1264
- "New Mexico," by Simmons, 708
- "New Spain's Far Northern Frontier," edited by Weber (E), 493
- "New World, New Earth," by Tichi, 456
- "New York," by Ellis, 199
- Newby, I. A. (R), 1016
- Newcomb, Benjamin H. (R), 458
- Newitt, M. D. D. (R), 958
- Newton, Wesley Phillips and W. David Lewis, "Delta: The History of An Airline," 481
- Nicholls, David, "From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race,

- Colour and National Independence in Haiti," 1282
 Nichols, J. Alden (R), 150
 Nichols, Ray, "Treason, Tradition, and the Intellectual: Julien Benda and Political Discourse," 138
 Nickel, Rainer, "Xenophon," 604
 Nicol, Donald M., "Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium: The Birkbeck Lectures, 1977," 874
 "Nicola Iorga," by Cavallotti, 164
 Niel, Robert Van (R), 449
 Nielsen, Johs, "Genrejsningshåb og undergangsangst: Dansk forsvarspolitik mellem 1864 og 1870 og folkestyrets første forsvarsordning," 651
 Nieman, Donald G., "To Set the Law in Motion: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Legal Rights of Blacks, 1865-1868," 990
 Niewyk, Donald L. (R), 149; 1220
 "Nigerian Groundnut Exports," by Hogendorn, 186
 "Nigerian Historical Studies," by Ayandele (E), 255
 "1954," by Silva, 744
 "1945," by Lukacs, 387
 Nischan, Bodo (R), 906
 "No Man's Land," by Leed, 384
 Noether, Emiliana P. (R), 1230
 Noll, Adolf, "Sozio-ökonomischer Strukturwandel des Handwerks in der zweiten Phase der Industrialisierung, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Regierungsbezirke Arnsberg und Münster," 911
 Nordstrom, Byron J. (R), 654
 Norman, Albert (R), 1189
 "The Norman Conquest of the North," by Kapelle, 1181
 Norris, James D. (R), 999
 "North American Indians," by Castile, 201
 "North Carolina," by Powell, 702
 "North Dakota," by Wilkins and Wilkins, 707
 North, Lord, 883
 North, Robert N., "Transport in Western Siberia: Tsarist and Soviet Development," 946
 Northrup, David (R), 186
 "Northwest Perspectives," edited by Bingham and Love (E), 494
 Norton, Mary Beth and Carol Ruth Berkin, editors, "Women of America: A History" (E), 747
 "Not to the Swift," by Doenecke, 1017
 "Not-God," by Kurtz, 1003
 Nourse, Edwin G., 1015
 Novak, Steven J. (R), 995
 Numbers, Ronald L. (R), 727
 Nunn, Charles F., "Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700-1760," 742
 "Nuremberg," by Maser, 665
 "Die Nürnberger Mittelschichten im 15. Jahrhundert," by Toch, 907
 Nyberg, Tore, "Skt. Peters efterfølgere i brydningstider: Omkring pavedømmets historie Rom og Nordeuropa, 750-1200," 610
 Nye, David E., "Henry Ford: 'Ignorant Idealist,'" 999
 Nyhus, Paul L. (R), 374
 "O. P. McMains and the Maxwell Land Grant Conflict," by Taylor, 216
 Oates, John F. (R), 1176
 O'Brien, David J. (R), 222
 O'Brien, Michael, "The Idea of the American South, 1920-1941," 229
 O'Callaghan, Joseph F. (R), 105; 872
 "Ocean of Destiny," by Lower, 189
 "Ocherk formirovaniia russkoi natsional'noi kul'tury," by Poznanskii, 173
 "Ocherki etnografii russkogo feodal'nogo goroda," by Rabinovich, 682
 O'Corrain, Donncha and Margaret MacCurtain, editors, "Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension" (E), 253
 O'Day, Laan, editor, "The Edwardian Age: Conflict and Stability, 1900-1914" (E), 1028
 O'Day, Rosemary, "The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642," 1192
 "Odbudowa państwa polskiego, 1914-1918," by Pajewski, 1235
 "Der Oder-Neisse-Konflikt," by Lehmann, 917
 O'Donnell, J. Dean, Jr., "Lavigerie in Tunisia: The Interplay of Imperialist and Missionary," 182
 Offermann, Toni, "Arbeiterbewegung und liberales Bürgertum in Deutschland, 1850-1863," 911
 "The Office of Management and Budget and the Presidency, 1921-1979," by Berman, 739
 "Office Without Power," by Barros, 621
 Ogilvie, R. M. (R), 1176
 "Ohio," by Havighurst, 707
 "Oil and Nationalism in Argentina," by Solberg, 246
 Ojala, Jeanne A., "Auguste de Colbert: Aristocratic Survival in an Era of Upheaval, 1793-1809," 639
 "An Oklahoma Adventure," by Smallwood, 1273
 "Oklahoma," by Morgan and Morgan, 708
 "Old Age in the New Land," by Achenbaum, 974
 "The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq," by Batatu, 439
 O'Leary, Cornelius, "Irish Elections, 1918-77: Parties, Voters, and Proportional Representation," 134
 Olin, Spencer C., Jr. and Keith L. Nelson, "Why War? Ideology, Theory, and History," 596
 Olsen, Otto H., editor, "Reconstruction and Redemption in the South" (E), 1285
 Olson, Keith W. (R), 1002
 Olson, Richard G. (R), 600
 Olton, Charles S. (R), 461
 O'Malley, John W., "Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521," 926
 "On Every Front," by Paterson, 738
 "On the Border of War and Peace," by Woytak, 430
 "On Women and Revolution," by Eastman, 228
 O'Neill, William L. (R), 1171; "The Last Romantic: A Life of Max Eastman," 228
 Oost, Stewart Irvin (R), 1178
 "Operation Sunrise," by Smith and Agarossi, 622
 "Order and Equipose," by McCahill, 124
 "Oregon," by Dodds, 709
 "Organisations politiques et milieux de presse en régime censitaire," by Cordewiener, 408
 "Les origines des officiers français, 1848-1870," by Serman, 641
 "The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain," by Ben-Ami, 645
 Orlov, A. S., "Volneniia na Urale v seredine XVIII veka: K voprosu o formirovanii proletariata v Rossii," 1237
 Orton, Lawrence D. (R), 167
 Osborne, John W. (R), 1195
 Osheim, Duane J. (R), 670
 "Die österreichische Kriegswirtschaft, 1914-1918," by Wegs, 921
 "Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser, 1671-1920," by Stekl, 668
 "The Ostpolitik of the Federal Republic of Germany," by Griffith, 421
 Ostrower, Gary B., "Collective Insecurity: The United States and the League of Nations during the Early Thirties," 1008

- Ota, Yuzo, "Kuraaku no ichinen: Sapporo Nōgakkō shodai kyōtō no Nihon taiken," 695
 "The Other Samuel Johnson," by Carroll, 205
 Otruba, Gustav, "Wiener Flugschriften zur Sozialen Frage 1848: I. Arbeiterschaft, Handwerk und Handel," 657
 Ott, Thomas O. (R), 1282
 Otte, Enrique, "Las Perlas del Caribe: Nueva Cadiz de Cubagua," 1281
 Ourada, Patricia K., "The Menominee Indians: A History," 201
 Overesch, Manfred, "Gesamtdeutsche Illusion und westdeutsche Realität: Von den Vorbereitungen für einen deutschen Friedensvertrag zur Gründung des Auswärtigen Amtes der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1946-1949/51," 156
 Owens, J. B. (R), 1211
 Ozment, Steven (R), 858
- Pacifici, Vincenzo G., "Le elezioni nell'Italia unita: Assenteismo e astensioneismo," 932
 "Pacifism in Japan," edited by Bamba and Howes, 697
 "Pacifying the Plains," by Bailey, 217
 Padderatz, Gerhard, "Conradi und Hamburg: Die Anfänge der deutschen Adventgemeinde (1889-1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der organisatorischen, finanziellen, und sozialen Aspekte," 150
 Padgug, Robert A. (R), 864
 Paine, Tom, 715
 Pajewski, Janusz, "Odbudowa państwa polskiego, 1914-1918," 1235
 "The Palace or the Poorhouse," by Cohn, 970
 Palermo, Patrick F., "Lincoln Steffens," 472
 Palliser, D. M., "Tudor York," 1189
 Palmer, Bryan D., "A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914," 1021
 Palmer, Robert E. A. (R), 866
 Pang, Eul-Soo, "Bahia in the First Brazilian Republic: Coronelismo and Oligarchies, 1889-1934," 1025
 "Paolo Mattia Doria," by Conti, 671
 Paradowska, Maria, "Polacy w Ameryce Potudiniowej," 485
 "The Paradox of Progressive Education," by Cohen and Mohl, 725
 "The Parish Clergy under the Late Stuarts," by Pruett, 121
 Park, Mungo, 442
 Parker, Geoffrey and Lesley M. Smith, editors, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century" (E), 253
 Parker, Harold T., "The Bureau of Commerce in 1781 and Its Policies With Respect to French Industry," 1204
 Parker, Harolt T. (R), 1167
 Parker, Phyllis R., "Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964," 480
 "Parlament, Rüstung und Armee in Frankreich, 1914-18," 902
 "Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629," by Russell, 119
 Parmet, Herbert S. (R), 234
 "The Parnasse Français," by Colton, 637
 Parsons, James B. (R), 691
 "Parties and Political Conscience," by Brock, 461
 "Party Politics in Egypt," by Deeb, 689
 Pascoe, Rob, "The Manufacture of Australian History," 968
 "Passage to Power," by Wu, 962
 "Passive Revolution," by Bloomfield, 938
 "Paternalism in Early Victorian England," by Roberts, 394
- Paterson, Thomas G., "On Every Front: The Making of the Cold War," 738
 "Paths to Authority," by Stearns, 136
 "Patricide in the House Divided," by Forgie, 213
 "Patriot-Heroes in England and America," by Karsten, 371
 "Patronage, Pedigree, and Power in Later Medieval England," edited by Ross (E), 1027
 Patt, Jack M. (R), 150
 Patten, Robert L. (R), 127
 Patterson, Stephen E. (R), 1260
 Paul, David W., "The Cultural Limits of Revolutionary Politics: Change and Continuity in Socialist Czechoslovakia," 167
 "Paul S. Reinsch," by Pugach, 729
 Pauley, Bruce F. (R), 422; 1227
 "Pauper Places," by Digby, 629
 "Pauperisme et rapports sociaux à Madrid au XVIIIème siècle," by Soubeyroux, 644
 Payne, Stanley G. (R), 648
 "Peasant and Proletarian," by Johnson, 1238
 "Peasants and Government in the Russian Revolution," by Gill, 687
 Pech, Stanley Z. (R), 167; 678
 Peck, Linda Levy (R), 1193
 Peckham, Howard H., "Indiana," 707
 Pegues, Franklin J. (R), 376
 Pelikan, Jaroslav, "The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine," Vol. 3, "The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)," 99
 Pélessier, René, "La colonie du minotaure: Nationalismes et révoltes en Angola (1926-1961)," 690; "Les guerres grises: Résistance et révoltes en Angola (1845-1941)," 690
 Pemberton, William E. (R), 739; "Bureaucratic Politics: Executive Reorganization During the Truman Administration," 737
 "Penal Era and Golden Age," edited by Bartlett and Hayton (E), 1285
 Pennington, Kenneth (R), 1185
 "Pennsylvania," by Cochran, 705
 "La pensée politique polonaise à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la renaissance," by Wyrwa, 939
 "The People of Roman Britain," by Birley, 1180
 "People, Princes and Paramount Power," edited by Jeffrey (E), 255
 "The People's Health, 1830-1910," by Smith, 884
 "The People's Voice," by Baskerville, 973
 "Perak, The Abode of Grace," by Andaya, 449
 Perdue, Albert (R), 439
 Perdue, Theda, "Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866," 200
 "Pereseleniia v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.," by Tikhonov, 433
 "Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia," by Möerner, 1023
 Peri, Illuminato, "Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall'XI al XIII secolo," 379
 Perkins, Bradford (R), 720
 Perón, Juan Domingo, 489
 Perrenoud, Alfred, "La population de Genève de seizième au début du dix-neuvième siècle: Étude démographique," Volume 1, "Structures et mouvements," 918
 Perrings, Charles, "Black Mineworkers in Central Africa: Industrial Strategies and the Evolution of an African Proletariat in the Copperbelt, 1911-41," 957
 Perry, J. R. (R), 688
 Perry, Laurens Ballard, "Juárez and Diaz: Machine Politics in Mexico," 487
 Perry, Lewis and Michael Fellman, editors, "Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists" (E), 747

- "Persien zwischen England und Russland, 1918-1925," by Zürrer, 951
- "Personal Politics," by Evans, 236
- "Perspectives on Legal Aid," edited by Zemans (E), 250
- "Perspectives on Revolution and Evolution," edited by Preston (E), 494
- "Perspectives on Swedish Immigration," edited by Hasselmo (E), 256
- Pessen, Edward, *How Different From Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?* 1119-49; *Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective*, (Forum, Reply), 1163-66
- "Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms," by Peterson, 1236
- Peters, Edward (R), 98
- Peters, Virginia Bergman, "The Florida Wars," 209
- Peterson, Charles S., "Utah," 709
- Peterson, Claes, "Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms: Swedish Antecedents and the Process of Reception," 1236
- Peterson, F. Ross, "Idaho," 709
- Peterson, M. Jeanne (R), 1197
- Peterson, Walter F., "An Industrial Heritage: Allis-Chalmers Corporation," 222
- Peterson, Willard J., "Bitter Gourd: Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change," 443
- Peunova, M. N., "Etika N. V. Shelgunova," 174
- "Philippe le Bel," by Favier, 103
- Phillips, Charles Robert, III (R), 866
- Phillips, Gregory D., "The Diehards: Aristocratic Society and Politics in Edwardian England," 131
- Phillips, William D., Jr. (R), 105
- Philosophy: Atkinson, "Knowledge and Explanation in History," 368; Bannister, "Social Darwinism," 992; Bolgar, editor, "Classical Influences on Western Thought, A.D. 1650-1870," 110; Mandrou, "From Humanism to Science, 1480-1700," 616; Willey, "Back to Kant," 418
- "Physician of the American Revolution," by Blanco, 716
- Pierenkemper, Toni, "Die westfälischen Schwerindustriellen, 1852-1913: Soziale Struktur und unternehmerischer Erfolg," 1219
- Pierson, Stanley, "British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics," 631
- Pietraszek, Bernadine (R), 485
- Pike, Ruth (R), 1281
- Pillorget, René, "La tige et le rameau: Familles anglaise et française, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle," 617
- "Piotr Skarga," by Tazbir, 430
- "Pirmās latviešu bībeles vēsture," by Dunsdorfs, 950
- Pistohlkors, Gert von, "Ritterschaftliche Reformpolitik zwischen Russifizierung und Revolution: Historische Studien zum Problem der politischen Selbsteinschätzung der deutschen Oberschicht in den Ostseeprovinzen Russlands im Krisenjahr 1905," 436
- "A Place on the Ballot": *Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws*, by Argersinger, 287-306
- Place, Richard (R), 405
- "Planters and the Making of a 'New South,'" by Billings, 466
- Pleck, Elizabeth Hafkin, "Black Migration and Poverty: Boston 1865-1900," 1267
- "Pluralismus und Gewerkschaftsautonomie in England," by Birke, 887
- "Pobegi kak sotsial'noe iavlenie," by Mamsik, 432
- Poen, Monte M. (R), 738; "Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby: The Genesis of Medicare," 233
- "The Poet as Philosopher," by Trinkaus, 1227
- Pohl, Karl Heinrich, "Weimars Wirtschaft und die Aussenpolitik der Republik, 1924-1926: Vom Dawes-Plan zum Internationalen Eisenpakt," 419
- "Polacy w Ameryce Potudiniowej," by Paradowska, 485
- Polenberg, Richard (R), 232
- "The Police of Paris, 1718-1789," by Williams, 898
- "Policing the Urban Underworld," by Johnson, 219
- "The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference," by Lundgreen-Nielsen, 940
- "Polish Society under German Occupation," by Gross, 168
- "A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926, with a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule," by Georghallides, 1243
- "Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939," by Lebzelter, 398
- "Political Economists and the English Poor Laws," by Cowherd, 128
- "The Political Economy of the Raj, 1914-1947," by Tomlinson, 447
- Political history: Abubakar, "The Lāmibe of Fombina," 1244; Argersinger, "A Place on the Ballot": *Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws*, 287-306; Arnesen, "The Medieval Japanese Daimyo," 694; Bailey, "Popular Influence upon Public Policy," 1256; Baker, "Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province," 1250; Bartlett and Hayton, editors, "Penal Era and Golden Age" (E), 1285; Beck, "A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow," 645; Berman, "The Office of Management and Budget and the Presidency, 1921-1979," 731; Boyd, "Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain," 1214; Brock, "Parties and Political Conscience," 461; Brown, "Agents of Manifest Destiny," 1262; Castel, "The Presidency of Andrew Johnson," 1263; Ceaser, "Presidential Selection," 452; Clark *et al.*, editors, "The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640" (E), 491; Cruickshanks, "Political Untouchables," 1193; Dam, "The Struggle for Power in Syria," 688; Deeb, "Party Politics in Egypt," 689; Dunn, editor, "West African States, Failure and Promise," 442; Fry, "The Growth of Government," 886; Goodwin, "The Friends of Liberty," 123; Grew, editor, "Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States," 81; Haimson, "The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905-1914," 434; Hammond, "The Politics of Benevolence," 982; Harris, "The Day of the Carpetbagger," 465; Holl, editor, "Wirtschaftskrise und liberale Demokratie," 154; Hömig, "Das preussische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik," 1222; Irvine, "French Conservatism in Crisis," 1208; Jeffries, "Testing the Roosevelt Coalition," 478; Jordan, "The King's Trial," 1204; Kakar, "Government and Society in Afghanistan," 1243; Kelley, "The Cultural Pattern in American Politics," 204; Kern, "Red Years, Black Years," 646; Kleppner, "The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892," 218; Krüger, "Der Cabildo von Asunción," 1280; Kyvig, "Repealing National Prohibition," 1274; Latner, "The Presidency of Andrew Jackson," 721; Lehmborg, "The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547," 1191; Mazgaj, "The Action Française and Revolutionary Syndicalism," 1207; McCahill, "Order and Equipoise," 124; O'Leary, "Irish Elections, 1918-77," 134; Paul, "The Cultural Limits of Revolutionary Politics," 167; Pemberton, "Bureaucratic Politics," 737; Perry, "Juárez and Diaz," 487; Rakove, "The Beginnings of National Politics," 979; Rigby, "Lenin's Government," 437; Riley, "King William and the Scottish Politicians," 133; Rodrigues, "Senado Federal, O Conselho de Estado," 245; Rosenblum, "Bentham's Theory of the Modern State," 111; Rupen, "How Mongolia Is Really Ruled," 964; Russell, "Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629," 119; Sack, "The Grenvillites, 1801-29," 393; Schalk, "The Spectrum of Political Engagement," 620; Schiffers, "Der Hauptausschuss des Deutschen Reichstags, 1915-1918," 1221; Service, "The Bolshevik Party in Revolution," 948;

- Sked, "The Survival of the Habsburg Empire," 1226;
 Skinner, "The Foundations of Modern Political Thought," 79; Stein, "Beyond Death and Exile," 1214; Stevens, "Law and Politics," 130; Thompson, "The Frustration of Politics," 738; Tracy, "The Politics of Erasmus," 407; Williams, "Japan's Political Revolution under MacArthur," 698
 "Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45," by Cruickshanks, 1193
 "Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675-1720," by Glassey, 881
 "The Politics of Benevolence," by Hammond, 982
 "The Politics of Erasmus," by Tracy, 407
 "The Politics of Opposition," by Boyd, 980
 "The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905-1914," by Haimson, 434
 "The Politics of Soft Coal," by Johnson, 1272
 "The Politics of War," by Karp, 1001
 "Politische Weichenstellungen im Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945-1953," edited by Winkler (E), 254
 Pollak, Oliver B., "Empires in Collision: Anglo-Burmese Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 1251
 Pollak, Walter, "Sozialismus in Österreich: Von der Donaumonarchie bis zur Ära Kreisky," 923
 "Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930," edited by Melosi (E), 1286
 "Polska klasa robotnicza," edited by Kalabinski, 680
 Pomeroy, Sarah B. (R), 1175
 Pomper, Philip, "Sergei Nechaev," 684
 "Pompey," by Seager, 864
 "Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire," by Stieber, 374
 Pope, Norris, "Dickens and Charity," 127
 "The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752," by Richards, 609
 "Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels," by Muldoon, 867
 Popkin, Richard H. (R), 616
 Popkin, Samuel L., "The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam," 702
 "Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780-1815," by Logue, 402
 "Popular Influence upon Public Policy," by Bailey, 1256
 "Population and Economic Development in Brazil," by Merrick and Graham, 743
 "La population de Genève du seizième au début du dix-neuvième siècle," by Perrenoud, 918
 "Population Malthus," by James, 860
 "Population Pressures," by Malchow, 885
 Porciani, Ilaria, "L' 'Archivio storico italiano': Organizzazione della ricerca ed egemonia moderata nel Risorgimento," 1230
 Porisini, Giorgio, "Bonifiche e agricoltura nella bassa valle padana (1860-1915)," 161
 Porter, Andrew (R), 958
 Porter, Jonathan (R), 192
 "Portugal and Rome c. 1748-1830," by Miller, 141
 "Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469-1682," by Vogt, 183
 Posnansky, Merrick (R), 952
 Postan, M. M. and Peter Mathias, editors, "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," Vol. 7, "The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise," Part 1, "Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia," 112; "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," Vol. 7, "The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise," Part 2, "The United States, Japan, and Russia," 1168
 "The Post-Darwinian Controversies," by Moore, 600
 Potash, Robert A. (R), 489
 "The Potawatomis," by Edmunds, 202
 Potthoff, Heinrich, "Gewerkschaften und Politik zwischen Revolution und Inflation," 914
 "Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe," by Lis and Soly, 874
 "Poverty and Piety in an English Village," by Wrightson and Levine, 624
 Powell, Lawrence Clark, "Arizona," 708
 Powell, Lawrence N., "New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction," 1264
 Powell, William S., "North Carolina," 702
 "The Powers That Be," by Domhoff, 482
 "The Powers That Be," by Halberstam, 237
 Powicke, M. R. (R), 1181
 Poznanskii, V. V., "Ocherk formirovaniia russkoi natsional'noi kul'tury: Pervaia polovina XIX veka," 173
 "Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain," by Boyd, 1214
 "Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome," by O'Malley, 926
 Pratt, Cranford and Bismarck U. Mwansasu, editors, "Towards Socialism in Tanzania," 188
 Pratt, Norman Fain, "Morris Hillquit, A Political History of an American Jewish Socialist," 227
 "Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons," by Rouse and Rouse, 870
 "Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880," by Etherington, 958
 "The Presidency of Andrew Jackson," by Latner, 721
 "The Presidency of Andrew Johnson," by Castel, 1263
 "Presidential Selection," by Ceaser, 452
 Presseisen, Ernest L., "Amiens and Munich: Comparisons in Appeasement," 113
 Preston, Howard L., "Automobile Age Atlanta: The Making of a Southern Metropolis, 1900-1935," 733
 Preston, Richard A., editor, "Perspectives on Revolution and Evolution" (E), 494
 "Preussen und die Rheinlande," by Schütz, 145
 "Der preussische Tacitus," by Witte, 657
 "Das preussische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik," by Hömig, 1222
 Price, Arnold H. (R), 659
 "Prime Minister Gyula Andrássy's Influence on Habsburg Foreign Policy," by Decsy, 428
 "Prince of Pirates," by Trocki, 448
 Prinz, Friedrich, "Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie," 1174
 Pritchard, Arnold (R), 121; "Catholic Loyatism in Elizabethan England," 626
 Proctor, Raymond L. (R), 1214
 "Progressive Evolutionism and American Sociology, 1890-1920," by Fine, 1000
 "Progressivism and Muckraking," by Filler, 473
 "The Promise of Power," by Gwalt, 207
 Pronshtein, A. P., editor, "Don i stepnoe Predkavkaz'e, XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX v.: Zaselenie i khoziastvo," 173
 "Propaganda and Aesthetics," by Johnson and Johnson, 477
 "Propaganda and Communication in World History," edited by Harold D. Lasswell *et al.* (E), 250
 "Propaganda in War, 1939-1945," by Balfour, 876
 "Prophets of Rebellion," by Adas, 862
 "Proprietarios muy pobres," by Castillo, 904
 Protestantism: Crew, "Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569," 141; Etherington, "Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880," 958; Lamont, "Richard Baxter and the Millennium," 881; Makey, "The Church of the Covenant, 1637-1651," 890; Meijering, "Calvin wider die Neugierde," 1173; Miller, "The Larger Hope," 982; Mills, "Bishops by Ballot," 1257; Moore, "The Post-Darwinian Controversies," 600; O'Day, "The English Clergy," 1192; Pruett, "The Parish Clergy under the Late

- Stuarts," 121; Sheils, "The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610," 388; Sizer, "Gospel Hymns and Social Religion," 214; Spellman, "Growing a Soul," 478; Strauss, "Luther's House of Learning," 143; Sutherland, "The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition," 1202; Willis, "God's Frontiersmen," 719
- Prothero, Iorwerth (R), 402
- Prucha, Francis Paul (R), 985
- Pruett, John H. (R), 1192; "The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience," 121
- Psychology: Levin, "Freud's Early Psychology of the Neuroses," 88
- "The Public and the Private Lincoln," edited by Davis *et al.* (E), 748
- "The Puerto Rican Dilemma," by Sariola, 243
- Pugach, Noel H., "Paul S. Reinsch: Open Door Diplomat in Action," 729
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. (R), 193
- "The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610," by Sheils, 388
- Pusateri, C. Joseph, "Enterprise in Radio: WWL and the Business of Broadcasting in America," 1275
- Quaife, G. R., "Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England," 625
- Qualey, Carlton C. (R), 199
- "Quantitative Methoden in der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Vorneuzzeit," edited by Irsigler (E), 251
- "The Quapaw Indians," by Baird, 1254
- Quataert, Jean H., "Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917," 662
- "Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920," by Gagnon, 238
- Quénart, Jean, "Culture et Société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au XVIII^e siècle," 637
- "The Rabbinate in Renaissance Italy," by Bonfil, 928
- Rabinovich, M. G., "Ocherki etnografii russkogo feodal'nogo goroda: Gorozhane, ikh obshchestvennyi i domashnii byt," 682
- "Rabochie Petrograda v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii (mart-iun' 1917 g.)," by Baklanova, 686
- Raboteau, Albert J. (R), 989
- Race: Evans, *From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the Sons of Ham*, by Evans, 15-43; Nicholls, "From Dessalines to Duvalier," 1282; Takaki, "Iron Cages," 991
- Radding, Charles M. (C), 758
- Rader, Benjamin G. (R), 1000
- "Radical Heritage," by Schwantes, 221
- "Radioactivity in America," by Badash, 728
- Radowitz, Joseph Maria von, 413
- Ragsdale, Hugh (R), 624
- Rainero, Romain, "La rivendicazione fascista sulla Tunisia," 933
- Rakove, Jack N., "The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress," 979
- Raleigh, Donald J. (R), 686
- Randall, Laura (R), 246
- Randolph, John, 1260
- Ransom, Roger L. (R), 603
- Rantatupa, Heikki, "Elintarvikienhuolto ja säännöstely Suomessa vuosina, 1914-1921," 412
- Ranum, Orest and Robert Forster, editors, "Medicine and Society in France" (E), 1028
- Raphael, Marc Lee, "Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community: Columbus, Ohio, 1840-1975," 1006
- Rapp, Richard T. (R), 928
- "Răscoala secuilor din 1595-1596," edited by Demény *et al.*, 163
- Rasmussen, R. Kent, "Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa," 959
- "The Rational Peasant," by Popkin, 702
- Rauchensteiner, Manfred, "Der Sonderfall: Die Besatzungszeit in Österreich 1945 bis 1955," 922
- Raucher, Alan (R), 1013
- Rawick, George P. (R), 466
- Rawski, Evelyn Skakida, "Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China," 191
- Rayman, Ronald (R), 984
- Reardon-Anderson, James, "Yenan and the Great Powers: The Origins of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy, 1944-1946," 1247
- Reber, Vera Blinn (R), 488; "British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880," 246
- "Recht und Entwicklung der Grossunternehmen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," edited by Horn and Kocka (E), 745
- "Reconstruction and Redemption in the South," edited by Olsen (E), 1285
- "Red Years, Black Years," by Kern, 646
- Reed, G. M. (R), 995
- "Reform and Reformation," edited by Baker (E), 1284
- Reformation: Daniel, "The Historiography of the Reformation in Slovakia," 165; Houlbrooke, "Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-1570," 877; Münch, "Zucht und Ordnung," 143; Rublack, "Gescheiterte Reformation," 143; Salmon, *Cicero and Tacitus in Sixteenth-Century France*, 307-331
- "Die Reformation als Problem der amerikanischen Historiographie," by Kremer, 858
- "The Regional Imagination," by Grantham, 450
- "Regulated Children/Liberated Children," edited by Finkelstein (E), 1027
- "Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert," by Schulze, 144
- Reichard, Richard W. (R), 911
- "Reichstag und Supplikationsausschuss," by Neuhaus, 907
- Reid, Escott, "Time of Fear and Hope: The Making of the North Atlantic Treaty, 1947-1949," 483
- Reid, John Phillip, "In a Rebellious Spirit: The Argument of Facts, the Liberty Riot, and the Coming of the American Revolution," 457
- "Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," by Desportes, 870
- Reinerman, Alan J. (R), 930
- Reinhartz, Dennis (R), 674
- Reinsch, Paul S., 729
- Religion: Alexander, "Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945," 674; Clebsch, "Christianity in European History," 87; Despland, "La religion en occident," 1172; Elkins, "Street Preachers, Faith Healers, and Herb Doctors in Jamaica, 1890-1925," 486; Firth, "The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645," 119; Harrison, "The Second Coming," 599; Hastings, "A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975," 953; Kreider, "English Chantryes," 387; O'Donnell, "Lavigerie in Tunisia," 182; Schwartz, "Knives, Fools, Madmen, and that Subtle Effluvium," 122; Weber, "Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming," 223; Welch and Seidel, editors, "Facets of Taoism," 444
- "La religion en occident," by Despland, 1172
- "Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe," by Little, 98

- "Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917," by Quataert, 662
- Remini, Robert V. (R), 1262
- Rempel, Richard A. (R), 131
- Renaissance: Brown, "Bartolomeo Scala, 1430-1497, Chancellor of Florence," 925; Coffin, "The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome," 926; Ferguson, "Clio Unbound," 625; Koenigsberger, "Renaissance Man and Creative Thinking," 381
- "Renaissance Man and Creative Thinking," by Koenigsberger, 381
- Renardy, Christine, "Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140-1350: Recherches sur sa composition et ses activités," 1184
- Renna, Thomas (R), 109; 1183
- Rennhofer, Friedrich, "Ignaz Seipel, Mensch und Staatsmann: Eine biographische Dokumentation," 157
- Rennie, Ysabel, "The Search for Criminal Man: A Conceptual History of the Dangerous Offender," 237
- "Repealing National Prohibition," by Kyvig, 1274
- "Repräsentation und Grossgrundbesitz in England, 1730-1770," by Wellenreuther, 882
- "Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany," by Kieckhefer, 109
- Reps, John W., "Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning," 713
- "Republican Portugal," by Wheeler, 648
- "The Restored Monarchy, 1600-1688," edited by Jones, 628
- "Restraints on War," edited by Howard, 862
- "The Resurgence of Race," by Toll, 1268
- "The Return of the Plague," by Durey, 1196
- Reuling, Ulrich, "Die Kur in Deutschland und Frankreich: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des Rechtsförmlichen Wahlaktes bei der Königserhebung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," 1186
- Reverby, Susan and David Rosner, editors, "Health Care in America: Essays in Social History" (E), 493
- "Revisionismus und Weltmachtstreben," by Schreiber, 116
- "The Revisionist Historian and German War Guilt," by Morris, 664
- "Revolutsionnoe dvizhenie soldatskikh mass Tsentra Rossii nakanune Oktiabria," by Kuz'mina, 177
- "Revolt against Chivalry," by Hall, 726
- "Revolution and Survival," by Debo, 178
- "A Revolutionary People at War," by Royster, 1257
- "The Revolutionary War in the South," by Higgins, 978
- "Un révolutionnaire-diplomate," by Conte, 1241
- Revolutions: Batatu, "The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq," 439; Fowler and Coyle, editors, "The American Revolution" (E), 492; Gendron, "La Jeunesse Dorée," 1205; McDonald, "The Urban Origins of Rural Revolution," 692; Skocpol, "States and Social Revolutions," 86
- Reynolds, Roger E. (R), 99
- "Rhode Island," by McLoughlin, 705
- Rhys, D. G. (R), 890
- Rich Norman (R), 596; 915
- "Richard Baxter and the Millennium," by Lamont, 881
- "Richard Wagner and the English," by Sessa, 129
- Richards, Jeffrey, "The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752," 609
- Richardson, James F. (R), 997
- Riché, Pierre, "Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu de XI^e siècle," 868
- "Richmond's Jewry, 1769-1976," by Berman, 1006
- Richter, Michael, "Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts," 612
- Riddleberger, Patrick W. (R), 990; "1886: The Critical Year Revisited," 463
- Ridgway, Whitman H., "Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society," 981
- Riel, H. Van, "Geschiedenis der Provinciale Staten van Zuid-Holland, 1850-1914," 905
- Riel, Louis 'David,' 238
- Riesenberger, Dieter and Peter Meyers, editors, "Der Nationalsozialismus in der historisch-politischen Bildung" (E), 746
- Rigby, T. H., "Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom, 1917-1922," 437
- Riley, P. W. J., "King William and the Scottish Politicians," 133; "The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century," 401
- "The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany," by Volkov, 147
- "The Rise of the New Model Army," by Kishlansky, 879
- Ritcheson, Charles R. (R), 122
- Ritchie, Mary Anne Estes (R), 708
- "Ritterschaftliche Reformpolitik zwischen Russifizierung und Revolution," by Pistohlkors, 436
- "La rivendicazione fascista sulla Tunisia," by Rainero, 933
- "River Engineers on the Middle Mississippi," by Dobney, 1014
- Rivet, A. L. F. (R), 1180
- Rivkin, Ellis, "A Hidden Revolution," 863
- "Rivoluzionari russi in Italia, 1917-1921," by Venturi, 385
- Rizvi, Gowher, "Linlithgow and India: A Study of British Policy and the Political Impasse in India, 1936-43," 447
- "The Road," by Barsh and Henderson, 1255
- "The Road to Olmütz," by Morris, 413
- Robbert, Louise Buenger (R), 161
- Robbins, Caroline (R), 123
- Robbins, Keith, "John Bright," 126
- Roberts, Clayton (R), 881
- Roberts, David, "Paternalism in Early Victorian England," 394
- Roberts, David D., "The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism," 426
- Roberts, Michael, "The Swedish Imperial Experience, 1560-1718," 1216
- Roberts, Phyllis B. (R), 870
- Roberts, Warren (R), 637
- Robertson, D. W., Jr. (R), 612
- Robertson, David, "Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World," 396
- Robinson, W. Stitt, "The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763," 975
- Rock, Howard B., "Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson," 461
- "Rockefeller Medicine Men," by Brown, 727
- "Rockefeller of New York" by Connery and Benjamin, 234
- Rödel, Ute, "Königliche Gerichtsbarkeit und Streitfälle der Fürsten und Grafen im Südwesten des Reiches, 1250-1313," 614
- Roden, Donald, *Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan*, 511-534
- Rodrigues, José Honório, "História da história do Brasil," Vol. 1, "Historiografia colonial," 244; "Senado Federal, O Conselho de Estado: O quinto poder?" 245
- Roginskii, V. V., "Shvetsiia i Rossiia: Soiuz 1812 goda," 624
- Rolén, Mats, "Skogsbygd i omvandling: Studier kring befolkningsutveckling, omflyttning och social

- rörlighet i Revsunds tingslag, 1820–1977," 654
- "The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886–1888," by Larkin, 893
- "The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the Fall of Parnell, 1888–1891," by Larkin, 893
- "Roman Dmowski," by Fountain, 1234
- Romanelli, Raffaele, "L'Italia liberale (1861–1900)," 424
- "Romans and Aliens," by Balsdon, 1179
- Romein, Jan, "The Watershed of Two Eras: Europe in 1900," 114
- Romer, F. E. (R), 96
- "The Roosevelt Foreign-Policy Establishment and the 'Good Neighbor,'" by Woods, 735
- Ropp, Theodore (R), 862; 876
- Rorabaugh, W. J., "The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition," 1003
- Rose, Mark H., "Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1941–1956," 1020
- Rose, Michael E. (R), 629
- Rosenbaum, E. and A. J. Sherman, "M. M. Warburg & Co., 1798–1938: Merchant Bankers of Hamburg," 913
- Rosenberg, Charles E. and Morris J. Vogel, "The Therapeutic Revolution: Essays in the Social History of American Medicine" (E), 748
- Rosenblatt, Nancy A. (R), 645
- Rosenblum, Nancy L., "Bentham's Theory of the Modern State," 111
- Rosenstone, Robert A., *Learning from Those "Imitative" Japanese: Another Side of the American Experience in the Mikado's Empire*, 572–595
- Rosenthal, Frank (R), 1006
- Rosenthal, Joel (R), 1182
- Roske, Ralph J., "His Own Counsel: The Life and Times of Lyman Trumbull," 1264
- Rosner, David and Susan Reverby, editors, "Health Care in America: Essays in Social History" (E), 493
- Rosoli, Gianfausto, editor, "Un secolo di emigrazione Italiana, 1876–1976," 1230
- Ross, Charles, editor, "Patronage, Pedigree, and Power in Later Medieval England" (E), 1027
- Ross, Ronald J. (R), 1222
- "Rossiia i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie na Balkanakh, 1875–1878 gg.," by Narochnitskaia, 683
- Rossos, Andrew (R), 166
- Rotberg, Robert I. (R), 957
- Roth, Leland M., "A Concise History of American Architecture," 970
- Rothenberg, Gunther E. (R), 383; 622; "War and Society in East Central Europe," Volume 1, "Special Topics and Generalizations on the 18th and 19th Centuries" (E), 1029
- Rothermund, Dietmar, "Europa und Asien im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus," 80
- Rothman, David J. (R), 597
- Rothman, Sheila M. (R), 198
- Rotz, Rhiman A. (R), 655
- Rouche, Michel, "L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781: Naissance d'une région," 1183
- Rouillard, Jacques, "Les syndicats nationaux au Québec de 1900 à 1930," 741
- "La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale (1850–1878)," by Velichi, 1232
- Rouse, Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, "Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland," 870
- Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, "Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland," 870
- Rowen, Herbert H., "John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672," 407
- Rowland, Daniel (R), 683
- Roy, David T. and Tsuen-Hsui Tsien, editors, "Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization" (E), 491
- Le Roy, Ladurie Emmanuel, "Le Carnaval de Romans: De la Chandeleur au Mercredi des cendres, 1579–1580," 136
- "The Royal Forests of Medieval England," by Young, 101
- Royster, Charles, "A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783," 1257
- Rozenbaum, Włodzimierz (R), 940
- Rubin, Louis D., Jr., "Virginia," 702
- Rublack, Hans-Christoph, "Gescheiterte Reformation: Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und west-deutschen geistlichen Residenzen," 143
- Ruddy, T. Michael (R), 738
- "Rudolf," by Hamann, 421
- Rudwick, Elliott and August Meier, "Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW," 736
- Ruigómez de Hernández, María Pilar, "El Gobierno español del despotismo ilustrado ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos de América: Una nueva estructura de la política internacional (1773–1783)," 206
- "The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884–1914," by Gann and Duignan, 954
- Rumbold, Algernon, "Watershed in India, 1914–1922," 446
- Runte, Alfred, "National Parks: The American Experience," 996
- Rupen, Robert, "How Mongolia Is Really Ruled: A Political History of the Mongolian People's Republic, 1900–1978," 964
- Rupieper, Hermann J., "The Cuno Government and Reparations, 1922–1923: Politics and Economics," 1222
- Ruppert, Karsten, "Die kaiserliche Politik auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongress (1643–1648)," 909
- Ruse, Michael, "The Darwinian Revolution: Science Red in Tooth and Claw," 860
- Rusnescu, Mihail and Ioan Saizu, "Viața politică în România, 1922–1928," 936
- Ruskin, Savage, 630
- Russel, Conrad (R), 878
- Russell, Conrad, "Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–1629," 119
- "Russia and the United States," by Sivachev and Yakovlev, 369
- "The Russian Revolution," by Carr, 686
- "Russians Minstrels," by Zguta, 171
- "Russia's Crimean War," by Curtiss, 432
- "Russia's Road to the Cold War," by Mastny, 438
- "Russische Presse und Sozialistengesetz," by Mettig, 115
- "Russkaia derevnia na perelome, 1861–1880 gg.," by Druzhinin, 944
- "Russko-turetskaia voina 1877–1878 gg. i Balkany," edited by Arsh *et al.* (E), 746
- Ryan, Paul B. and Thomas A. Bailey, "Hitler vs. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War," 735; (C), 1297
- Rybina, E. A., "Arkheologicheskie ocherki istorii novgorodskoi torgovli X–XIV vv.," 170
- Ryerson, Richard Alan (R), 975
- Ryndziunskii, P. G., "Utverzhdenie kapitalizma v Rossii, 1850–1880 gg.," 945
- Saatmann, Inge, "Parlament, Rüstung und Armee in Frankreich, 1914–18," 902
- Sablonier, Roger, "Adel im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Situation des ostschweizerischen Adels um 1300," 1185

- Sack, James J., "The Grenvillites, 1801-29: Party Politics and Factionalism in the Age of Pitt and Liverpool," 393
- Sackville, George, 392
- "Saggio sull'università nell'età del diritto comune," by Bellomo, 615
- Saizu, Ioan and Rusenescu Mihail, "Viața politică în România, 1922-1928," 936
- Sakmyster, Thomas L., "Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939," 1234
- Saladino, Salvatore (R), 932
- Salmon, J. H. M., *Cicero and Tacitus in Sixteenth-Century France*, 307-331
- Salvesen, Helge, "Jord i Jemtland: Bosetningshistoriske og Økonomiske studier i grenseland ca. 1200-1650," 107
- Salvo, Roberto, "Vito Cosumano, dal liberismo al socialismo della cattedra," 672
- "Samoderzhavie, burzhauziia, i dvorianstvo v 1907-1911 gg.," by Diakin, 1238
- "Samuel David Luzzatto," by Margolies, 930
- Sánchez, José M. (R), 1214
- Sande, Anton Van de, "La Curie Romaine au début de la restauration: Le problème de la continuité dans la politique de restauration de Saint-Siège en Italie, 1814-1817," 930
- Sanders, Jane, "Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64," 1018
- Sariola, Sakari, "The Puerto Rican Dilemma," 243
- Sarti, Roland (R), 161
- Sather, Leland B. (R), 410
- Savage, Henry, Jr., "Discovering America, 1700-1875," 969
- "Savage Ruskin," by Connor, 630
- Savage, William W., Jr. and Stephen I. Thompson, editors, "The Frontier: Comparative Studies" (E), 250
- Savitt, Todd (R), 716
- Sayer, Derek, "Marx's Method: Ideology, Science and Critique in Capital," 596
- Sayre, Robert F. (R), 462
- Sbacchi, Alberto (R), 933
- Scala, Bartolomeo, 925
- Scarborough, John (R), 598
- Scarpaci, Jean (R), 1011
- Schafer, Thomas A. (R), 455
- Shalk, David L., "The Spectrum of Political Engagement: Mounier, Benda, Nizan, Brasillach, Sartre," 620
- Shaps, David M., "Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece," 1175
- Schelbert, Leo (R), 918
- Schiffers, Reinhard, "Der Hauptausschuss des Deutschen Reichstags, 1915-1918: Formen und Bereiche der Kooperation zwischen Parlament und Regierung," 1221
- Schlatter, Richard (R), 881
- Schlegel, John P., "The Deceptive Ash: Bilingualism and Canadian Policy in Africa, 1957-1971," 484
- Schleunes, Karl A. (R), 118
- Schofer, Lawrence, "The Formation of a Modern Labor Force: Upper Silesia, 1865-1914," 146
- Scholem, Gershom, 86
- Schoomaker, Anita L. W. and Doris B. McLaughlin, "The Landrum-Griffin Act and Union Democracy," 479
- Schoonover, Thomas (R), 1262
- Schormann, Gerhard, "Hexenprozesse in Nordwestdeutschland," 1217
- Schoultz, Lars and John D. Martz, editors, "Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System," (E), 1286
- Schreiber, Gerhard, "Revisionismus und Weltmachtstreben: Marineführung und deutsch-italienische Beziehungen 1919 bis 1944," 116
- Schroeder, Paul W. (R), 432
- Schubert, Ernst, "König und Reich: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte," 1185
- Schuker, Stephen A. (R), 902
- "Schule des Schwabenlands," by Borst, 1220
- Schulze, Winfried, "Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äusseren Bedrohung," 144
- Schumacher, Martin, "Land und Politik: Eine Untersuchung über politische Parteien und agrarische Interessen, 1914-1923," 663
- Schüren, Ulrich, "Der Volksentscheid zur Fürstenenteignung 1926: Die Vermögensauseinandersetzung mit den depostierten Landesherren als Problem der deutschen Innenpolitik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in Preussen," 153
- Schutte, Anne Jacobson (R), 927
- Schütz, Rüdiger, "Preussen und die Rheinlande: Studien zur preussischen Integrationspolitik im Vormärz," 145
- Schwantes, Carlos A., "Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917," 221
- Schwartz, Hillel, "Knaves, Fools, Madmen, and that Subtle Effluvium: A Study of the Opposition to the French Prophets in England, 1706-1710," 122
- Schwarz, Philip J., "The Jarring Interests: New York's Boundary Makers, 1664-1776," 204
- Schwarzschild, Steven S. (R), 930
- Schweitzer, Robert, "Autonomie und Autokratie: Die Stellung des Grossfürstentums Finnland im russischen Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (1863-1899)," 411
- "Science and History," edited by Czartoryski *et al.* (E), 490
- Science and Technology: Badash, "Radioactivity in America," 728; Barnes and Shapin, editors, "Natural Order" (E), 1283; Czartoryski *et al.*, editors, "Science and History" (E), 490; Gillespie, "Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation," 861; Heilbron, "Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries," 601; Ruse, "The Darwinian Revolution," 860; Sayer, "Marx's Method," 596; Shapiro and Frank, "English Scientific Virtuosi in the 16th Centuries" (E), 491; Sharlin, "Lord Kelvin," 129; Steffens, "James Prescott Joule and the Concept of Energy," 600; Williams, editor, "A History of Technology," 85
- "The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine," by Youngson, 1197
- Scott, Franklin D. (R), 410
- Scott, Joan W. and Louise A. Tilly, "Women, Work, and Family," 1170
- Scott, Samuel F. (R), 639
- "The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850," by Murray, 1200
- "Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI," by Williamson, 636
- Scully, William, 722
- "Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIX)" (E), 252
- Seager, Robin, "Pompey: A Political Biography," 864
- Sealey, Raphael (R), 1174
- "The Search for Ancestors," by Barton, 199
- "Search for Consensus," by Goldman, 714
- "The Search for Criminal Man," by Rennie, 237
- Sears, Joan Niles, "The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia," 719

- "Un secolo di emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976," edited by Rosoli, 1230
- "The Second Coming," by Harrison, 599
- Segal, Howard P. (R), 1276
- Sehr, Timothy J. (R), 705
- Seidel, Anna and Holmes Welch, editors, "Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion," 444
- "Le sel et la fortune de Venise," by Hocquet, 161
- Sella, Domenico (R), 671
- Selleck, Roberta G. (R), 412
- Sellers, Charles (R), 204
- Semmel, Bernard (R), 860
- "Senado Federal, O Conselho de Estado," by Rodrigues, 245
- "Senator William J. Stone and the Politics of Compromise," by Towne, 1002
- "Sengo Nihon no Kyōiku Kaikaku," edited by Tokiomi, 698
- Senior, Hereward (R), 397
- "Le sentiment de la mort au moyen âge," edited by Sutto (E), 1284
- Seretan, L. Glen (R), 227
- "Sergei Nechaev," by Pomper, 684
- Serman, William, "Les origines des officiers français, 1848-1870," 641
- Serrano Suárez, Ramón, "Memorias: Entre el silencio y la propaganda, la historia como fue," 647
- "The Service City," by Hittle, 1236
- Service, Robert, "The Bolshevik Party in Revolution: A Study in Organisational Change, 1917-1923," 948
- Sessa, Anne Dzamba, "Richard Wagner and the English," 129
- Sewell, William H., Jr., *Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 847-850
- Shade, William G. (R), 981
- "Shanghai, 1925," by Clifford, 693
- Shannon, David A. (R), 232
- Shapin, Steven and Barry Barnes, editors, "Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture" (E), 1283
- Shapiro, Barbara and Robert G. Frank, Jr., "English Scientific Virtuosi in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, 5 February 1977" (E), 491
- Sharlin, Harold Issadore (R), 634; "Lord Kelvin: The Dynamic Victorian," 129
- Shatzmiller, Joseph (R), 928
- Shaw, William H. (R), 1170
- Sheehan, James J. (R), 148; 418; 1218
- Sheils, W. J., "The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610," 388
- Shepherd, James F. and Gary M. Walton, "The Economic Rise of Early America," 457
- Sherman, A. J. and E. Rosenbaum, "M. M. Warburg & Co., 1798-1938: Merchant Bankers of Hamburg," 913
- Sherman, Dennis M. (R), 640
- Sherman, William L., "Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America," 242
- Shewmaker, Kenneth E. (R), 211
- "A Short History of Modern Greece," by Clogg, 427
- Short, K. R. M., "The Dynamite War: Irish-American Bombers in Victorian Britain," 397
- Shortt, S. E. D. (R), 1279
- Showalter, Dennis E. (R), 413
- Shriver, George (R), 1172
- "Shvetsiia i Rossiia," by Roginskii, 624
- Sidorov, V. A., "Klassovaia bor'ba v dokolkhoznoi derevne, 1921-1929 gg.," 178
- "Siege Warfare," by Duffy, 383
- Sijes, B. A. et al., "Vervolging van Zigeuners in Nederland, 1940-1945," 650
- Silva, Hélio, "1954: Um tiro no coração (O Ciclo de Vargas—Vol. 16)," 744
- "The Silver Age," by Bowlst, 435
- Silverglate, Jesse (R), 665
- Simmons, Marc, "New Mexico," 708
- Simoncelli, Paolo, "Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento: Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico," 927
- Simpson, Grant G. and E. L. G. Stones, editors, "Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause," Vol. 1, "Introduction," Vol. 2, "Texts," 376
- "Sin, Sickness, & Sanity," by Bullough and Bullough, 89
- "A Singular School: Abbot Academy, 1828-1973," by Lloyd, 995
- "Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World," by Robertson, 396
- "Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the Commonwealth,' 1621-1628," by White, 879
- "Sir Richard Grenville of the Civil War," by Miller, 880
- "Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought," by Daly, 390
- Siracusa, Carl, "A Mechanical People: Perceptions of the Industrial Order in Massachusetts, 1815-1880," 213
- Siracusa, Joseph M. (R), 1016
- Siraisi, Nancy G. (R), 615
- Sivachev, Nikolai V. and Nikolai N. Yakovlev, "Russia and the United States," 369
- "Six Lives, Six Deaths," by Lifton et al., 194
- Sizer, Sandra S., "Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism," 214
- Skates, John Ray, "Mississippi," 708
- Sked, Alan, "The Survival of the Habsburg Empire: Radetzky, the Imperial Army and the Class War, 1848," 1226
- Skinner, Quentin, "The Foundations of Modern Political Thought," Vol. 1, "The Renaissance," Vol. 2, "The Age of Reformation," 79
- Skocpol, Theda (R), 81; "States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China," 86
- "Skogsbygd i omvandling," by Rolén, 654
- Skopp, Douglas R. (R), 1219
- Skrynnikov, R. G., "Boris Godunov," 431
- "Skt. Peters efterfølgere i brydningstider," by Nyberg, 610
- Skurnowicz, Joan S. (R), 679
- Slack, Paul (R), 624
- "The Slave Drivers," by Van Deburg, 208
- Slavery: Cunliffe, "Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery," 986; Escott, "Slavery Remembered," 466; Gemery and Hogendorn, editors, "The Uncommon Market," 603; Hopkins, "Conquerors and Slaves," 97; Kolchin, *In Defense of Servitude: American Proslavery and Russian Proserfdom Arguments, 1760-1860*, 809-827; Lewis, "Coal, Iron, and Slaves," 985; Perry and Fellman, editors, "Antislavery Reconsidered" (E), 747; Watson, editor, "Asian and African Systems of Slavery" (E), 1029
- "Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866," by Perdue, 200
- "Slavery Remembered," by Escott, 466
- "Slaves in Red Coats," by Buckley, 242
- Slijepčević, Djoko, "Jugoslavija uoči i za vreme Drugog Svetskog Rata," 674
- "The Slovak Autonomy Movement, 1935-1939," by Mallakh, 678
- Small, Melvin (R), 387
- Smallwood, James M., "An Oklahoma Adventure: Of Banks and Bankers," 1273
- Smart, James G. (R), 1264

- "Småstäder, småborgare och stora samhällsförändringar," by Stadin, 410
- Smiles, Samuel, 535-556
- Smith, A. Frank, 478
- Smith, Anthony D. S., "Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," 369
- Smith, Bradley F. and Elena Agarossi, "Operation Sunrise: The Secret Surrender," 622
- Smith, Charles D. (R), 689
- Smith, Charles Daniel, "The Early Career of Lord North the Prime Minister," 883
- Smith, Elbert B., "Francis Preston Blair," 1262
- Smith, F. B. (R), 1196; "The People's Health, 1830-1910," 884
- Smith, Joan K., "Ella Flag Young: Portrait of a Leader," 727
- Smith, Joel and Lloyd D. Musolf, editors, "Legislatures in Development: Dynamics of Change in New and Old States" (E), 251
- Smith, Joseph, "Illusions of Conflict: Anglo-American Diplomacy toward Latin America, 1865-1896," 93
- Smith, Lesley M. and Geoffrey Parker, editors, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century" (E), 253
- Smith, M. G., "The Affairs of Daura," 185
- Smith, R. B. and W. Watson, editors, "Early South East Asia: Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography" (E), 492
- Smith, Ray T., Jr. (R), 447
- Smith, Robert P., "Brooklyn at Play: The Illusion and the Reality, 1890-1898," 723
- Smith, Wesley D., "The Hippocratic Tradition," 598
- Smith, Woodruff (R), 92
- Smith, Woodruff D., "The German Colonial Empire," 912
- Smol'nikov, A. S., "Bol'shevizatsiia XII armii severnogo fronta v 1917 g.," 1240
- Snetsinger, John (R), 1012
- Snow, George E. (R), 947
- Snyder, Henry L. (R), 1193
- "So Far Disordered in Mind," by Fox, 226
- Soave, Sergio, "Cultura e mito dell'autonomia: La Chiesa in Valle d'Aosta, 1900-1948," 673
- Sobel, Mechal, "Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith," 989
- "La sociabilité villageoise dans l'ancienne France," by Gutton, 895
- "A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," by Ashtor, 439
- "Social Darwinism," by Bannister, 992
- Social history: Achenbaum, "Old Age in the New Land," 974; Akenson, "Between Two Revolutions," 1201; Belasco, "Americans on the Road," 1014; Berlin, *Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America*, 44-78; Blackwood, "The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60," 1192; Bullough, "Homosexuality," 1171; Clark, "Social Origins of the Irish Land War," 1201; Cohn, "The Palace or the Poorhouse," 970; Corbin, "Les filles de noce," 1206; Cowherd, "Political Economists and the English Poor Laws," 128; Crew, "Town in the Ruhr," 661; Diakin, "Samoderzhavie, burzhauziia, i dvorianstvo v 1907-1911 gg.," 1238; Digby, "Pauper Places," 629; Domhoff, "The Powers That Be," 482; Emsley, "British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815," 1195; Freeman, "Untouchable," 701; Frykenberg, "Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia," 966; Gill, "Peasants and Government in the Russian Revolution," 687; Hittle, "The Service City," 1236; Lampert, "The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State," 1242; Mason, "Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915," 1198; Möerner, "Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia," 1023; Phillips, "The Diehards," 131; Pusateri, "Enterprise in Radio," 1275; Roden, *Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan*, 511-534; Rorabaugh, "The Alcoholic Republic," 1003; Schormann, "Hexenprozesse in Nordwestdeutschland," 1217; Soubeyroux, "Pauperisme et rapports sociaux à Madrid au XVIIIème siècle," 644; Spicker *et al.*, editors, "Aging and the Elderly: Humanistic Perspectives in Gerontology," 597; Taylor, "Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages," 240; Wrightson and Levine, "Poverty and Piety in an English Village," 624
- "Social Origins of the Irish Land War," by Clark, 1201
- Socialism: Andrés-Gallego, "El socialismo durante la dictadura, 1923-1930," 140; McCauley, "Marxism-Leninism in the German Democratic Republic," 667; Mwansasu and Pratt, editors, "Towards Socialism in Tanzania," 188; Pierson, "British Socialists," 631
- "Socialism in Provence, 1871-1914," by Judt, 642
- "A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776-1860," by Brown, 488
- Sociology: Fine, "Progressive Evolutionism and American Sociology, 1890-1920," 1000
- Socolofsky, Homer E., "Landlord William Scully," 722
- Solberg, Carl E., "Oil and Nationalism in Argentina: A History," 246
- Soldon, Norbert C. (R), 885
- Soliday, Gerald L. (R), 144; 907
- Solomon, Howard M. (R), 874
- "Solomon Stoddard," 455
- Soloway, Richard Allen (R), 599
- Soly, Hugo and Catharina Lis, "Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe," 874
- "Something to Guard," by Belfrage and Aronson, 234
- "Der Sonderfall: Die Besatzungszeit in Österreich 1945 bis 1955," by Rauchensteiner, 922
- Şonea, Emilia and Gavrilă Şonea, "Viaţa economică şi politică a României, 1933-1938," 936
- Şonea, Gavrilă and Emilia Şonea, "Viaţa economică şi politică a României, 1933-1938," 936
- Sosin, J. M. (R), 460
- Soubeyroux, Jacques, "Pauperisme et rapports sociaux à Madrid au XVIIIème siècle," 644
- Soucy, Robert (R), 1207; "Fascist Intellectual: Drieu La Rochelle," 405
- "South Carolina," by Wright, 702
- "South Dakota," by Milton, 707
- The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation*, by McDonald and McWhiney, 1095-1118
- "The South Saxons," edited by Brandon (E), 252
- "The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763," by Robinson, 975
- "Sovetskaia dokolkhoznaia derevnia," by Danilov, 178
- "Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich," by Leuschen-Seppel, 149
- "Sozialdemokratie und Demokratie, 1946-1966," by Günther, 917
- "Sozialismus in Österreich," by Pollak, 923
- "Sozialismus in Theorie und Praxis," edited by Horn *et al.* (E), 251
- "Die Sozialrevolutionäre Partei Russlands," by Hildermeier, 946
- "Sozio-ökonomischer Strukturwandel des Handwerks in der zweiten Phase der Industrialisierung, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Regierungsbezirke Arnsberg und Münster," by Noll, 911
- Spagnolo, John P. (R), 643
- Spalding, William Livingston, Jr. (R), 1248
- "The Spanish Character," by Bennassar, 903
- "The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516," by Hillgarth, 105

- "The Spanish Lake," by Spate, 1173
 Spate, O. H. K., "The Spanish Lake," 1173
 Speck, Paul, "Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft: Quellenkritische Darstellung von 25 Jahren byzantinischer Geschichte nach dem ersten Ikonoklasmus," Vol. 1, "Untersuchung," Vol. 2, "Anmerkungen und Register," 100
 "The Spectrum of Political Engagement," by Schalk, 620
 Spellman, Norman W., "Growing A Soul: The Story of A. Frank Smith," 478
 Spence, Clark C., "Montana," 709
 Spence, Jonathan D. and John E. Wills, Jr., editors, "From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China," 691
 Spencer, William (R), 951
 Spěvaček, Jiří, "Karl IV: Sein Leben und seine staatsmännische Leistung," 872
 Spicker, Stuart F. *et al.*, editors, "Aging and the Elderly: Humanistic Perspectives in Gerontology," 597
 Spielman, John P. (R), 919
 Spinner, Thomas J., Jr. (R), 398
 "Spirituality and Administration," by Bouchard, 871
 Spitz, Lewis W. (R), 143; 407
 Spivak, Burton, "Jefferson's English Crisis: Commerce, Embargo, and the Republican Revolution," 459
 Sports: Roden, *Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan*, 511-534; Smith, "Brooklyn at Play," 723
 "Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter," by Richter, 612
 Sprague, Marshall, "Colorado," 708
 Spree, Reinhard, "Wachstumstrends und Konjunkturzyklen in der deutschen Wirtschaft von 1820 bis 1913: Quantitativer Rahmen für eine Konjunkturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts," 414
 Sproat, John G. (R), 225
 Sprunger, Keith (R), 388
 "Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit," by Eck, 607
 Stack, John F., Jr., "International Conflict in an American City: Boston's Irish, Italians, and Jews, 1935-1944," 1011
 Stadin, Kekk, "Småstäder, småborgare och stora samhällsförändringar: Borgarnas sociala struktur i Arboga, Enköping och Västervik under perioden efter 1680," 410
 Stadter, Philip A. (R), 603
 Stairs, Denis (R), 484
 Stallings, Barbara, "Class Conflict and Economic Development in Chile, 1958-1973," 248
 Stannard, David E. (R), 974
 Stansifer, Charles L. (R), 1023
 Starkey, A. M. (R), 636
 Starr, Chester G. (R), 864
 Starr, J. Barton (R), 717
 "State of War," by Clive, 736
 "State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914," by McClelland, 1218
 "States and Social Revolutions," by Skocpol, 86
 "States of Belonging," by Keller, 729
 Stealey, John E., III (R), 985
 Stearns, Peter N., "Be a Man Males in Modern Society," 1171; "Paths to Authority: The Middle Class and the Industrial Labor Force in France, 1820-48," 136
 Stebbins, Theodore E., Jr. (R), 971
 Steckley, George F. (C), 1044
 Stenson, Gary P., "Karl Kautsky, 1854-1938: Marxism in the Classical Years," 662
 "Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic," by Diubaldo, 483
 Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, 483
 Steffen, Jerome O., "Comparative Frontiers: A Proposal for Studying the American West," 1252
 Steffen, Jerome O., editor, "The American West: New Perspectives, New Dimensions," 451
 Steffens, Henry John, "James Prescott Joule and the Concept of Energy," 600
 Steffens, Lincoln, 472
 Stein, Louis, "Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955," 1214
 Steiner, Bruce E. (R), 976
 Steininger, Rolf, "Deutschland und die Sozialistische Internationale nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Die deutsche Frage, die Internationale und das Problem der Wiederaufnahme der SPD auf den internationalen sozialistischen Konferenzen bis 1951, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Labour Party," 916
 Stekl, Hannes, "Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser, 1671-1920: Institutionen zwischen Fürsorge und Strafvollzug," 668
 Sterling, Keir B. (R), 602
 Stern, M. S. (R), 614
 Sterns, Peter N. (R), 380
 Stevens, Robert (R), 889; "Law and Politics: The House of Lords as a Judicial Body, 1800-1976," 130
 Stevenson, John, editor, "London in the Age of Reform" (E), 490
 "Stewards of the Land," by Marder, 1231
 Stewart, James Brewer (R), 988
 Stewart, Zeph (R), 97
 Stieber, Joachim W., "Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church," 374
 Stockton, David, "The Gracchi," 1178
 Stoddard, Solomon, 455
 Stoehr, Taylor, "Nay-Saying in Concord: Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau," 462
 Stoeber, William K. B. (R), 455
 Stokes, Gale (R), 369; 674
 Stokes, Lawrence D. (R), 156
 "Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma v Belorussii," by Lipinskii, 947
 Stone, Ralph (R), 731
 Stone, William J., 1002
 Stones, E. L. G. and Grant G. Simpson, editors, "Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause," Vol. 1, "Introduction," Vol. 2, "Texts," 376
 Stover, John F. (R), 481
 Straka, Gerald M. (R), 390
 Strauss, Gerald, "Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation," 143
 "Street Preachers, Faith Healers, and Herb Doctors in Jamaica, 1890-1925," by Elkins, 486
 Strihan, Petre and Valentin Al. Georgescu, "Judecata domnească în țara românească și Moldova (1611-1831)," Part 1, "Organizarea judecătorească," Vol. 1, (1611-1740)," 675
 Stromberg, Roland (R), 620
 Struever, Nancy S. (R), 926
 "The Struggle for Baltic Markets," by Attman, 113
 "The Struggle for Greece, 1941-1949," by Woodhouse, 934
 "The Struggle for Power in Syria," by Dam, 688
 Struminger, Laura S., "Women and the Making of the Working Class: Lyon, 1830-1870," 640
 Struve, Walter (R), 1219
 "Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature," edited by Twersky (E), 1027
 Stumpo, Enrico, "Finanza e stato moderno nel Piemonte del Seicento," 1228

- Stunkel, Kenneth R. (R), 1248
- Styles, John and John Brewer, editors, "An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (E), 1284
- Su, Jing and Luo Lun, "Landlord and Labor in Late Imperial China: Case Studies from Shandong," 192
- "Suburban Tokyo," by Allison, 699
- Suggs, George G., Jr. (R), 470
- Suny, Ronald Grigor (R), 947
- "The Survival of the Habsburg Empire," by Sked, 1226
- Sutherland, N. M., "The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition," 1202
- Sutto, Claude, editor, "Le sentiment de la mort au moyen âge: Études présentées au Cinquième colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal" (E), 1284
- Suvanto, Pekka, "Die deutsche Politik Oxenstiernas und Wallenstein," 906
- Swanson, Maynard W. (R), 188
- Swanson, R. N., "Universities, Academics and the Great Schism," 611
- "The Swedish Imperial Experience, 1560-1718," by Roberts, 1216
- Swenson, Loyd S., Jr. (R), 740
- Swierenga, Robert P. (R), 722
- Swietochowski, Tadeusz (R), 430
- Sydow, Helmut, "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Belgien und dem Zollverein, 1830-1885: Vertragspolitik und Warentausch," 659
- Syme, Ronald, "History of Ovid," 96
- "Symphorien Champier and the Reception of the Occultist Tradition in Renaissance France," by Copenhaver, 135
- "The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism," by Roberts, 426
- "Les syndicats nationaux au Québec de 1900 à 1930," by Rouillard, 741
- Synnott, Marcia Graham, "The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900-1970," 475
- Szeftel, Marc (R), 941
- Szemler, G. J. (R), 373
- Tachau, Mary K. Bonsteel (R), 215
- Takaki, Ronald T., "Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America," 991
- Tandrup, Leo, "Mod triumf eller tragedie: En politisk-diplomatisk studie over forløbet af den dansk-svenske magtkamp fra kalmarkrigen til Kejserkrigen," Vol. 1, "Scenen og de agerende. Tiden fra 1612 til 1621," Vol. 2, "Tiden fra 1621 til 1625," 1215
- Tanenbaum, Jan Karl, "France and the Arab Middle East, 1914-1920," 643
- Tar, Zoltan (C), 266
- "The Tarnished Dream," by Dobkowski, 223
- Tassel, David D. van, editor, "Aging, Death, and the Completion of Being" (E), 251
- Tate, Thad W. and David L. Ammerman, editors, "The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society" (E), 747
- Taylor, Joe Gray, "Louisiana," 708
- Taylor, Joshua C., "The Fine Arts in America," 971
- Taylor, Morris F., "O. P. McMains and the Maxwell Land Grant Conflict," 216
- Taylor, Robert J., "Colonial Connecticut: A History," 715
- Taylor, William B., "Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages," 240
- Tazbir, János, "Piotr Skarga: Siermierz kontrreformacji," 430
- Teaford, Jon C., "City and Suburb: The Political Fragmentation of Metropolitan America, 1850-1970," 470
- Teague, William J. (R), 719
- "The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State," by Lampert, 1242
- Tedlow, Richard S., "Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950," 1013
- Temporini, Hildegard, "Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Principat," 866
- Tenfelde, Klaus (R), 661
- "Tennessee," by Dykeman, 702
- "Tennessee in Turmoil," by Lee, 1008
- Tentler, Leslie Woodcock, "Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900-1930," 724
- Tepaske, John J. (R), 1022
- "Testing the Roosevelt Coalition," by Jeffries, 478
- "Texas," by Frantz, 708
- Thackray, Arnold (R), 601
- Thaden, Edward C. (R), 436
- Thelen, David P. (R), 1001
- "The Therapeutic Revolution," by Vogel and Rosenberg (E), 748
- "They Have No Rights," by Ehrlich, 988
- "The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892," by Kleppner, 218
- Thomas, Hugh, "A History of the World," 1167
- Thomas, R. T., "Britain and Vichy: The Dilemma of Anglo-French Relations, 1940-42," 385
- Thompson, Francis H., "The Frustration of Politics: Truman, Congress, and the Loyalty Issue, 1945-1953," 738
- Thompson, Lawrence S. (R), 488
- Thompson, Roger (R), 625
- Thompson, Stephen I. and William W. Savage, Jr., editors, "The Frontier: Comparative Studies" (E), 250
- Thomson, James (R), 896
- Thorson, Playford V. (R), 653; 1215
- "The Threat of Peace," by Ward, 1016
- Thrupp, Sylvia L., *Comment on Marc Bloch and Comparative History*, 850-853
- Thurlow, Richard C. and Kenneth Lunn, editors, "British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain" (E), 1285
- Tichi, Cecelia, "New World, New Earth: Environmental Reform in American Literature from the Puritans through Whitman," 456
- "La tige et le rameau," by Pillorget, 617
- Tikhonov, B. V., "Pereseleniia v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.: Po materialam perepisi 1897 g. i pasportnoi statistiki," 433
- Tillet, Titon du, 637
- Tilly, Louise A. and Joan W. Scott, "Women, Work, and Family," 1170
- Tilly, Richard H. (R), 415
- Timberlake, Charles E. (R), 942
- Time and History in Japan*, by Wilson, 557-571
- "Time of Fear and Hope," by Reid, 483
- "A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow," by Beck, 645
- Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America*, by Berlin, 44-78
- "A Timeless Affair," by Harrison, 993
- Tipton, C. Leon (R), 103
- Titlow, Richard E., "Americans Import Merit: Origins of the United States Civil Service and the Influence of the British Model," 225
- "To Set the Law in Motion," by Nieman, 990
- Toch, Michael, "Die Nürnberger Mittelschichten im 15. Jahrhundert," 907
- Tokiomi, Kaigo, editor, "Sengo Nihon no Kyōiku Kaikaku," 698

- Toll, William, "The Resurgence of Race: Black Social Theory from Reconstruction to the Pan-African Conferences," 1268
- "Tom Paine and Revolutionary America," by Foner, 715
- Tomlinson, B. R., "The Political Economy of the Raj, 1914-1947: The Economics of Decolonization in India," 447
- Tomlinson, H. C., "Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the Later Stuarts," 1193
- Tomsich, John (R), 997
- Toohey, Robert E., "Liberty and Empire: British Radical Solutions to the American Problem, 1774-1776," 122
- Torre, Angelo and Luciano Allegra, "La nascita della storia sociale in Francia: Dalla Comune alle 'Annales,'" 382
- Torrey, Glenn E. (R), 1232
- Torrey, Gordon (R), 688
- "Tort Law in America," by White, 1253
- Tortella, Gabriel (R), 1212
- Toscani, Xenio, "Il clero lombardo dall'Ancien Regime alla Restaurazione," 1229
- Tosh, John, "Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango: The Political History of an East African Stateless Society, c. 1800-1939," 186
- "Towards Socialism in Tanzania," edited by Mwansasu and Pratt, 188
- "Town in the Empire," by Marzahl, 244
- "Town in the Ruhr," by Crew, 661
- Towne, Ruth Warner, "Senator William J. Stone and the Politics of Compromise," 1002
- Townshend, Charles, 205
- Trachtenberg, Marc (C), 276
- Tracy, James D., "The Politics of Erasmus: A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu," 407
- "Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England," by Jack, 388
- "Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān, 1700-1820," by Walz, 181
- Traer, James F. (R), 1206
- "Transitions," edited by Hareven, 89
- "Transport in Western Siberia," by North, 946
- Transportation: Berger, "The Devil Wagon in God's Country," 1275; Church, "Herbert Austin," 890; Davis, "The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade," 392; Lewis and Newton, "Delta," 481; North, "Transport in Western Siberia," 946; Unger, "Dutch Shipbuilding before 1800," 142
- Treadgold, Donald W. (C), 504
- "Treason, Tradition, and the Intellectual," by Nichols, 138
- Treble, James H., "Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914," 395
- Trefousse, Hans L. (R), 463
- Trevelyan, C. P., 398
- "The Trial of the Templars," by Barber, 103
- Trigger, Bruce G., editor, "Handbook of North American Indians," Vol. 15, "Northeast," 203
- Trinkaus, Charles (R), 79; "The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness," 1227
- Trocki, Carl A., "Prince of Pirates: The Temenggongs and the Development of Johor and Singapore, 1784-1885," 448
- "Tropical Enterprise," by Karnes, 1023
- "The Troubadour Revival," by Boase, 105
- "Troubled Philosopher," by Howlett, 731
- "Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948," by Ganin, 1012
- Trumbach, Randolph (R), 617
- Trumbull, Lyman, 1264
- Tsamutali, A. N., "Bor'ba techenii v russkoi istoriografii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veke," 685
- Tsien, Tsuen-Hsuei and David T. Roy, editors, "Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization" (E), 491
- Tucker, Beverley, 209
- "The Tudor Law of Treason," by Bellamy, 1190
- "The Tudor Regime," by Williams, 877
- "Tudor York," by Palliser, 1189
- Tufte, Virginia and Barbara Myerhoff, editors, "Changing Images of the Family" (E), 251
- Turner, Frederick, "Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness," 1252
- Turner, Henry A., Jr. (C), 760
- Turner, R. Steven (R), 1220
- "Turning Points," edited by Demos and Boocock, 197
- Tuttle, Richard J. (R), 926
- Tvardovskaia, V. A., "Ideologiya poreformennogo samoderzhavii (M. N. Katkov i ego izdaniia)," 942
- "Twentieth Century Limited," by Meikle, 1276
- "Twentieth-Century Europe: Paths to Unity," by Vaughan, 115
- Twersky, Isadore, editor, "Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature" (E), 1027
- Twhigg, Dorothy and Donald Jackson, editors, "The Diaries of George Washington," Vol. 3, "1771-75, 1780-81," Vol. 4, "1784-June 1786," 459
- Twombly, Robert C., "Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture," 224
- "The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326," by Fryde, 869
- Ulbrich, Claudia, "Leibherrschaft am Oberrhein im Spätmittelalter," 110
- Uldricks, Teddy J. (R), 1241; "Diplomacy and Ideology: The Origins of Soviet Foreign Relations, 1917-1930," 949
- Ullmann, Walter, "The United States in Prague, 1945-1948," 93
- "The Uncommon Market," edited by Gemery and Hogendorn, 603
- "The Uncontrolled Chancellor," by Forster, 205
- Underdown, David (R), 119
- Unger, Richard W. (R), 106; "Dutch Shipbuilding before 1800: Ships and Guilds," 142
- "An Ungovernable People," edited by Brewer and Styles (E), 1284
- "The Union of England and Scotland," by Riley, 401
- "The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts," by Chester, 1253
- "The United States and the Global Struggle for Minerals," by Eckes, 479
- "United States Foreign Relations, 1820-1860," by Varg, 720
- "The United States in Prague, 1945-1948," by Ullmann, 93
- "The United States, the United Nations, and Human Rights," by Mower, 1277
- "Universität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," by Voss, 656
- "Universities, Academics and the Great Schism," by Swanson, 611
- "The University of Santa Clara," by McKevitt, 995
- "The University of Vermont College of Medicine," by Kaufman, 467
- "The Unmentionable Vice," by Goodich, 375
- "Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," by Habicht, 1176
- "Untouchable," by Freeman, 701
- "Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall'XI al XIII secolo," by Peri, 379
- "The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872," by McCalla, 1020

- "Uprooted Americans," edited by Bushman *et al.*, 974
 Urban history: Allison, "Suburban Tokyo," 699;
 Blumberg, "The New Deal and the Unemployed," 734; Boyer, "Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920," 219; Bullough, "The Blind Boss & His City," 1269; Friedrichs, "Urban Society in an Age of War," 908; Gaube, "Iranian Cities," 688; Graff, "The Literacy Myth," 1280; Griswold del Castillo, "The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890," 1268; Guarda, "Historia urbana del Reino de Chile," 247; Hollingsworth and Hollingsworth, "Dimensions in Urban History," 712; Khan, "History of Srinagar, 1846-1947," 1250; Lane, "City of the Century," 1272; Larsen, "The Urban West at the End of the Frontier," 217; Melosi, editor, "Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930" (E), 1286; Miller, "City and Hinterland," 212; Palliser, "Tudor York," 1189; Quéniart, "Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au XVIII^e siècle," 637; Reys, "Cities of the American West," 713; Sears, "The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia," 719; Teaford, "City and Suburb," 470; Treble, "Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914," 395
 "Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920," by Boyer, 219
 "The Urban Origins of Rural Revolution," by McDonald, 692
 "Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914," by Treble, 395
 "Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720," by Friedrichs, 908
 "The Urban West at the End of the Frontier," by Larsen, 217
 Urofsky, Melvin I. (R), 1012
 "Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der deutschen Kriegspolitik," by Deist, 915
 "Utah," by Peterson, 709
 Utley, Robert M. (R), 217
 "Utopian Thought in the Western World," by Manuel and Manuel, 858
 "Utverzhdienie kapitalizma v Rossii, 1850-1880 gg.," by Ryndziunskii, 945
 Vamplew, Wray (R), 1198
 Van Briessen, Fritz, "Grundzüge der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen," 92
 Van Deburg, William L., "The Slave Drivers: Black Agricultural Labor Supervisors in the Antebellum South," 208
 Van Doren, Llewain Scott (R), 136
 Van Kley, Edwin J. (R), 80
 "The Van Sweringens of Cleveland," by Haberman, 998
 Vann, James Allen (R), 907
 "The Varangians of Byzantium," by Blöndal, 101
 Vardys, V. Stanley and Romuald J. Misiunas, editors, "The Baltic States in Peace and War, 1917-1945," 169
 Varg, Paul A., "United States Foreign Relations, 1820-1860," 720
 Vaughan, Richard, "Twentieth-Century Europe: Paths to Unity," 115
 Vázquez de Prada, V., editor, "Historia Económica y Social de España," Vol. 3, "Los Siglos XVI y XVII," 1211
 Velichi, Constantin N., "La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale (1850-1878)," 1232
 "Velikii Oktiabr' i stanovlenie sovetskoi sistemy upravleniia narodnym khoziaistvom (noiabr' 1917-1920 gg.)," by Gimpel'son, 949
 "Venise au siècle des lumières," by Georgelin, 928
 Venturi, Antonello, "Rivoluzionari russi in Italia, 1917-1921," 385
 "Verfassung oder Konkordat," by Vocolka, 921
 "Verfassung und politische Verwaltung in der Tschechoslowakei, 1918-1939," by Lipscher, 429
 "Das Verhältnis der süddeutschen Staaten zum Norddeutschen Bund (1867-1870)," by Wilhelm, 416
 "Vervolging van Zigeuners in Nederland, 1940-1945," by Sijes *et al.*, 650
 "A Very Slippery Fellow," by Glover, 393
 "Viața economică și politică a României, 1933-1938," by Șonea and Șonea, 936
 "Viața politică în România, 1899-1910," by Iosa and Lungu, 676; "Viața politică în România, 1922-1928," by Rusenescu and Saizu, 936
 Viault, Birdsall Scrymser (R), 664
 "Victorian Social Medicine," by Eyler, 1197
 "La vie politique en Roumanie, 1918-1921," by Mușat and Ardeleanu, 163
 "The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome," by Coffin, 926
 "A Village at War," by White, 458
 Viñas, Angel, "El Oro de Moscú: Alfa y omega de un mito franquista," 647
 Vinovskis, Maris and Tamara K. Hareven, editors, "Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America," 711
 Vinovskis, Maris A. and Carl F. Kaestle, "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," 1269
 Vinten-Johansen, Peter (R), 653
 "Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South," by Bruce, 987
 "Violent Death in the City," by Lane, 997
 "Virginia," by Rubin, 702
 "Visigothic Spain," edited by James (E), 1285
 Vitcu, Dumitru, "Diplomații unirii," 676
 "Vito Cusumano, dal liberalismo al socialismo della cattedra," by Salvo, 672
 "Vnutrenniaia politika tsarizma s serediny 50-kh do nachala 80-kh gg. XIX v.," by Chernukha, 942
 Vocolka, Karl, "Verfassung oder Konkordat?: Der publizistische und politische Kampf der österreichischen Liberalen um die Religionsgesetze des Jahres 1868," 921
 Vodarskii, Ia. E., "Naselenie Rossii v kontse XVII-nachale XVIII veka (Chislennost', soslovno-klassovyi sostav, razmeshchenie)," 172
 Vogel, Morris J. and Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolution: Essays in the Social History of American Medicine" (E), 748
 Vogt, John, "Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469-1682," 183
 Volgyes, Ivan (R), 677; "Czechoslovakia: The Heritage of Ages Past. Essays In Memory of Josef Korbel" (E), 254
 Volkov, Shulamit, "The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans, 1873-1896," 147
 "Der Volksentscheid zur Fürstenenteignung 1926," by Schüren, 153
 "Volksschullehrer und Politik," by Bölling, 152
 "Volneniia na Urale v seredine XVIII veka," by Orlov, 1237
 Volodin, A. I. *et al.*, "Chernyshevskii ili Nechaev? O podlinnoi i mnimoi revoliutsionnosti v osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii Rossii 50-60-x godov XIX veka," 175
 Von Klemperer, Klemens (R), 157
 Von Moltke, Konrad (R), 108
 "Von St. Germain bis Genf," by Kerekes, 1227
 Voss, Jürgen, "Univestität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Johann Daniel Schöpflin (1694-1771)," 656
 "Vostanie ikhetuane (1898-1901)," by Kaliuzhnaia, 963
 "Vox Populi," by Gregory, 867

- "Wachstumstrends und Konjunkturzyklen in der deutschen Wirtschaft von 1820 bis 1913," by Spree, 414
- Wagaw, Teshome G., "Education in Ethiopia: Prospect and Retrospect," 956
- "Wage-Earning Women," by Tentler, 724
- Wagener, Mary L. (R), 921
- "Die Wahlen in den Schweizerischen Nationalrat, 1848-1919," edited by Gruner, 160
- "Waiting for China," by Harrison, 962
- Walker, David A., "Iron Frontier: The Discovery and Early Development of Minnesota's Three Ranges," 999
- Walkland, S. A., editor, "The House of Commons in the Twentieth Century: Essays by Members of the Study of Parliament Group," 889
- Wall, Joseph Frazier, "Iowa," 707
- Wallace, Ernest, "The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas," 990
- Walton, Gary M. and James F. Shepherd, "The Economic Rise of Early America," 457
- Walz, Terence, "Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān, 1700-1820," 181
- Wandycz, Piotr S. (R), 940
- Wang, Yi C. (R), 1246
- Wank, Solomon (R), 428
- "Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives," by Quaife, 625
- "War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327-70 B.C.," by Harris, 606
- "War and Society in East Central Europe," edited by Kiraly and Rothenberg (E), 1029
- Warburg, Gabriel, "Islam, Nationalism, and Communism in a Traditional Society: The Case of Sudan," 440
- Ward, Allen M. (R), 865
- Ward, Patricia Dawson, "The Threat of Peace: James F. Byrnes and the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1945-1946," 1016
- Ward, W. R. (R), 883
- Warmbrunn, Werner (R), 651
- Warth, Robert D. (R), 178
- Washburn, Wilcomb E. (R), 201
- "Washington," by Clark, 709
- Washington, George, 459
- Wasserstein, Bernard (R), 887; "Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945," 888
- "Watershed in India, 1914-1922," by Rumbold, 446
- "The Watershed of Two Eras," by Romein, 114
- Watson, James L., editor, "Asian and African Systems of Slavery" (E), 1029
- Watson, W. and R. B. Smith, editors, "Early South East Asia: Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography" (E), 492
- Waugh, Daniel Clarke, "The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in Its Muscovite and Russian Variants," 171
- Weakland, John E. (R), 611
- Weatherhead, Richard W. and Joseph Maier, editors, "The Latin American University" (E), 256
- Weber, David J., editor, "New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821" (E), 493
- Weber, Eugen (R), 405
- Weber, Frank G., "The Evasive Neutral: Germany, Britain, and the Quest for a Turkish Alliance in the Second World War," 117
- Weber, Michael P. (R), 712
- Weber, Timothy P., "Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925," 223
- Webre, Stephen, "José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972," 742
- Webster, Charles, editor, "Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century" (E), 746
- Weeber, Karl-Wilhelm, "Geschichte der Etrusker," 1176
- Wegs, J. Robert, "Die österreichische Kriegswirtschaft, 1914-1918," 921
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, editor, "Klassen in der europäischen Sozialgeschichte" (E), 1284
- Weigel, Sigrid, "Flugschriftenliteratur 1848 in Berlin: Geschichte und Öffentlichkeit einer volkstümlichen Gattung," 657
- Weiler, Peter (R), 631
- "Weimars Wirtschaft und die Aussenpolitik der Republik, 1924-1926," by Pohl, 419
- Weinberg, Gerhard L. (R), 1225
- Weir, Ron (R), 34; 402
- Weisser, Michael R., "Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe," 618
- Weissman, Michael and Carol Hymowitz, "A History of Women in America," 450
- Weitowitz, Rolf, "Deutsche Politik und Handelspolitik unter Reichskanzler Leo von Caprivi, 1890-1894," 150
- Welch, Holmes and Anna Seidel, editors, "Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion," 444
- Wellenreuther, Hermann, "Repräsentation und Grossgrundbesitz in England, 1730-1770," 882
- Welter, Rush (R), 973
- "Die Weltwirtschaft im 20. Jahrhundert," by Fischer, 370
- "West African States, Failure and Promise," edited by Dunn, 442
- "West Virginia," by Williams, 702
- "Die westfälischen Schwerindustriellen, 1852-1913," by Pierenkemper, 1219
- Weston, Corinne Comstock (R), 130
- "The Westward Enterprise," edited by Andrews *et al.* (E), 1028
- Wexler, Victor G., "David Hume and the History of England," 628
- Whealey, Robert H. (R), 636
- Wheaton, Robert and Tamara K. Hareven, editors, "Family and Sexuality in French History," (E), 1285
- Wheeler, Douglas L., "Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910-1926," 648
- "When Harlem was Jewish, 1870-1930," by Gurock, 1007
- Whitcomb, Edward A., "Napoleon's Diplomatic Service," 639
- White, Andrew D., 226
- White, Dan S. (R), 667
- White, Donald Wallace, "A Village at War: Chatham, New Jersey, and the American Revolution," 458
- White, G. Edward, "Tort Law in America: An Intellectual History," 1253
- White, Philip L., "Beekmantown, New York: Forest Frontier to Farm Community," 460
- White, Stephen D., "Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the Commonwealth,' 1621-1628," 879
- "Why War?" by Nelson and Olin, 596
- Whyte, Ian, "Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland," 891
- Wickwire, Franklin and Mary Wickwire, "Cornwallis: The Imperial Years," 1194
- Wickwire, Mary and Franklin Wickwire, "Cornwallis: The Imperial Years," 1194
- "Wien und Rom nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," by Malfèr, 422
- "Wien vom 'Ausschluss' zum Krieg," by Botz, 158
- "Wiener Flugschriften zur Sozialen Frage 1848," by Otruba, 657

- Wilcox, Donald J. (R), 381
 Wilcoxon, George Dent, "Athens Ascendant," 603
 Wilde, Richard H. (R), 131
 Wildman, Allan K. (R), 177; "The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Old Army and the Soldiers' Revolt (March–April 1917)," 1241
 Wilhelm, Rolf, "Das Verhältnis der süddeutschen Staaten zum Norddeutschen Bund (1867–1870)," 416
 Wilkins, Robert P. and Wynona H. Wilkins, "North Dakota," 707
 Wilkins, Wynona H. and Robert P. Wilkins, "North Dakota," 707
 Wilkinson, J. Harvie, III, "From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and School Integration, 1954–1978," 481
 Willetts, R. F., "The Civilization of Ancient Crete," 94
 Willey, Thomas E., "Back to Kant: The Revival of Kantianism in German Social and Historical Thought, 1860–1914," 418
 "William H. Ashley," by Clokey, 1261
 Williams, Alan, "The Police of Paris, 1718–1789," 898
 Williams, John Alexander, "West Virginia," 702
 Williams, Justin, Sr., "Japan's Political Revolution under MacArthur: A Participant's Account," 698; (C), 1296
 Williams, Penry, "The Tudor Regime," 877
 Williams, Robert C. (R), 435
 Williams, Roger, 455
 Williams, Trevor I., editor, "A History of Technology," Vol. 6, "The Twentieth Century c. 1900 to c. 1950," Part 1; Vol. 7, "Twentieth Century c. 1900 to c. 1950," Part 2, 85
 Williamson, Arthur H. (R), 401; 1199; "Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture," 636
 Willingham, William F. (R), 715
 Willis, F. Roy (R), 115
 Willis, John Randolph, "God's Frontiersmen: The Yale Band in Illinois," 719
 Wills, John E., Jr. (R), 196; "From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China," 691
 Wilson, George Macklin, *Time and History in Japan*, 557–571
 Wilson, Joan Hoff (R), 474
 Wilson, Margaret Gibbons, "The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870–1920," 723
 Wilson, Robert, 393
 Wilson, Woodrow, 473
 Wines, Roger (R), 909
 Winkler, Dörte (C), 271
 Winkler, Heinrich August, editor, "Politische Weichenstellungen im Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945–1953" (E), 254
 Winters, Stanley B. (R), 165
 "Wirtschaftspolitik im deutschen Territorialstaat des 16. Jahrhunderts," by Kraschewski, 655
 "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich," by Kreissig, 372
 "Wirtschaft und Wirtschaftspolitik im wilhelminischen Deutschland," by Hentschel, 660
 "Wirtschaftskrise und liberale Demokratie," edited by Holl, 154
 "Wisconsin," by Current, 707
 Wise, Gene (R), 449
 Wishart, David J., "The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis," 984
 Wistrich, Robert S., editor, "The Left Against Zion: Communism, Israel and the Middle East" (E), 491
 Witt, John de, 407
 Witte, Barthold C., "Der preussische Tacitus: Aufstieg, Ruhm und Ende des Historikers Barthold Georg Niebuhr, 1776–1831," 657
 Woehrlin, William F. (R), 175
 Wohl, Robert, "The Generation of 1914," 1188
 Wolf, John B., "The Barbary Coast: Algiers Under the Turks, 1500 to 1830," 951
 Woloch, Isser (R), 1205; "The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration," 899
 Wolters, Raymond (R), 736
 "Woman's Being, Woman's Place," edited by Kelley (E), 1030
 Women: Baker, editor, "Medieval Women" (E), 252; Berkin and Lovett, editors, "Women, War, and Revolution" (E), 1283; Berkin and Norton, editors, "Women of America" (E), 747; Bortolotti, "Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia, 1919–1926," 425; Burman, editor, "Fit Work for Women" (E), 746; Croll, "Feminism and Socialism in China," 444; Eastman, "On Women and Revolution," 228; Evans, "Personal Politics," 236; Foner, "Women and the American Labor Movement," 1271; Hall, "Revolt against Chivalry," 726; Harris, "Beyond Her Sphere," 198; Hymowitz and Weissman, "A History of Women in America," 450; Kaplan, "The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany," 417; Kelley, editor, "Woman's Being, Woman's Place" (E), 1030; Kennedy, "If All/We Did Was to Weep at Home," 992; Lagemann, "A Generation of Women," 725; MacCurtain and O'Corrain, editors, "Women in Irish Society" (E), 253; Quaipe, "Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives," 625; Quataert, "Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885–1917," 662; Schaps, "Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece," 1175; Smith, "Ella Flagg Young," 727; Struminger, "Women and the Making of the Working Class," 640; Tentler, "Wage-Earning Women," 724; Tilly and Scott, "Women, Work, and Family," 1170; Wilson, "The American Woman in Transition," 723
 "Women and Men on the Overland Trail," by Faragher, 210
 "Women and the American Labor Movement," by Foner, 1271
 "Women and the Making of the Working Class," by Struminger, 640
 "Women in Irish Society," edited by MacCurtain and O'Corrain (E), 253
 "Women of America," edited by Berkin and Norton (E), 747
 "Women, War, and Revolution," edited by Berkin and Lovett (E), 1283
 "Women, Work, and Family," by Tilly and Scott, 1170
 Wood, Jerome H., Jr., "Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790," 978
 Woodhouse, C. M., "The Struggle for Greece, 1941–1949," 934
 Woodman, Harold D. (R), 1265
 "Woodrow Wilson," by Link, 473
 Woodruff, William (R), 84
 Woods, Randall Bennett, "The Roosevelt Foreign-Policy Establishment and the 'Good Neighbor': The United States and Argentina, 1941–1945," 735
 Worcester, Donald E., "The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest," 714
 Worden, A. B., editor, "Edmund Ludlow: A Voyage from the Watch Tower," Part 5, "1660–1662," 389
 "Working-Class Community in Industrial America," by Cumbler, 220
 "The World of Aldus Manutius," by Lowry, 924
 "World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States," by Murphy, 1002
 World War One: Hawley, "The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917–1933,"

- 731; Kaarsted, "Great Britain and Denmark, 1914-1920," 623; Keller, "States of Belonging," 729; Leed, "No Man's Land," 384; Luebke, "Bonds of Loyalty," 730; Murphy, "World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States," 1002; Smol'nikov, "Bol'shevizatsiia XII armii severnogo fronta v 1917 g.," 1240
- World War Two: Allen, "The End of the War in Asia," 960; Bailey and Ryan, "Hitler vs. Roosevelt," 735; Clive, "State of War," 736; Cruickshank, "Deception in World War II," 1189; De Jong, "Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog," 1215; Douglas, "The Advent of War, 1939-40," 117; Fein, "Accounting for Genocide," 118; Ferencz, "Less Than Slaves," 1225; Flynn, "The Mess in Washington," 232; Hinsley, "British Intelligence in the Second World War," 399; Maser, "Nuremberg," 665; Morris, "The Revisionist Historian and German War Guilt," 664; Smith and Agarossi, "Operation Sunrise," 622; Weber, "The Evasive Neutral," 117
- "The World-System of Capitalism," edited by Goldfrank (E), 250
- Wormald, C. Patrick (C), 268
- Worster, Donald, "Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s," 732; "Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology," 602
- Woytak, Richard A., "On the Border of War and Peace: Polish Intelligence and Diplomacy in 1937-1939 and the Origins of the Ultra Secret," 430
- Wright, Frank Lloyd, 224
- Wright, Gavin (R), 1267
- Wright, Gordon (R), 901
- Wright, Louis B., "South Carolina," 702
- Wright, Marcia (R), 187
- Wrightson, Keith and David Levine, "Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700," 624
- "The Writing of History," edited by Canary and Kozicki, 1167
- Wu, Silas H. L., "Passage to Power: K'ang-hsi and His Heir Apparent, 1661-1722," 962
- Wunder, John R., "Inferior Courts, Superior Justice: A History of the Justices of the Peace on the Northwest Frontier, 1853-1889," 215
- Wurm, Clemens A., "Die französische Sicherheitspolitik in der Phase der Umorientierung, 1924-1926," 902
- Wyclif, John, 859
- "The Wyclif Tradition," by Mudroch, 859
- Wyman, Mark, "Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910," 470
- Wynot, Edward D., Jr. (R), 168; 1234
- "Wyoming," by Larson, 709
- Wyrwa, Tadeusz, "La pensée politique polonaise à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la renaissance: (Un apport à la connaissance de l'Europe moderne)," 939
- "Xenophon," by Nickel, 604
- Yakovlev, Nikolai N. and Nikolai V. Sivachev, "Russia and the United States," 369
- Yang, Anand A. (R), 1249
- Yarnell, Allen (R), 234
- "Yenan and the Great Powers," by Anderson, 1247
- Youngs, Joyce (R), 387
- Young, Charles R., "The Royal Forests of Medieval England," 101
- "The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System," by Garver, 166
- Young, David (R), 1203
- Young, Ella Flagg, 727
- Young, Robert J. (R), 1209
- Youngson, A. J., "The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine," 1197
- "Youth from Every Quarter," by Allis, 994
- Yu, Tzong-Shian and Chi-Ming Hou, editors, "Modern Chinese Economic History: Proceedings of the Conference on Modern Chinese Economic History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, August 26-29, 1977" (E), 491
- Yü, Ying-Shih (R), 190
- Žáček, Václav, "Josef Václav Frič," 937
- Zavala, Silvio, "El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú (extractos del siglo XVII)," 1024
- "Zeitgeschichte in Lebensbildern," edited by Aretz et al. (E), 254
- Zelizer, Viviana A. Rotman, "Morals and Markets: The Development of Life Insurance in the United States," 722
- Zemans, Frederick H., editor, "Perspectives on Legal Aid: An International Survey" (E), 250
- "Zemskie sobory russkogo gosudarstva v XVI-XVII vv.," by Cherepnin, 941
- Zetterberg, Seppo, "Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918: Ein Beitrag zu Deutschlands antirussischem Propagandakrieg unter den Fremdvölkern Russlands im Ersten Weltkrieg," 176
- Zguta, Russell (R), 682; "Russian Minstrels: A History of the Skomorokhi," 171
- Zimmer, Louis B. (R), 111
- Zimmermann, Mosche, "Hamburgischer Patriotismus und deutscher Nationalismus: Die Emanzipation der Juden in Hamburg, 1830-1865," 416
- Zimmermann, Rüdiger, "Der Leninbund: Linke Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik," 151
- Zondergeld, G. R., "De Friese Beweging in het tijdvak der Beide Wereldoorlogen," 651
- Zorach, Jonathan (R), 429
- "Zucht und Ordnung," by Münch, 143
- Zuck, Lowell H. (R), 87
- Zürer, Werner, "Persien zwischen England und Russland, 1918-1925: Grossmachteinflüsse und nationaler Wiederaufstieg am Beispiel des Iran," 951
- "Związek Związków Zawodowych, 1931-1939," by Ajzner, 940
- "Zwischen Unterdrückung und Befriedung," by Holtmann, 670

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: David H. Pinkney, *University of Washington*
President-elect: Bernard Bailyn, *Harvard University*
Executive Director: Mack Thompson
Assistant Executive Director: Charlotte A. Quinn
Controller: James H. Leatherwood

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership is about 17,500. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's annual meeting takes place on December 28-30. The meeting in 1980 will be held in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICE: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report*, the *AHA Newsletter*, a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, the bibliographic series *Writings on American History*, and *Recently Published Articles*. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program and the quarterly publication of the *Employment Information Bulletin*. It also maintains close relations with international specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES: The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *Troyer Steele Anderson Prize* awarded every ten years to the person whom the Council of the Association considers to have made the most outstanding contribution to the advancement of the purposes of the Association during the preceding ten years (next award, 1980). The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$1,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA

and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$2,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 1980). The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of \$500 awarded in the odd-numbered years. The *Leo Gershow Award* of \$1,000 awarded in the odd-numbered years for the most outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1981). The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award of \$500. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid which has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history (second triennial award, 1981). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1981). The *Watumull Prize* of \$1,000 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States. The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years, commencing 1980, for outstanding editorial achievement in the editing of historical sources.

DUES: For incomes over \$30,000, \$50.00 annually; \$20,000-29,999, \$42.00; \$15,000-19,999, \$35.00; \$10,000-14,999, \$25.00; below \$10,000 and joint memberships, \$15.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$25.00; life \$1,000. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, the program of the annual meeting, and the *Annual Report* on request and may subscribe to the *RPA* for \$7.00.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are three categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$39.00, foreign \$43.00; with *Recently Published Articles*, \$47.00, foreign \$52.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, United States, Canada, and Mexico \$49.00, foreign \$54.00, with *Recently Published Articles*, \$57.00, foreign \$63.00.

CLASS III: Subscription to *Recently Published Articles* only, \$10.00; overseas postage add \$2.00.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 80 (1975) can be ordered from the Membership Secretary of the Association at \$10.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 80 should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Corporation, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y. 10546.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted; a statement concerning reviewing policy will be found in the issue for December 1970 (75: 1889-91). A statement concerning the kinds of articles the *AHR* ordinarily will and will not publish appears in the issue for October 1970 (75: 1577-80). The entire text, including quotations and footnotes, of article manuscripts must be prepared in double-spaced type-script, with generous margins to allow for copyediting, and submitted in duplicate. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like; and the editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression. But such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, usage, and the laws of libel.

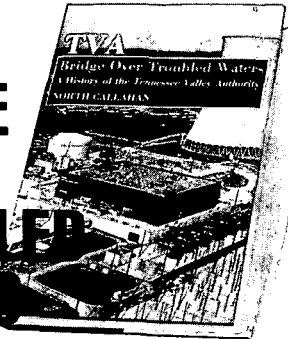
A timely, important topic of the great energy debate.

Here's what eminent authors & historians are saying about North Callahan's new book...

"(North Callahan) is uniquely qualified to write this history. In an informal, flowing, literary style, he has produced a much-needed, comprehensive history of a commanding topic—public ownership of energy—that deserves a wide audience" ...

*James A. Rawley, Chairman,
Dept. of History, University of
Nebraska—Lincoln*

TVA: BRIDGE OVER TROUBLED WATERS



"Here is compelling drama of inspired leadership and mass response, bitter conflict amidst

planned harmony, written by a native son, historian and skilled writer" ...

*Broadus Mitchell, Professor
Emeritus of Economics,
Rutgers University*

"Only a native East Tennessean could write so knowledgeably and with such feeling about the TVA. With obvious love of his Valley, North Callahan has combined prodigious research and scholarly objectivity" ...

*Albert H. Bowman, Professor of
History, University of Tennessee—
Chattanooga*

TVA: Bridge Over Troubled Waters, Hardcover, 500 pages \$17.95 (plus \$1.25 shipping and handling). Please ask for it at your local bookstore, or order from:



A. S. BARNES & Co., INC.
11175 FLINTKOTE AVENUE,
SUITE C1
SAN DIEGO, CA 92121

Pauline Maier

The Old Revolutionaries

**Political Lives in
the Age of Samuel Adams**

"Pauline Maier has added a new dimension to our understanding of the Revolution's aftermath. With no loss of human scale, she has helped restore complexity and subtlety to our national origins."

—Michael Kammen, Cornell University

"A thoughtful and sympathetic examination of the small group of radical politicians who led this nation to rebellion against England. Pauline Maier packs fascinating information into her capsule biographies, helping us to understand what made her subjects tick, how they functioned so effectively, and why they faded so rapidly, only to be displaced by the more durable Founding Fathers."

—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University

332 pages • \$15 • Knopf



Robert H. Bremner

The Public Good

**Philanthropy and Welfare
in the Civil War Era**

An interpretive history of private charity and public assistance in the United States from the 1850s to the 1880s—and the beginnings of conflict between traditional concepts of charity and the new "scientific" ideas of social welfare.

"Robert H. Bremner has written a fascinating volume, unearthing new materials, advancing new concepts and bold interpretations."

—Ray A. Billington, The Huntington Library

256 pages • \$15 • Knopf



First-Person America

Edited by Ann Banks


Men and women from all parts of the country recall their America, from the 1880s through the 1930s, in 80 life-history narratives collected by the Federal Writers' Project.

"A remarkable evocation of the lives and feelings of the plain people of America during the Depression years . . . A testament to how Americans really lived during these years."

—Frank Freidel, Harvard University

"The collection of Federal Writers' Project life-history narratives [is] probably the most important body of unexploited evidence for American social history in the first forty years of the 20th century. *First-Person America* will greatly enrich our knowledge of the behavior of ordinary Americans in a time of inordinate pressure and anxiety."

—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

320 pages • \$13.95 • Knopf 

John Talbott


The War Without a Name

France in Algeria, 1954-1962

A comprehensive study of the divisive struggle that dominated French public life for nearly a decade.

"A solid, significant review of the political machinations of an ambiguous war . . . Talbott crisply recounts the process by which men of good will—we would call them liberals—launched a course of action that came to involve torture, assassination, and all the other evils of counter-insurgency so familiar to Americans."

—*Kirkus Reviews*

329 pages • \$12.95 • Knopf 

Presenting the famous ...and the not-so-famous.

THE AMERICANS **A Brief History** **THIRD EDITION**

HENRY F. BEDFORD, Phillips
Exeter Academy
TREVOR COLBOURN, University
of Central Florida

This new Third Edition of a highly successful textbook provides concise yet comprehensive coverage of the major events in American history from the earliest New World explorations to the Carter administration. The authors emphasize the values that have always characterized the American people: the Puritan work ethic, thrift, the profit motive, emphasis on education, and the belief in political solutions to problems. These values are identified in a general introduction, and their persistence in American history is examined throughout the text. Paperbound. 559 pages

Also available in a two-part paperback format:

Part One: The Americans:
A Brief History to 1877,
Third Edition

Paperbound. 271 pages

Part Two: The Americans: A Brief
History since 1865, Third Edition
Paperbound. 318 pages

Test Booklet with Behavioral Objectives and Lecture and Discussion Topics.

THE PRIVATE SIDE **OF AMERICAN HISTORY** **Readings in Everyday Life** **SECOND EDITION**

Volume I: To 1877

Edited by GARY B. NASH, University of California, Los Angeles

Volume II: Since 1867

Edited by THOMAS R. FRAZIER, The Bernard M. Baruch College of The City University of New York

This two-volume collection of primary and secondary readings in American social history vividly portrays the lifestyles and living arrangements of various population groups—rich and poor, black and white, male and female, young and old. Volume I offers selections that provide a fresh perspective on such vital—but often neglected—topics as family life, childbirth, child rearing, and sex; work, education, and entertainment; religion; health, disease, and death. Volume II includes readings on the dilemma of the poor in the South in the late nineteenth century; the medical profession's treatment of female patients; labor strife in a New England mill town; Mexican-American workers; and the problems of the aged. Annotated bibliographies and headnotes for the selections place the subject matter in historical context.

Volume I: Paperbound. 447 pages

Volume II: Paperbound. 424 pages

HBJ

HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVICH, INC.

New York • San Diego • Chicago • San Francisco • Atlanta

History of Albania

From its Origins to the Present Day

STEFANAQ POLLO and

ARBEN PUTO

University of Tirana, Albania

Albania has long been ignored as a subject of academic interest. Before World War II it was the only country in Western Europe without a university, reflecting the lack of facilities inside the country for academic research. This study, compiled by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences under the direction of the authors, fulfills a need for a comprehensive and complete history of Albania written by Albanian scholars, drawing on the vast amount of research into every aspect of Albanian life, language and culture which has been undertaken since the war.

January, illustrated, about \$45.00

Tide of Empires

Decisive Naval Campaigns in the Rise of the West

Volume One: 1481-1654

PETER PADFIELD

This, the first of a four-volume history of naval warfare, deals with the period immediately before the discovery of the New World, when Venice and other Mediterranean city states were at the centre of the trading and commercial world, up to the Dutch conquest of a world-wide maritime empire and, finally, the emergence of England as a serious rival to the Dutch. Stripped of dogma, national bias and historical legend, this is a radically new view of naval history, written with all the gusto and attention to detail which has established Peter Padfield among the most readable and exciting of naval historians.

Illustrated, \$18.95

Routledge &

Kegan Paul

9 Park Street, Boston, Mass. 02108

The Ionians and Hellenism

A Study of the Cultural Achievement of the Early Greek Inhabitants of Asia Minor

C. J. EMLYN-JONES

The Open University

The author here presents a new assessment of the art, literature and philosophy of the Asia Minor Greeks — the Ionians — in the eighth to the sixth centuries BC. He gives considerable importance to the historical background which suggests that the qualities which characterise classical Greece largely have their origins in sixth-century Ionia.

Illustrated, \$30.00

The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Periods in Britain

DEREK A. ROE

University of Oxford

Based on material from widely scattered sources, this is the broadest up-to-date work on the subject, and includes an exceptionally full bibliography.

*February
about \$75.00*



**THE NORTHERN
CRUSADES**

*The Baltic and the Catholic
Frontier, 1100-1525*
Eric Christiansen

The first English-language survey of the struggle waged to extend and protect the Catholic faith in the Baltic area, a struggle less spectacular than the wars for the Holy Land but effecting deeper and more lasting changes. Maps, illustrations. \$25.00 cloth, \$10.95 paper

**THE MELTING POT
AND THE ALTAR**

*Marital Assimilation in
Early Twentieth-
Century Wisconsin*
Richard M. Bernard

A valuable piece of social history, this is the first multiple variable analysis of marital assimilation in a state whose immigration patterns are typical of the nation. Bernard uses census reports and marriage records to show that intermarriage between eleven immigrant groups and the native Wisconsin population was determined by certain demographic and social factors rather than by ethnic identification. \$17.50

**ECONOMY AND
SOCIETY IN BAROQUE
PORTUGAL,
1668-1703**

Carl A. Hanson

Hanson looks behind the facade of baroque calm in late 17th-century Portugal to examine the subtle yet dramatic shifts in the socio-economic foundations of the age. Illustrated. \$22.50

**IMPERIALISM IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

A.P. Thornton

"Rather than a history or a treatise, Thornton's book is an extended essay that reads like a conversation, pulling in facts from near and far to make a point, and telling brilliantly how the British and French came to have control over the destinies of other people and then lose it, and how the American imperialism of idealism and capitalism and that of the Russians then took over." —*Foreign Affairs*
\$10.95 paper, \$20.00 cloth

VIKING ART

Second Edition

**David M. Wilson and
Ole Klindt-Jensen**

The eminent French historian Marc Bloch called Viking art "evidence of a civilization singularly sure of itself." The authors of this book view that self-confidence as the key to understanding the original, vital designs with which the Vikings embellished everyday objects of wood, metal, and stone. Beautifully illustrated with 200 photographs and 69 line drawings. \$12.95 paper (also in cloth \$29.50)

Nordic series, Volume 6

University of Minnesota Press

Minneapolis MN 55414

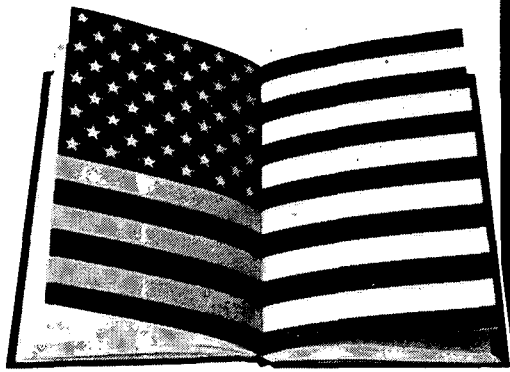
Manipulating American history

**“An eminently readable report...
about the manipulation of
the past for commercial and
ideological reasons.”** — *Choice*

“Everyone has heard about history being made. Frances Fitzgerald tells how, for the young, it gets remade to accord with the changing needs, fashions, and prejudices of the time. The writing is admirable and the research inspired.”

—JOHN KENNETH
GALBRAITH

“Should be prescribed
for parents and others



who care about the
quality of the schooling
their children receive.”

—*Chicago Sun-Times*

AMERICA REVISED

What history textbooks have taught our
children about their country, and how
and why those textbooks have changed
in different decades.

**by FRANCES
FITZGERALD**

\$3.95, now in paperback,
at your bookstore



**VINTAGE
BOOKS**

A division of Random House

Inside the Great House

Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society

By **DANIEL BLAKE SMITH**. This fascinating study explores the nature of family life and kinship in planter households of the Chesapeake during a pivotal era. Supplementing his text with excerpts from letters and diaries, Smith has written an engaging book that is similar to *The Children of Pride* in its contribution to the history of the family in America. \$17.50



The Revolutionary Histories

Contemporary Narratives of the American Revolution

By **LESTER H. COHEN**. The author analyzes historical narratives written by contemporaries of the American Revolution, and explores how they mark the emergence of a new American historical consciousness. "This is the most thoughtful and significant work yet done on the revolutionary historians."—Michael Kammen, Cornell University. \$15.00

Marriage and Family in Eighteenth-Century France

By **JAMES F. TRAER**. Examining the delicate interplay between Enlightenment ideas about man as a social being, the technical development of the law, and the political events that opened the way to important legal reforms, this book sheds light on the evolution of the institutions of marriage and the family in France. \$15.00

Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution

Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790

Edited by **STANLEY J. IDZERDA, ROBERT RHODES CROUT, LLOYD S. KRAMER, LINDA J. PIKE, and MARY ANN QUINN**. "A work of the highest art, a work part history, part biography, and part autobiography."—*The Yale Review*. "An indispensable research tool."—*Library Journal*

Volume I: December 7, 1776-March 30, 1778 \$22.50

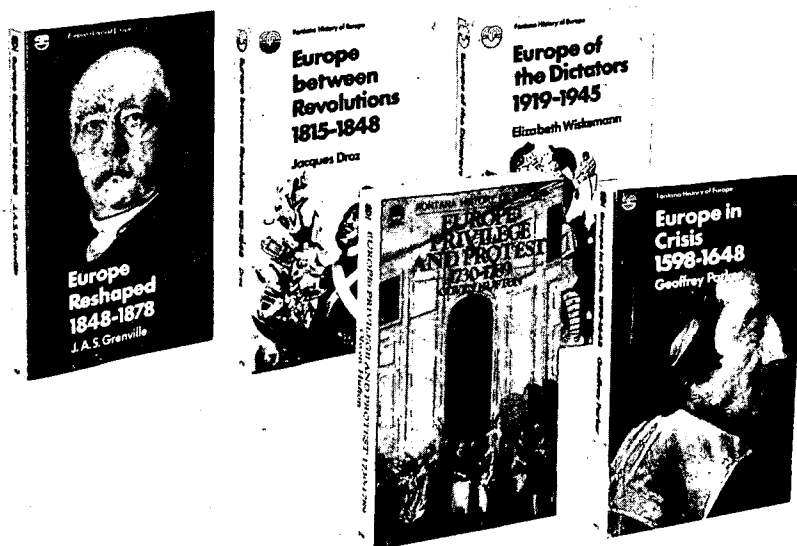
Volume II: April 10, 1778-March 20, 1780 \$22.50

Volume III: April 27, 1780-March 29, 1781 (Just published) \$30.00

The HISTORY OF EUROPE series
J.H. PLUMB, General Editor

**"One of the best multi-volume histories
of Europe in this generation
at any price and in any format."**

—The Observer



Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648

By GEOFFREY PARKER \$5.95 paper

Europe: Privilege and Protest, 1730-1789

By OLWEN H. HUFTON \$5.95 paper

Europe between Revolutions, 1815-1848

By JACQUES DROZ \$4.95 paper

Europe Reshaped, 1848-1878

By J.A.S. GRENVILLE \$5.95 paper

Europe of the Dictators, 1919-1945

By ELIZABETH WISKEMANN \$4.95 paper

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

P.O. Box 250, Ithaca, New York 14850

Prophets of Prosperity **America's First Political Economists**

BY PAUL K. CONKIN

The development of a major discipline through the theories of its ablest proponents. In-depth profiles of these pioneers trace the diversity of American economic thought from its European origins through a growing national awareness. Makes available, for the first time, the best of early American economic thought. **\$25.00**

Here the Country Lies **Nationalism and the Arts** **in Twentieth-Century America**

BY CHARLES C. ALEXANDER

Concentrating on the interplay between critical thought and creative activity during a period of increasing artistic independence, Alexander presents a comprehensive and enlightening survey of artists and critics during the first half of this century. Includes a sampling of the works and philosophies of Frank Lloyd Wright, Aaron Copland, Isadora Duncan, Eugene O'Neill, Edmund Wilson, and many others. **\$32.50**

Eurocommunism **between** **East and West**

EDITED BY VERNON V. ASPATURIAN,
JIRI VALENTA, AND DAVID P. BURKE

Elaborates the historical and ideological antecedents of Eurocommunism and explores its current implications for Eastern Europe, Asia, NATO, and the United States. Emphasizes the significance of Eurocommunism for the worldwide communist movement and for pluralistic, Western-style systems. **paper \$9.95 cloth \$32.50**

The **Soviet Union** **since Stalin**

EDITED BY STEPHEN F. COHEN,
ALEXANDER RABINOWITCH, AND
ROBERT SHARLET

Leading scholars bring solid new research to bear on the theme of continuity and change in Soviet politics, culture, and foreign policy. "The general quality of this compilation of essays is high. . . . an excellent supplementary text . . ." —*Library Journal*
paper \$7.95 cloth \$22.50

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Nicholas I **Emperor and Autocrat** **of All the Russias**

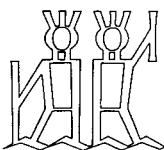
BY W. BRUCE LINCOLN

"... an important and scholarly (as well as readable) contribution to Russian history." —*Times Literary Supplement*
"... distinguished above all by its immense scholarship (fully reflected in the exhaustive notes and bibliography)." —*History*
paper \$7.95 cloth \$20.00

Available at bookstores or send \$1.50 postage and handling for first book, 25¢ for each additional book, to order from publisher.

INDIANA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Tenth and Morton Streets
Bloomington, Indiana 47405



Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade

The View from the Chesapeake, 1770–1776

Jacob M. Price

This pioneering work illuminates the dynamic growth of Britain's foreign trade in the 18th century through an analysis of the credit mechanisms that financed this expansion. Concentrating on the trade between Britain and the Chesapeake tobacco colonies of Virginia and Maryland, Price surveys the way in which shipping and working capital were mobilized in Britain to support developing overseas trade.

14 tables \$18.50

Insurrection or Loyalty

*The Breakdown of the
Spanish American Empire*

Jorge I. Domínguez

Why did some Spanish American colonies choose insurrection while others chose loyalty to Spain during the first quarter of the nineteenth century? Domínguez compares Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela and finds that the answer lies in the relationship between elites participating in politics and local governments responding to them and in the characteristics of relationships between ethnic groups prior to the wars of independence period.

Center for International Affairs

18 tables \$29.50

Decoding the Rabbis

A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah

Marc Saperstein

"Saperstein not only has discovered an author [Rabbi Isaac ben Yediah] but has fastidiously described what this author is about and how he fits into an important era and tradition. Hence it is not just one person who stands before us here but an age in its intellectual complexities."—*Judah Goldin*

Harvard Judaic Monographs, 3 \$17.50

Now available in paper—

The Arab World

Fourth Edition of The United States and the Arab World

William R. Polk

"An indispensable reference work for those interested in the Arabs and the American view of them . . . [Professor Polk's] perspective as a sympathetic student, detached policy analyst, and thorough scholar of a people who loom increasingly large on the world's stage makes him one of the key figures in the efforts to increase understanding between the United States and the Arab World."—*The Washington Post*

American Foreign Policy Library paper, \$8.95; cloth, \$22.50

Harvard University Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603

R. B. Wernham

An elegant synthesis by the foremost authority on the subject—*The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy* lucidly describes how Queen Elizabeth's responses to the questions and problems posed by her relations with neighboring and far more powerful countries grew into a coherent foreign policy. \$15.50 cloth, \$3.95 paper

Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1929-1976

Robert A. Pastor

Pastor offers the fullest published description of U.S. foreign economic policy over the last fifty years and a new theoretical explanation for the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. \$24.50

The Political Economy of Germany in the Twentieth Century

Karl Hardach

This book details the influence political change has exerted on the German economy. Rather than reporting the facts alone, Hardach explains the causes of specific political actions that affected the economy, and he analyzes the reasons for their success or failure. \$20.00

The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome

Claude Nicolet

Translated by P. S. Falla

"Far and away the best examination of the fabric of social and political life in the Roman Republic." —*Erich Gruen* "Attractive and readable." —*Journal of Roman Studies* \$50.00

Schooldays in Imperial Japan

A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite

Donald T. Roden

A fascinating narrative account of the establishment and evolution of "Higher Schools" from their founding in the late nineteenth century to their dissolution by the Occupation forces after World War II. \$20.00, illustrated

Reputations Live On

An Early Malay Autobiography

Amin Sweeney

In this translation and analysis of an early Malay autobiography written by one of the chief pioneers of the modern state of Johor, Sweeney provides a rare "insider's" view of a critical period of transition in modern Malay history. \$20.00, illustrated

An American Transplant

The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College

Mary Brown Bullock

Bullock discusses the origin and appropriateness of the Peking Union Medical College model, the personal role of the Rockefeller family in PUMC affairs, the Sinification of the faculty, and the careers of PUMC graduates in China to the present day. \$17.50, illustrated

University of California Press

Berkeley 94720

A new edition of a highly praised book . . .

America Since 1945 *Third Edition*

edited by **ROBERT D. MARCUS**, *Rollins College*, and
DAVID BURNER, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*

This wide ranging collection covers the years since World War II, giving balanced coverage of social, economic, political, and diplomatic history. Each section opens with an introduction that sets the period in perspective and highlights the major points, and each selection is accompanied by a headnote.

Acclaim for the Second Edition

"This is the best collection of articles on Cold War America I've seen. A provocative combination of primary and secondary material."

— *William W. Neer, Kansas State University*

"The editors continue their high standards of excellence and have made a judicious choice of recent major sources."

— *Thomas M. Campbell, Florida State University*

February 1981

about 350 pages

paperbound

Contents

Part One 1945-1952

Russia and the Cold War, from *America and Russia in a Changing World*

Averell Harriman

The Cold War: A Revisionist View, from *American Foreign Policy and the Cold War*

Barton J. Bernstein

Truman and Foreign Policy: The Korean War, from *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966*

Walter La Feber

Harry Truman and the Fair Deal, from *The Vital Center, The Fair Deal, and Liberalism*

Alonzo L. Hamby

Part Two 1952-1959

Nixon Agonistes: The Checkers Speech, from *Nixon Agonistes*

Garry Wills

The Underestimation of Dwight D. Eisenhower

Murray Kempton

Eisenhower Revisited—A Political Genius? A Brilliant Man?

Richard H. Rovere

The Army-McCarthy Hearings

The Affluent Society, from *The Affluent Society*

John Kenneth Galbraith

Pilgrimage to Nonviolence, from *Strength to Love*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Texture of Poverty, from *The Other America*

Michael Harrington

Part Three The 1960's

The Feminine Mystique, from *The Feminine Mystique*

Betty Friedan

The Kennedy Public

David Burner and Thomas West

The John F. Kennedy Inaugural Address

The Port Huron Statement, Students for a

Democratic Society

*The Greensboro Sit-Ins

William Chafe

The Civil Rights Movement, from *A Giant's Strength*

Robert D. Marcus

On Revolution, Speech

Malcolm X

The Great Society, Speech

Lyndon B. Johnson

The Welfare Explosion, from *Regulating the Poor*

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

Part Four The 1970's

*Report from Vietnam from *Dispatches*

Michael Herr

The Multinational Corporations, from *Global Reach*

Richard J. Barnett and Ronald E. Muller

*Personal Politics

Sara Evans

Watergate, from *Time of Illusion*

Jonathan Schell

*The Environment from *The Closing Circle*

Barry Commoner

*Cambodia and Kent State, Two Memoirs

Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger

Part Five Epilogue

*The Carter Presidency

Richard Neustadt

*The Zero-Sum Society

Lester Thurow

Suggested Further Readings

*New to this edition.

To request a complimentary examination copy for adoption consideration, please write (specifying course, present text, and approximate enrollment) to:

St. Martin's Press P.O. Box 5352 ■ New York, N.Y. 10163

Historical landmarks

The Fateful Choice

Japan's Advance into Southeast Asia, 1939-1941

JAMES W. MORLEY, EDITOR. "The second of five projected volumes in a series of translations of Japanese studies, based primarily on Japanese sources, of Japan's entrance into World War II... illustrating the considerations that went into Japan's decision to pursue a southern, rather than a northern, direction in the Pacific... Highly recommended."—*Library Journal* 368 pages, \$25.00

The Economy of Colonial America

EDWIN J. PERKINS. The single best introduction to the subject for both the student and the professional scholar, *The Economy of Colonial America* offers authoritative coverage of the following subjects: population and economic expansion; the six main occupational groups (family farmers, slaves, indentured servants, artisans, great planters, and merchants); domestic and imperial taxes; the colonial monetary system; living standards of the typical family, plus per capita income growth. 224 pages, \$17.50 cloth, \$6.00 paper

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan

HAFEEZ MALIK. This original study provides the biographical and historical background of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the influential Muslim journalist who sought to revitalize India's Muslim community in the 19th century by introducing Western ideas. Malik places Sir Sayyid in the larger framework of the Islamic world and highlights the vital movements of modernism, fundamentalism, and secularism. 352 pages, \$25.00

Humanity in Warfare

GEOFFREY BEST. Throughout history there have been attempts to limit, humanize, and civilize war. An original modern history of this paradoxical notion, *Humanity in Warfare* traces the development of the international laws and conventions covering war, peace, and neutrality from the eighteenth century to the present. 400 pages, \$25.00

from Columbia

Now in paperback:

Poland in the Twentieth Century

M.K. DZIEWANOWSKI. "An eminently readable and excellent guide to Polish history."
—*The Historian* 309 pages, \$7.50

A Just Measure of Pain

The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF. "An exciting and controversial reinterpretation of an important stage in penal evolution. It cannot fail to make an impact."—Sir Leon Radzinowicz
A Morningside Book 272 pages, \$6.50

A History of Brazil

Second Edition

F. BRADFORD BURNS. "A thoroughly revised and updated edition of the book generally acclaimed as the best single volume history of Brazil—"destined to become a standard item for all reading lists on Brazil."—*Library Journal* 592 pages, \$10.00

Russia's Road to the Cold War

Diplomacy, Strategy, and the Politics of Communism, 1941-1945

VOJTECH MASTNY. "It will probably become the authoritative volume on the role of Soviet and Eastern European foreign policies in the origins of the Cold War."—Walter LaFeber, *Cornell University* 384 pages, \$9.00

The Creation of Tomorrow

Fifty Years of Magazine Science Fiction

PAUL A. CARTER. "Delightful," says Isaac Asimov of this unparalleled look at the rising status of the genre. "Its content is wide-ranging, its presentation thorough, its understanding impeccable." 330 pages, \$5.95

To order send check or money order to Dept. JN at the address below, including \$1.30 per order for postage and handling.



Columbia
University Press

136 South Broadway Irvington, New York 10533

Aleksandra Kollontai

Socialism, Feminism, and the Bolshevik Revolution

Beatrice Farnsworth. As revolutionist, opposition leader, highest-ranking woman member of the fledgling Soviet regime, and finally diplomat in virtual exile, Aleksandra Kollontai worked tirelessly to create a humane form of communism that would be responsive to the special needs of women. Her successes and failures illuminate the often harsh realities of communist political life from prerevolutionary years through the Stalinist era, showing how the Party treated the women in its ranks and how it dealt with the "Woman Question." This study explores Kollontai's many important roles, and analyzes her personal and political writings and speeches to provide what Robert V. Daniels describes as "clearly the definitive work on this important and intriguing figure." Illus. \$28.50

A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico

Santa Lucía, 1576-1767

Herman W. Konrad. Haciendas were the major link between rural and urban life in colonial Mexico, shaping the fortunes of people in all social classes. This two-hundred year history details the nature and operation of one of the largest and most prosperous: the Jesuit hacienda of Santa Lucía. The author describes the founding of the estate, examines its inner workings and management, surveys the character of life on the hacienda, and offers new insights into the institution of the hacienda and colonial society. \$28.50

IN PAPERBACK

Women

From the Greeks to the French Revolution

Edited by Susan Groag Bell. Designed to integrate the history of women into traditional academic courses and particularly into surveys of Western civilization and culture, this is an anthology of 31 readings dealing with the position of women in Western culture from the classical Greek age to the end of the eighteenth century. For this reissue, the editor has added a new section of Suggested Further Reading. "Excellent selections. . . . A welcome addition to the literature on women's position in history."—*Library Journal*. 1973. Cloth, \$17.50; paper, \$5.95



Stanford University Press

ANNOUNCING

The Franklin Watts
College Division

(Formerly New Viewpoints)

January
1981**American Economic History***From Abundance to Constraint*

By JOHN O'SULLIVAN, Florida Atlantic Univ. and EDWARD F. KEUCHEL, Florida State Univ. A thoughtful analysis of the American economy from colonial times to the present. The emphasis is on recent developments and the effects of political and social change on economic situations and policies. Traces issues such as unemployment and energy problems throughout American history. Illustrated. \$15.00 Hardcover. 531-05416-0. \$8.95 Paper. 531-05630-9

New
1980**Hooded Americanism***The History of the Ku Klux Klan 2nd Ed.*

By DAVID M. CHALMERS, Univ. of Florida. Professor Chalmers' history follows the Klan through every state in the Union from the Civil War to the present. Chalmers explores the social and psychological forces behind the Klan, analyzes its dogmas, identifies its friends in seats of power, and explains how the Klan "revival" exists today. \$13.95 Hardcover. 531-09931-8. \$7.95 Paper. 531-05632-5

Recent
1979**History A Workbook of Skill Development**

By CONAL FURAY and MICHAEL J. SALEVOURIS, Webster College, St. Louis. Twelve chapters describing major elements of the discipline of history are each followed by exercises to help students master essential concepts and skills. An instructor's manual with an answer key accompanies the workbook. \$6.95 Paper. 531-05620-1

Recent
1979**Womanhood in America***From Colonial Times to the Present 2nd Ed.*

By MARY P. RYAN, SUNY, Binghamton. This updated edition of the definitive work in women's studies adds new details to the picture of womanhood through three centuries of American history. Drawing upon social and political events, demographic data, and popular culture, the author organizes her narrative around the themes of family, work, and the feminist struggle. \$6.95 Paper. 531-05624-4

A Classic
1973**The Nazi Seizure of Power***The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-35*

By WILLIAM SHERIDAN ALLEN, SUNY, Buffalo. \$5.95 Paper. 531-06439-5

Also from
Franklin
Watts**Fontana Economic History of
Europe**

9 volumes in paperback

Fontana Kings of England

6 volumes in paperback

We welcome manuscripts or project ideas for basic history courses. Please contact Will Davison, Executive Editor, Dept. HF



A CROLIER COMPANY

College Division, Franklin Watts

730 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019

The Brown Symposium

MACROHISTORY:

**Cosmopolitanism on
a global scale**

14, 15, 16

JANUARY, 1981

SPEAKERS:

William H. McNeill, historian,
University of Chicago & currently
Eastman Professor, Oxford University

Kenneth E. Boulding, economist,
director, Institute of Behavioral
Science, University of Colorado

Garrett Hardin, ecologist,
chief executive officer, The Environ-
mental Fund, & professor, University
of California, Santa Barbara

Southwestern University is pleased to offer The Brown Symposium at no cost to the participants. However, advance registration is requested. The Brown Symposium is presented annually by Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, and is funded through an endowment established by The Brown Foundation, Inc., of Houston. For more information on any aspect of The Brown Symposium, please contact:

Dr. Weldon S. Crowley
The Brown Symposium
Post Office Box 80
Southwestern University
Georgetown, Texas 78626
512/863-6511, ext. 346 or 222

NOW IN A BRAZILLER PAPERBACK

*"In the last twenty years
Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has been
one of the most—if not the most—original,
versatile and imaginative historians in the world."*

Laurence Stone, THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

CARNIVAL IN ROMANS

BY

EMMANUEL
LEROY
LADURIE

Selected as a notable book by the American Library Association

A spectacular and stirring account of two dramatic and bloody weeks in the sixteenth-century town of Romans in Southern France. On the night of February 15, 1580, the traditional carnival in Romans ended in a massacre. Professor Ladurie, author of the highly acclaimed *MON-TAILLOU*, has woven a brilliant tapestry around these crucial events in Romans', and France's, history.

400 pages, 2 maps, ISBN 0-8076-0991-9 (paper) \$8.95

George Braziller, Inc.

One Park Avenue, New York 10016

AN

OUTLINE

HISTORY OF EUROPE



A series of 16mm films or videocassettes which portray a concise account of the development of Western civilization.

THE GREEKS

28½min sale \$425 rental \$30.00

TOWARDS A MODERN EUROPE

30min sale \$425 rental \$30.00

THE ROMANS

23½min sale \$375 rental \$30.00

AN AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

26min sale \$395 rental \$30.00

THE MIDDLE AGES

30½min sale \$425 rental \$30.00

THE MYTH OF NATIONALISM

30min sale \$425 rental \$30.00

The films use animated maps, interesting relics, works of art and live photography to present an over-view of each period.

Films are available for committee preview for purchase evaluation without cost except return postage and insurance.

To rent, contact your usual rental source, or order from:

COLLEGE FILM CENTER, 332 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60604

To preview and to purchase, contact:

INTERNATIONAL FILM BUREAU INC.

332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312) 427-4545

Perry et al.

Western Civilization: A Concise History

Marvin Perry, Baruch College, City University of New York

Myrna Chase, Baruch College

James R. Jacob, John Jay College of Criminal Justice,
City University of New York

Margaret Jacob, Baruch College

Theodore Von Laue, Clark University

Complete Paperback Edition (about 864 pages)

Two-Volume Paperback Edition

Volume I: To 1789 (about 464 pages)

Volume II: From the 1600s (about 512 pages)

Instructor's Manual / Early 1981

Concise... Chronological... Conceptually Coherent.

Perry and his co-authors provide a coherent, brief text. Chronologically organized, the text focuses on themes that stress continuity and change in the Western heritage.

With judicious balance of generalization and supporting facts, the text shows the relationship of political, social, cultural, and economic history to the intellectual climate. By highlighting the characteristics of major periods and studying the development of institutions, the authors trace the evolution of Western culture in a clear and memorable way.

Ample aids to motivate learning:

- Numerous illustrations — 60 maps, 150 photographs, plus three two-color art essays
- Engrossing, easy-to-read writing style
- 40 time charts
- Primary quotes incorporated throughout
- Chapter review questions
- Annotated suggested readings

For adoption consideration, request an examination copy from your regional Houghton Mifflin office.



Houghton Mifflin

Dallas, TX 75234 / Geneva, IL 60134 / Hopewell, NJ 08525
Palo Alto, CA 94304 / Boston, MA 02107

CAMBRIDGE

Soviet Dissent in Historical Perspective

Marshall S. Shatz

Using autobiographical and literary sources, Shatz traces the relations between the Russian state and the educated classes from the Czarist period to the present. His analysis explores the reasons why dissidents became nonconformists or rebels and shows how pre-Stalinist patterns are repeating themselves in the post-Stalinist period.

\$19.95

The Diplomacy of Ideas

U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950

Frank A. Ninkovich

Ninkovich provides a narrative history of the use of cultural relations in U.S. foreign policy and an analysis of the link between foreign policy attitudes and American institutional structures. His book shows how the U.S. made the transition from relative diplomatic passivity in the 1930's to global activism by 1950.

\$24.95

Rouen During the Wars of Religion

Philip Benedict

In this history of France's largest city over the course of the civil wars, Professor Benedict explores the rise and decline of Protestantism, the sociology of the faith, and the causes and chronology of the popular violence that began to disturb Rouen after 1560.

Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History

\$39.50

Feminists and Bureaucrats

A Study of the Development of Girls' Education in the Nineteenth Century

Sheila Fletcher

\$29.50

The Diplomas of King Aethelred 'the Unready,' 978-1016

A Study of Their Use as Historical Evidence

Simon Keynes

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 13

\$42.50

Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society

The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540

Christopher Dyer

Past and Present Publications

\$49.50

Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1291-1313

A Study in Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty

J. H. Denton

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 14

\$42.50

Curia and Cortes in Leon and Castile, 1071-1295

Evelyn S. Proctor

Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies

\$42.50

Corpus of Arabic Sources Relating to West Africa

Nehemia Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, Editors

\$67.50

The First Crusade

Sir Steven Runciman

A beautifully illustrated account of one of the most colorful and exciting adventures in all history. Condensed from Runciman's classic, *History of the Crusades*, the superb narrative is complemented by over 100 illustrations, many in full color. **\$19.95**

Literacy and Social Order

David Cressy

Using a combination of humanist and quantitative methods, Dr. Cressy provides a detailed profile of literacy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. His analysis shows that literacy was a sensitive marker of social status and was responsive to changes in the economic, political, and religious history of the Tudor and Stuart periods. **\$29.50**

Never at Rest

A Biography of Isaac Newton

Richard S. Westfall

Drawn from many sources and recent research, Westfall's richly detailed biography presents a fully rounded picture of Newton—the man, the scientist, the philosopher, the theologian, and the public figure. Illustrated with 52 diagrams and 49 plates showing all of the known portraits of Isaac Newton. **\$49.50**

Of Prelates and Princes

A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate

Felicity Heal

\$39.50

The Hidden Hippopotamus

Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia

Gwyn Prins

African Studies Series 28

\$45.00

Iran Under the Safavids

Robert Savory

\$34.50

Life, Death and Marriage in a Medieval Parish

Zvi Razi

Past and Present Publications

\$27.50

The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877–1895

The Politics of Partition Reappraised

D. M. Schreuder

Cambridge Commonwealth Series

\$29.50

Odious Commerce

Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade

David Murray

Cambridge Latin American Studies 37

\$44.50

Cambridge University Press

32 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

New from Syracuse

AMERICAN INDIAN ENVIRONMENTS

Ecological Issues in Native American History

Edited by Christopher T. Vecsey and Robert W. Venables

Reflecting a variety of disciplines, approaches, and viewpoints, this timely collection of ten essays by both Indians and non-Indians covers a wide range of historical periods, areas, and aspects of native Americans and their relationship with the natural world. An important work for understanding the Indian's attitude toward their world and their continued struggles with non-Indians over it. Contributors include Kai T. Erickson, Peter MacDonald, Calvin Martin, Oren Lyons, Wilbur R. Jacobs, William T. Hagan, Laurence M. Hauptman, Christopher T. Vecsey, and Robert W. Venables.

January
296 pages, illus.

Cloth \$18.00
Paper \$ 9.95

POPULAR FRENCH ROMANTICISM

Authors, Readers, and Books in the 19th Century

James Smith Allen

This impressive work is the first attempt to discover the place romantic ideas had in the lives of ordinary men and women in 19th-century France. Allen reveals how the rise of a new popular literature coincided with remarkable developments in the production, distribution, and consumption of books. The result is a remarkable picture of the exchange between elite and popular culture, the interaction between ideas and their material reality, and the relationship between the literature and the history of France in the romantic period.

December
320 pages, illus.

\$20.00



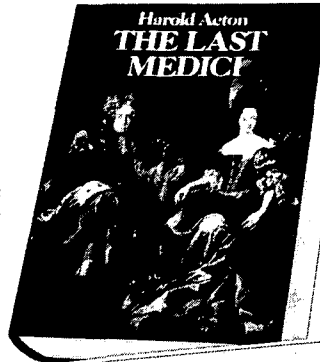
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Dept. HA
1011 East Water Street
Syracuse, New York 13210

*Authoritatively written,
Handsomely illustrated...*

The Last Medici

Revised and Newly Illustrated

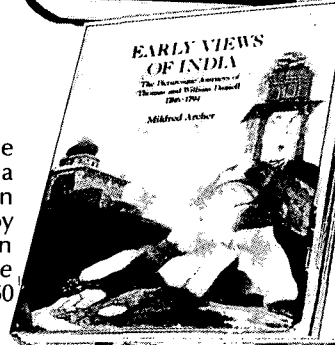
By HAROLD ACTON. This is a newly illustrated edition of the classic which first appeared in 1932 and has been out of print for some years. For the present edition Sir Harold has contributed a new preface and supervised the selection of more than 125 new illustrations. *116 illustrations, 34 in color.* \$22.50



Early Views of India

The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1788-1793

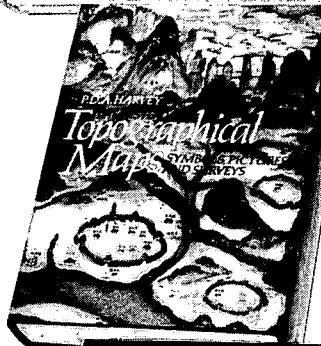
By MILDRED ARCHER. "Their journey, remarkable for the time, through the south and west of India, is recorded in a series of equally remarkable aquatints, first published in the early 19th century.... A record of a vanished world by two artists who influenced the style of the late Georgian period in England."—*Publishers Weekly*. *210 monochrome illustrations, 32 color plates.* \$37.50



The History of Topographical Maps

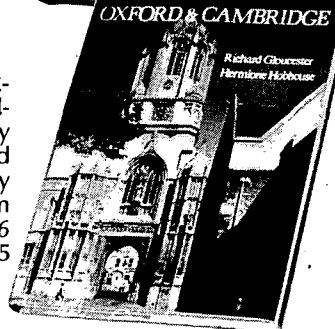
Symbols, Pictures and Surveys

By P.D.A. HARVEY. Three times in recorded history—in Babylonia, in the late Roman Empire, and in Chin dynasty China—maps set within accurately measured frameworks were invented, and each time the skill was lost before finally emerging in Renaissance Europe. This thoroughly illustrated story of the development of the topographical map is an extraordinary achievement in cultural and scientific history. *116 illustrations, 10 in color.* \$29.95



Oxford and Cambridge

Photographs by RICHARD GLOUCESTER and text by HERMIONE HOBHOUSE. As Oxford and Cambridge developed into world-famous centers of learning, they emerged as architectural monuments to the power and prestige of the university in England. This is a thoroughly illustrated history of the two great university towns from their inception in the 13th century up to the present. *236 illustrations, 36 in color.* \$15.95



At fine bookstores or from



Thames and Hudson Inc.

500 Fifth Avenue, New York 10110 • Distributed by W.W. NORTON & Co.

New from Pittsburgh

BOSS RULE IN THE GILDED AGE:

\$24.95

MATT QUAY OF PENNSYLVANIA

James A. Kehl

Matt Quay was called "the ablest politician this country ever produced." He served Pennsylvania as U.S. senator from 1887 to 1904, but he was also an old-style party boss whose organizational skills put a president in office. Kehl's biography fills a major gap in the late 19th-century literature: our knowledge of both Pennsylvania and the national scene is enriched.

TIMOTHY PICKERING AND THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

\$19.95

Gerard H. Clarfield

For more than half a century, from about 1765 on, Pickering was deeply involved in the political, military, and diplomatic affairs of the new American nation. Clarfield presents a forceful, consistent, critical interpretation of this dour New England Federalist.

CLIFFORD W. BEERS:

\$19.95

ADVOCATE FOR THE INSANE

Norman Dain

Clifford Beers (1876-1943), mental patient turned crusader, was one of the foremost activists in the mental health area. Dain's biography reveals the process whereby one mental health movement was formed, and depicts the relationship between the movement and its founder.

THE PAPERS OF ROBERT MORRIS, 1781-1784

\$27.50s

VOLUME 5: APRIL 16—JULY 20, 1782

E. James Ferguson and John Catanzariti, Eds.

In the period covered by Volume 5, Britain had given up military conquest but continued to blockade the coast, disrupting American foreign trade. The illicit trade through British-held New York City was so massive in scale that all the efforts of George Washington and the American army could not stop it.

HOMESTEAD:

\$14.95 cloth,

THE HOUSEHOLDS OF A MILL TOWN

\$6.95 paper

Margaret Byington

"Nothing could be more welcomed to the teacher of American social history of almost any variety than an inexpensive edition of this classic, which splendidly interweaves the methodological rigor of the family budget analysis with acute and deeply felt insights into the family life of overworked steelworkers."—John Modell, University of Minnesota

PATCH/WORK VOICES:

\$4.95 paper

THE CULTURE AND LORE OF A MINING PEOPLE

Dennis F Brestensky, Evelyn A. Hovanec, and Albert N. Skomra

A collection of reminiscences, tall tales, and descriptions—all heard in the voices of old-time miners and their families.

("s" following price denotes short discount)



**University of Pittsburgh Press
Pittsburgh, PA 15260**



WAR AND RURAL LIFE IN THE EARLY MODERN LOW COUNTRIES

MYRON P. GUTMANN

In addition to famine and disease, war had a considerable impact on rural society in early modern Europe. Myron Gutmann studies this impact through a systematic analysis of military, economic, and demographic variables as they affected the Basse-Meuse area in Eastern Belgium and the Netherlands between 1620 and 1750. He also addresses the broader questions of how the war's impact changed during this time and why some regions suffered less than others from comparable military action. Illus. \$22.50

BUSINESSMEN AND POLITICS IN THE RHINELAND, 1789-1834

JEFFRY M. DIEFENDORF

In an attempt to understand the political history of the German middle class in the nineteenth century, Jeffry Diefendorf studies in detail the political, social, and economic behavior of three business communities on the Left Bank of the Rhine between 1789 and 1834. Focusing on the major trading and manufacturing centers of Cologne, Crefeld, and Aachen, he shows how the practical experience of Rhenish businessmen, rather than any intellectual movement, led to a style of politics that effectively promoted their business interests, integrated the business community with France and later with Prussia, and thereby helped shape the character of early German liberalism. \$22.50

**PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Princeton, New Jersey 08540



American History from Johns Hopkins

Young Frederick Douglass

The Maryland Years

Dickson J. Preston

foreword by James A. Michener

"Controversial, arrogant, insistent in debate, and adroit at using leverage. Indeed, he reminds me . . . of a nineteenth-century Andrew Young."—*James A. Michener*

Dickson J. Preston has taken the first in-depth look at the youth and early manhood of the "angry young giant" who rose from slavery to become the undisputed spokesman for nineteenth-century black Americans.

\$15.00

now in paperback

New Directions in American Intellectual History

edited by John Higham and Paul K. Conkin

Essays by Sacvan Bercovitch, Dorothy Ross, Warren I. Susman, and other intellectual historians focus on the relationships between intellectual history and other disciplines, the influence of ideas upon human behavior, and reinterpretations of such classics as Perry Miller's "Errand Into the Wilderness."

\$17.50 hardcover, \$4.95 paperback.

Revivalism and Social Reform

American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War

Timothy L. Smith

"A gold mine for students of history, sociology, and religion."—*Library Journal*

This classic examination of the popular religious literature of the mid-1800s sheds new light on the nature and focus of American Protestantism during that time. In his afterword to this new edition, Timothy Smith addresses the controversies resulting from the book's exploration of the ties between evangelical Protestantism and social reform movements, as well as from its emphasis on ordinary men rather than elite groups.

\$5.95 paperback

Johns Hopkins

The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland 21218

European History from Johns Hopkins

Merchants, Landlords, Magistrates

The Depont Family in Eighteenth-Century France

Robert Forster

Building on a series of father-to-son letters, Robert Forster vividly recreates the story of an upwardly mobile French family over four generations. This volume not only discusses the workings of national institutions, high finance, and *salon* society, but also depicts how the individuals in one family coped with the practical and psychological demands of a society hurtling toward revolution. **\$20.00**

The Building of Renaissance Florence

An Economic and Social History

Richard A. Goldthwaite

Examining the microcosm of a single industry—construction—Richard Goldthwaite develops a comprehensive social and economic history of fifteenth-century Florence. *The Building of Renaissance Florence* demonstrates how industry, art, and technology propelled that city to the cultural forefront of the Italian Renaissance. **\$27.50**

Reckoning With the Beast

Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind

James Turner

Reckoning With the Beast focuses on the tremendous surge of concern for the humane treatment of animals that arose during the late Victorian age. James Turner traces the movement's roots in the changing science and technology of the time, explores its broad social implications, and demonstrates its enduring effect on the Anglo-American mentality. Along the way, he offers new insights into Victorian attitudes toward medicine, sex, women, poverty, and pain, and recalls the origins of modern ecological concerns. **\$14.00**

Johns Hopkins

The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland 21218

“The finest American history survey textbook on the market today”* ... is now in a new Fifth Edition

THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE A History of the United States

Fifth Edition

JOHN M. BLUM, Yale University

EDMUND S. MORGAN, Yale University

WILLIE LEE ROSE, The Johns Hopkins University

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., The City University of New York

KENNETH M. STAMPP, University of California, Berkeley

C. VANN WOODWARD, Yale University

An authoritative and up-to-date survey of the full course of American history that focuses on the pattern of American public policy and the culture that produces it... a well-integrated treatment of social, economic, and intellectual developments, as well as of domestic and international politics.

Thoroughly revised for this Fifth Edition, The National Experience now includes:

- ☐ A thoroughly revised Chapter 10 (“An Era of Reform”), with more on the changing role of women in the family and in child-rearing; a possible link between this change and the reform movement is suggested
- ☐ In Chapter 12 (“America at Mid-Century”), a revised section on European trade, and a fuller discussion of the causes of accelerated economic growth during the 1840s and 50s
- ☐ Chapter 15 (“The Aftermath of War”) reorganized in response to suggestions by reviewers, so that the chapter now begins with the South and Reconstruction
- ☐ Discussion of the Middle East and the creation of Israel, and new material on the non-recognition of China — in Chapter 30 (“The Cold War”)
- ☐ In Chapter 34 (“Into the Third Century”), full treatment of foreign

and domestic policy under the Carter Administration, with emphasis on the changing society — demographics, the women's movement, and minority groups

976 pages (probable)

Publication: January 1981

Also available in a two-part paperbound format:

THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE A History of the United States To 1877

496 pages (probable)

THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE A History of the United States Since 1865

592 pages (probable)

Accompanied by:

LEARNING HISTORY A Student's Guide to The National Experience, Fifth Edition

JUDITH M. WALTER, New York Community College of The City University of New York

Volume I: Paperbound. 160 pages (probable)

Volume II: Paperbound. 192 pages (probable)

*comment on the Fourth Edition



HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVIICH, INC.

New York • San Diego • Chicago • San Francisco • Atlanta

A History of Retirement

The Meaning and Function of an American Institution, 1885-1978

William Graebner

This is the first history of retirement in America that investigates fully the complex economic, political, and social pressures behind retirement as an institution. Based on primary sources, it explores in detail such central issues as the relationship of retirement to unemployment, changes in the conception of retirement during the twentieth century, and the development of social security.

"A pathbreaking book, the first detailed historical survey of its subject, to the best of my knowledge, to be undertaken by any scholar in any field."

—David Hackett Fischer \$22.50

The Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1799-1820

From Philadelphia to New Orleans

edited by Edward C. Carter II,
John C. Van Horne,
and Lee W. Formwalt

Following *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795-1798* (Yale, 1977), this volume completes the publication of all the journals, or memorandum books, of the father of the American architectural profession. 77 black-and-white illus. + 16 colorplates \$65.00

Horace Walpole's Miscellaneous Correspondence

The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes 40-42

edited by W. S. Lewis and John Riely,
with the assistance of Edwine M. Martz
and Ruth K. McClure

This book marks the triumphant conclusion to the monumental Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, begun in 1937. 3-vol. set illus. \$120.00

A Palace for a King

The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV

Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott

The seventeenth century was the century of the decline of Spain. It was also the Golden Age of Spanish art. The paradox of cultural vitality in an age of economic and political decline has long fascinated historians of European civilization. In this book a historian and an art historian join forces in an unusual and original attempt to examine the relationship of art and politics at a critical moment in European history. 155 illus. \$29.95



The Public Career of Sir Thomas More

J. A. Guy

An original and comprehensive account of Sir Thomas More's public career from its beginnings in the city of London to his resignation as Henry VIII's most famous lord chancellor in 1532. Based on documents previously untouched since More's execution, Guy's portrait of More as a successful Tudor public servant adds a new dimension to our understanding of the mind and career of this "man for all seasons." \$22.50

Yale

Yale University Press
New Haven and London

Power and Protest in American Life

Alec Barbrook,
University of Kent,
and Christine Bolt,
University of Kent

In an important contribution to the history of American political culture, Alec Barbrook and Christine Bolt assess the style and political impact of the new pressure groups—including those acting for women, ethnic minorities and the "public interest"—that have emerged in the United States since World War II. Arguing that the importance of the non-economic interests these groups represent is underrated, the authors trace the historical evolution of these new groups within the context of the intellectual traditions and social structures that have shaped dissent in America from colonial times. The authors demonstrate that even the most recent developments are outgrowths of deep-seated tendencies that have long been characteristic of the American political and social scene.

1980 ISBN 0-312-63369-6 about 384 pp., cloth \$25.00

Germany Since 1918

Second Edition

David Childs,
University of Nottingham

The outstanding merit of David Childs' book is that it provides a balanced study of the last sixty years of German history. The Nazism of the Third Reich does not dominate the book, nor is it dismissed as an unfortunate aberration that can be easily forgotten. In his discussion of the postwar era, Childs examines the development of both East and West Germany from a critical yet sympathetic standpoint. Throughout the study, the author explores the underlying strengths and weaknesses of the German people and their forms of government, and analyzes the social and cultural movements that have been influential in this period.

1980 ISBN 0-312-32628-9 about 220 pp., cloth \$20.00

Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780–c. 1880

Hugh Cunningham,
University of Kent

A comprehensive history of leisure in the first century of industrialization, this book examines what different classes of society understood by leisure and how they enjoyed it. Arguing that popular culture has had a strong influence on the evolution of institutionalized leisure, Hugh Cunningham demonstrates that the form and content of leisure in modern capitalist society owe much to the vigorous and innovative popular leisure of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

1980 ISBN 0-312-47894-1 222 pp., cloth \$25.00

State and Society in Europe, 1550–1650

Victor Kiernan,
University of Edinburgh

In a unique account of the evolution of early modern Europe, Victor Kiernan examines and compares the rise of state power in each of the major European regions—from Spain, the strongest country at the beginning of this era, to the Ottoman empire, whose experience was significantly different from that of the Western nations. Writing from a Marxist perspective, Kiernan relates the development of state power primarily to forces of economic and social change. At the same time he recognizes the importance of religious conflict and explores other contributory factors, among them the impact of family structures and inheritance customs, the growth of nationalism, and intra-state warfare.

1980 ISBN 0-312-75607-0 about 304 pp., maps, cloth \$22.50

Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities

**Historical Responses
to Newcomers
in British Society, 1870–1914**
edited by Kenneth Lunn

Based on papers delivered at the 1978 conference of the Society for the Study of Labour History, this volume explores the complicated historical interaction between hosts, immigrants and minorities in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Questioning conventional assumptions about host attitudes towards immigrant labor and the responses of established minorities to new immigrant groups, the contributors examine the factors involved in the transmission of racial stereotypes and trace the diverse experiences of various immigrant groups in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1980 ISBN 0-312-39238-9 377 pp., cloth \$25.00

■ To order these books for your library at 20% discount, please write:

State and Society in Dār Fūr

R. S. O'Fahey, *University of Bergen*

In this book, R. S. O'Fahey explores the major themes within the history of the Dār Fūr Sultanate, which endured from approximately 1650 to its conquest by the British in 1916. Based on extensive research in widely scattered and diverse sources, the study focuses on the political and administrative evolution of the state during the period 1750–1916. O'Fahey traces the origins and growth of the Dār Fūr Sultanate—examining in detail such influences as the estate system, elaborate ritual cycles and Islam—and concludes by considering the position of Dār Fūr within the larger context of the Sudanic World.

1980 ISBN 0-312-75606-2 210 pp., maps, cloth \$30.00

South and South East Asia, 1945–1979

B. N. Pandey,
University of London

This book is the first to present both a critical analysis of the political, economic and social problems the countries of south and southeast Asia have faced since 1945, and an in-depth evaluation of the policies adopted to resolve these problems. The author examines such crucial issues as: the differential influence of varying colonial legacies; the reasons for the initial universal adoption of democratic forms of government and the subsequent rejection of democracy by a number of these nations; the constraints under which democracy has functioned in Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia and Singapore; and the failure of constitutional communism to capture central power in any country outside Indo-China.

1980 ISBN 0-312-74710-1 244 pp., cloth \$19.95

The Viking Age in Denmark

Klavs Randsborg,
University of Copenhagen

Reacting against the traditional view of the Vikings, which has focused on their politics, warfare and overseas raids, Klavs Randsborg provides a new account of the startling economic and social changes which took place in southern Scandinavia during the ninth and tenth centuries. He uses new archaeological methods and a variety of data—climate, burials, settlements, philology and the scattered written sources—to examine the many factors which contributed to the formation of the Danish state in this period. Throughout, Randsborg presents his picture of Viking society against a background of the principles that govern the rise of states in general.

1980 ISBN 0-312-84650-9 214 pp., illus., cloth \$30.00

Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World

edited by W. D. Rubinstein,
Deakin University, Australia

Written by a group of international scholars, this book looks at the careers of the very wealthy and the extent of wealth-holding and wealth distribution in seven industrial nations—the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Australia—since the eighteenth century. Each essay examines how wealth was created, controlled and maintained in the country under consideration and goes on to explore the relationship between the wealthy and the rest of society, the divisions within the upper class itself and the process of upward social mobility.

1980 ISBN 0-312-85936-8 283 pp., cloth \$27.50

Manchu Chinese Colonial Rule in Northern Mongolia

M. Sanjdorj

Translated from the Mongolian
and annotated by Urgunge Onon

This book—the first English translation of Sanjdorj's pioneering work—examines the penetration of Khalkh Mongolia by Chinese traders and moneylenders during the period of Manchu domination (1691–1911). The author explores such questions as when Chinese trade and moneylending first became apparent in Khalkh Mongolia, how they developed, and what influence they had on the Mongolian economy. Sanjdorj demonstrates that the advent of these practices in Mongolia contributed to the decay of the feudal relationship and the sharpening of feudal oppression there, and to the subsequent stagnation of the Mongolian economy.

1980 ISBN 0-312-51249-X 118 pp., map, cloth \$22.50

St Martin's press
Post Office Box 5352 New York, NY 10163

"A brilliant and fascinating book."

—Marshall Berman, *New York Times Book Review*

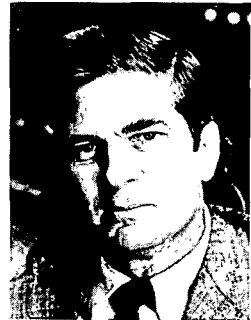
Through vivid portrayals of a clashing cast of characters, the author of the classic *The Icon and the Axe* casts new light on the process through which faith in the redeeming power of revolution has become the dominant secular religion of our time. From the "incarnation" of 1789 to the "second coming" of 1917, this panoramic narrative is **"full of new insights...far richer than anything I have read before."**—William H. McNeill, *Oxford University*

"Fascinating...It keeps clear the distinction between a history of a 'faith' and a history of a real revolution."
—Robert Palmer, *Yale University*

"Certain to become a classic..."James Billington has uncovered a whole new substratum of consciousness, and a whole host of unknown and fascinating figures, in a field where everything seemed already to have been said."
—Joseph Frank, author of *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt*

"A treasury of radical history, biography, and anthropology...."Mr. Billington's people, visions and scenes can help us to grasp our past, to confront what we have become in the present, and to imagine and invent a livable future."
—Marshall Berman, *New York Times Book Review*

"There isn't a dull page."
—John Leonard, *New York Times*



FIRE IN THE MINDS OF MEN **Origins of the Revolutionary Faith** **James H. Billington**

\$25.00 at bookstores

BASIC BOOKS, INC.

10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022

Origins of the French Revolution

WILLIAM DOYLE, University of York. This book takes stock of the debate surrounding the origins of the Revolution and constructs a new account of those origins which incorporates the findings of over two decades' discussion and research. Doyle also offers a new analysis of the *Ancien Regime*, and the struggle for power which followed its disappearance.

December 1980

288 pp.

cloth \$37.50 paper \$14.95

The People's Budget 1909/10

Lloyd George and Liberal Politics

BRUCE K. MURRAY, Associate Professor of History, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. After its celebrated victory in the 1906 general election, the Liberal Party was faced with the problems of identifying and satisfying the demands of its disparate support. This book uses the budgetary crisis of 1909-10 to explore the dilemmas over the nature of this support and the direction of Liberal policy. In particular, Professor Murray examines how Lloyd George sought to establish the Liberal Party as a party of social reform and not to antagonize directly the bulk of middle-class income taxpayers.

1980

360 pp.

\$49.95

The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, later Lord Cranbrook, 1866-1892

Political Selections

Edited by NANCY E. JOHNSON, Contract Historian, Office of the Historian, Department of State. This diary describes the nineteenth-century political scene from Gathorne Hardy's entry into the Cabinet in 1866 until his retirement in 1892. Hardy draws vivid portraits of his contemporaries and illuminates the process of Cabinet government, providing new information about Cabinet discussions and differences and the formation of policy.

January 1981

650 pp.

\$135.00

Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England

F.K. PROCHASKA, London University. This study analyzes the role of women in nineteenth-century English philanthropy and the effect that their charitable work had on their lives and expectations. Using a wide range of literary and statistical evidence, Prochaska shows that the women's hard work and financial contributions opened up opportunities for themselves and broke down much of the prejudice against women in public life.

1980

312 pp.

cloth \$48.00 paper \$21.00

Family Breakdown in Late Nineteenth-Century France

Divorces in Rouen, 1792-1803

RODERICK PHILLIPS, Senior Lecturer in History, University of Auckland, New Zealand. This book provides a comprehensive study of divorce and family breakdown in Revolutionary France. Using the divorce-court records of Rouen, the author draws a vivid account of the petitioners, the causes and the pretexts of divorce, and the role of neighbors and relatives, with much revealing detail of contemporary social conditions in a time when the society was breaking away from Catholic tradition and the tenets that had been the basis of family law.

December 1980

288 pp.

\$55.00

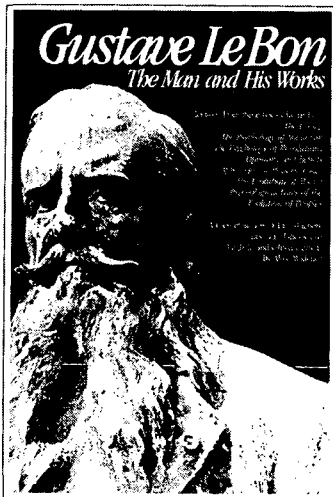
Prices and publication dates are subject to change.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016



LibertyPress LibertyClassics



Gustave Le Bon *The Man and His Works*

A presentation with introduction, first translations into English, and edited extracts from Le Bon's major works by Alice Widener. The founder of social psychology, Le Bon (1841-1931) predicted the worldwide advance of socialism and almost all its now-apparent social, political and economic consequences. The extracts are from Le Bon's *The Crowd*, *Psychological Laws of the Evolution of Peoples*, *The Psychology of Socialism*, *The Evolution of Matter*, *Opinions and Beliefs*, *The Psychology of Revolutions*, and *Aphorisms of Modern Times*. Hardcover \$8.00, Paperback \$3.50.

We pay postage, but require prepayment, on orders from individuals. Please allow four to six weeks for delivery. To order this book, or for a copy of our catalog, write:

LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. 761
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250

HISTORY FROM HOOVER

HISTORY OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Robert R. King

This book approaches the subject from the perspective of the political and organizational development of the party as an institution and its increasing Romanianization. Based on extensive use of Romanian sources, it is the first history of the Romanian Communist Party in any language.

\$ 8.95 Paperback

206 pages

ISBN: 0-8179-7332-X

ZEALOTS AND REBELS

A History of the Ruling Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Zdenek Suda

Never in the West has there been a complete history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This fact makes the present volume a pioneer study, filling an important gap in the study of ruling communist parties.

\$ 8.95 Paperback

426 pages

ISBN: 0-8179-7342-7

THE FRACTURED CONTINENT

Latin America in Close-Up

Willard L. Beaulac

Drawing on a lifetime of experience in diplomacy, Ambassador Beaulac provides a concise introduction to Latin American history and a compelling analysis of the contemporary political scene in Latin America.

\$ 11.95 Hardcover

252 pages

ISBN: 0-8179-7251-X

THE END OF THE TITO ERA

Yugoslavia's Dilemmas

Slobodan Stankovic

Tito bequeathed to his nation a host of unresolved problems and a complicated system of collective leadership. Stankovic describes the historical events leading up to this situation and suggests possible answers to the question: What after Tito?

\$ 9.95 Paperback

ca. 145 pages

ISBN: 0-8179-7362-1

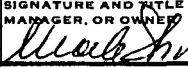
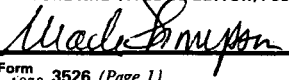
Hoover Institution Press • Dept. A8065

Stanford University • Stanford CA 94305

(When ordering, please include \$1.50 postage. California residents add 6-6½% tax.)



42(a)

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE		
STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION		
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)		
1. TITLE OF PUBLICATION AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW	A. PUBLICATION NO.	2. DATE OF FILING 19 September 1980
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE Five times per year - Feb. Apr. Jun. Oct. & Dec.	A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY Five	B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION CLASS \$43.00 Yr.
4. LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION (Street, City, County, State and ZIP Code) (Not printers) 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003		
5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS (Not printers) 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003		
6. NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR		
PUBLISHER (Name and Address) American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003		
EDITOR (Name and Address) Bloomington, Indiana 47401 Otto Pflanze, American Historical Review, Indiana University, Ballantine Hall/		
MANAGING EDITOR (Name and Address) N/A		
7. OWNER (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.)		
NAME ADDRESS		
The American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003		
The American Historical Association has no ownership. It is a nonprofit membership corporation created by an act of Congress on January 4, 1889 for the promotion of historical studies, etc.		
8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES (If there are none, so state)		
NAME ADDRESS		
None		
9. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES (Section 132.122, PSM) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal Income tax purposes (Check one)		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HAVE NOT CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> HAVE CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)		
10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION	AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS	ACTUAL NO. COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED (Net Press Run)	18,613	18,078
B. PAID CIRCULATION 1. SALES THROUGH DEALERS AND CARRIERS, STREET VENDORS AND COUNTER SALES	- 0 -	- 0 -
2. MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS	16,796	16,588
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	16,796	16,588
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES	388	360
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and D)	17,184	16,948
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED 1. OFFICE USE, LEFT OVER, UNACCOUNTED, SPOILED AFTER PRINTING	1,429	1,130
2. RETURNS FROM NEWS AGENTS	- 0 -	- 0 -
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	18,613	18,078
11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.	SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER, BUSINESS MANAGER, OR OWNER  Executive Director	
12. FOR COMPLETION BY PUBLISHERS MAILING AT THE REGULAR RATES (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual)		
39 U. S. C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates."		
In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U. S. C. 3626.		
SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER, BUSINESS MANAGER, OR OWNER  Executive Director, American Historical Association		

The idea that America will ever become a strong and united empire is "one of the idlest and most visionary notions ever conceived even by writers of romance."

— an English clergyman in 1781

A fresh new narrative of this "*idlest and most visionary notion.*"

FORTHCOMING from AHM — January 1981

A Major New Survey Text —

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A HISTORY

BY ARTHUR S. LINK, STANLEY COBEN, ROBERT V. REMINI, DOUGLAS GREENBERG, AND ROBERT McMATH.

The American People is truly a history of the American people. This narrative begins with the arrival of European explorers in the western hemisphere and continues through the presidential election of 1980. *The American People* chronicles in fine detail their struggles for self-government and personal liberty, their politics, and relations with other nations. Moreover, its portrayal of the complexity and plurality of American life is a treasury of social, economic, demographic, and cultural history. *The American People* relates how native Americans, Europeans, African Blacks, and Asians — peoples from every part of the globe — have created a unique civilization. This work contributes to the ongoing task of tracing the largely unchronicled role of American women in the nation's development. The text is generously illustrated with maps, cartoons, and photographs; interspersed in the book are eight photo sections, which combine photographs and drawings with period documents, literary extracts, and commentaries. An extensive bibliographical essay follows each of the 38 chapters. This first edition of *The American People* brings countless fresh insights into our history, indeed makes that story engrossing and unforgettable.

An *INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL* and a *TEST QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS BOOKLET* are available.

One-volume cloth edition, 1152 pps.: \$16.95t

Two-volume paper edition: To 1877, \$8.95t, Since 1865, \$8.95t

Write now to request an examination copy.

Order examination copies at the AHM convention booth, number 57

AHM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

3110 North Arlington Heights Road, Arlington Heights, Illinois 60004



Recent Pamphlets

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AHA PAMPHLETS—narrative and critical essays, including bibliographical guides, on topics in history

- 101 The American Frontier Thesis: Attack and Defense *by Ray Allen Billington*
- 102 American Intellectual History: The Development of the Discipline *by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.*
- 212 The Progressive Era, 1900–20: The Reform Persuasion *by George E. Mowry*
- 215 Contemporary American History: The United States since 1945 *by Dewey W. Grantham*
- 222 Far Western Frontiers *by Harvey L. Carter*
- 240 The Indian in American History *by William T. Hagan*
- 241 The Peopling of America: Perspectives on Immigration *by Franklin D. Scott*
- 250 A History of the American Labor Movement *by Albert A. Blum*
- 260 Religion in America: History and Historiography *by Edwin S. Gaustad*
- 702 American Diplomatic History in Transformation *by Alexander DeConde*

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING—essays on approaches to history in the classroom

- 2 Teaching History with Film *by John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson*

Pamphlets are \$1.50 each; payment must accompany order. A complete list of titles is available upon request.

The American Historical Association
Pamphlet Orders A50
400 A Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

PLEASE SEND TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP CODE _____

I enclose \$_____ (check or money order; no stamps please) in payment for the _____ pamphlets indicated below:

AHA PAMPHLETS 101____ 102____ 212____ 215____ 222____ 240____ 241____ 250____
260____ 702____

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING 2____

Please send complete list of titles_____



If you are planning to move, please let us know six weeks before changing your address. Attach address label and fill in your name and new address below. This will ensure prompt service on your subscription.

Attach Label Here
(address label found on AHR wrapper) Send label with your name and new address to American Historical Association, Membership Department, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. If a label is not available, be sure to attach your OLD address, including Zip Code number.

Name _____

New address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Recent Pamphlets

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AHA PAMPHLETS—narrative and critical essays, including bibliographical guides, on topics in history

- 311 Ancient Greece *by Mortimer Chambers*
- 312 The Roman Republic *by Erich S. Gruen*
- 401 The Culture of Renaissance Humanism *by William F. Bouwsma*
- 403 The Reformation *by Harold J. Grimm*
- 425 East European History: An Ethnic Approach *by R. V. Burks*
- 427 Russia since 1917: The Once and Future Utopia *by George Barr Carson, Jr.*
- 501 Precolonial African History *by Philip D. Curtin*
- 511 Some Approaches to China's Past *by Charles O. Hucker*
- 513 A History of South Asia *by Robert I. Crane*
- 518 Equatorial Africa *by Joseph C. Miller*
- 701 Nationalism: Its Nature and Interpreters *by Boyd C. Shafer*

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING—essays on approaches to history in the classroom

- 1 Elements of Historical Thinking *by Paul L. Ward*

Pamphlets are \$1.50 each; payment must accompany order. A complete list of titles is available upon request.

The American Historical Association
Pamphlet Orders A50
400 A Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

PLEASE SEND TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP CODE _____

I enclose \$_____ (check or money order; no stamps please) in payment for the _____ pamphlets indicated below:

AHA PAMPHLETS 311____ 312____ 401____ 403____ 425____ 427____
501____ 511____ 513____ 518____ 701____

DISCUSSIONS ON TEACHING 1____

Please send complete list of titles_____

INDEX OF ADVERTISERS

AHM Publishing	43	Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.	4-5
American Historical Association	Cover 3, 44-46	Liberty Press/Liberty Classics	40
A. S. Barnes & Co., Inc.	3	Oxford University Press	Cover 2, 39
Basic Books, Inc.	38	Princeton University Press	Cover 4, 31
George Braziller, Inc.	23	Routledge & Kegan Paul	7
Cambridge University Press	26-27	St. Martin's Press	15, 36-37
Columbia University Press	16, 19	Stanford University Press	20
Cornell University Press	10-11	Southwestern University Press	22
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	6, 34	Syracuse University Press	28
Harvard University Press	13	Thames & Hudson, Inc.	29
Hoover Institution Press	41	University of California Press	14
Houghton Mifflin	25	University of Minnesota Press	8
Indiana University Press	12	University of Pittsburgh Press	30
International Film Bureau, Inc.	24	Vintage Books	9
Johns Hopkins University Press	32-33	Franklin Watts, Inc.	21
		Yale University Press	35

NOTES

NOTES

49(a)

NOTES

50(a)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Guide to Departments of History, 1980-81. Includes listings of close to 350 U.S. and Canadian departments (of which 135 grant the PhD) and twelve research institutions. Price: AHA members \$10.00, nonmembers \$12.50.

Survey of the Historical Profession. A major statistical resource permitting virtually limitless capability for referencing variables to meet particular statistical needs. Price: AHA members \$5.00, nonmembers \$6.00.

Grants and Fellowships of Interest to Historians, 1980-81. Includes more than 178 entries. Funding programs are divided into three categories: support for dissertation and postdoctoral research; support for pre-dissertation study and research; support for organizations working in the field of historical research and education. Price: AHA members \$3.00, nonmembers \$4.00.

Recent United States Scholarship on the History of Women. Presented at the XV International Congress of Historical Sciences, this work is designed to illuminate the important contributions made by historians of women and published during the last fifteen years. It is also an attempt to assess the direction and achievement of the field. Authors: Barbara Sicherman, E. William Monter, Joan Wallach Scott, Kathryn Kish Sklar. Price: AHA members \$3.50, nonmembers \$4.50.

A Survival Manual for Women (and Other) Historians. An updated version of a pamphlet that first appeared in 1975. The AHA Committee on Women Historians decided that unwritten rules often lead to inequity and it set out to reveal the most important rules and customs. Price: AHA members \$3.00, nonmembers \$4.00.

The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States. Edited, with an Introduction, by Michael Kammen. Foreword by John Hope Franklin. "A detailed, up-to-date, insider's guide to the current activities of the historical profession: who does what, with what and to whom."—*Washington Post Book World*. "A document of major importance."—*The N.Y. Times Book Review*. (Sponsored by the American Historical Association.) Published by Cornell University Press, \$19.95.

For a full list of available publications, write to:

Publications Department
400 A Street SE
Washington, DC 20003

All orders must be prepaid; price includes shipping and handling. (*The Past Before Us* available at bookstores or direct from Cornell University Press, P.O. Box 250, Ithaca, NY 14850)

The Brilliance of Roman History Shines at Princeton

Plutarch's Themistocles

A Historical Commentary

FRANK J. FROST

The life of Themistocles was contemporary with one of the most eventful periods of Greek history, and the story of his life has been recorded by many ancient biographers, philosophers, and historians. To explain the manner in which the Themistocles of history was transformed into the Themistocles of legend, Frank Frost analyzes Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* from a historical point of view and clarifies its value as a historical source. \$17.50



Rome

Profile of a City, 312-1308

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

Focusing on the actual art and architecture and on the image the city presented to its contemporaries, Richard Krautheimer tells the story of Rome through the remains of classical antiquity. Covering the three major epochs of Christian Antiquity, the Carolingian Age, and the High Middle Ages, this lavishly illustrated book by one of today's greatest art historians offers a most revealing profile of the Eternal City. 260 illus. 8½ x 11". Cloth, \$50.00, Paper, \$16.50

Princeton University Press

Princeton, New Jersey 08540

